Historical Sources of Ethnomusicology in Contemporary Debate

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Historical Sources of Ethnomusicology in Contemporary Debate

Edited by

Susanne Ziegler, Ingrid Åkesson, Gerda Lechleitner and Susana Sardo

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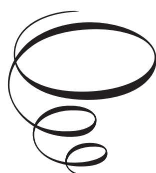

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Edited by Susanne Ziegler, Ingrid Åkesson, Gerda Lechleitner and Susana Sardo

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Aoife Hinley, Emily Schalk and Marlene de Wilde

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INTRODUCTION

Historical approaches in ethnomusicology, i.e., the study of any kind of oral, written, visual and audio sources embedded in this discipline's history by using modern historical theories and methods, is gaining ever more importance, yet only few publications on this topic have been available up to now. The majority of scholarly studies of ethnomusicology is focused on the analysis of contemporary fieldwork processes, drawing on fieldwork as the main methodological practice. However, historical research is a necessary field too, not only for the understanding of historical processes related to sound, music, collecting and archiving but also because this kind of research supplies an important background for contemporary work. At the same time, and due to the rapid institutionalisation of popular and oral-derived cultural expressions, older living and sometimes hidden traditions are scarce in 21st-century late modern cultures. This means that archival and other historical sources have become very important for knowledge production today. In many parts of Europe, and in other places in the world, there is a strong tradition in research applied to local cultural expressions; therefore, this publication will be an important contribution to the intersection of ethnology and historiography, the first based on fieldwork and the second on archival studies.

This anthology is a publication of the Study Group on Historical Sources of Traditional Music within the International Council of Traditional Music (ICTM). The study group was established in 1967 with the aim "… to contribute to more knowledge on the history of orally transmitted music". At the start, the focus was on historical sources of traditional music in Europe but since the 1990s the focus has shifted towards a wider international scope. Whereas written sources go further back in time, sound recordings have been possible only since the beginning of the 20th century—which is, nevertheless, a time span of more than 100 years.

Meanwhile, the study of historical sources has gained an international reputation. Thanks to the activities of the Study Group on Historical Sources of Traditional Music, symposia have been held every second year, and several conference proceedings have been published (see Ziegler 2010).

The present peer-reviewed collection of articles includes some of the contributions that were presented in two conferences organised by the Study Group; namely, the conference held in Vienna, Austria, in 2012 and the other in Aveiro, Portugal, in 2014. The articles cover a wide range of topics, which are organised into three sections:

Part One: Rethinking Archives and Collections: From Fieldwork to Digital Humanities
Part Two: Written Documents and Musical Instruments as Sources
Part Three: Individual Memory, Musical Practice and Heritage

Part One: Rethinking Archives and Collections: From Fieldwork to Digital Humanities

The first section of articles concerns archives, which on the one hand indicate the place where documents or sources (in this case mostly sound documents) are preserved and processed by institutions as well as accessed by users, and on the other indicate a wide and open concept, a "general system", as well as a place for memory with respect to "collections". The articles cover a wide range of thoughts, starting with rethinking the role and position of archives and the resulting epistemological findings. A number of case studies follow, dealing with the use of historical sources as additional documents for new approaches and goals, either in specific historical or comparative studies. The final two contributions present insights into archives in the 21st century and recently developed techniques, which have contributed to the archives' roles as providers of service and content as well as centres of excellence, joined together in online platforms or portals.

Miguel García breaks new ground by reflecting on archives as discursive knowledge, as the emergence from particular scientific paradigms, as aesthetically or ideologically oriented knowledge, and finally as multi-layered, fragmentary and unfinished discourses. In that way he contrasts archives seen as "things" against archives viewed as "knowledge" and, thus, opens a fresh new perspective on archives. Another new turn in the discussion about archives is the aspect of institutionalising and materialising music through sound sources, which Susana Sardo introduces. Her considerations and reflections are exemplified by Bruce Bastin's *fado* collection and concern the role of that particular archive, which shifted from treasuring silenced recordings to great public interest, and—after

fado's nomination as UNESCO Intangible Heritage—has gained consciousness as collective memory.

While these two contributions introduce a more epistemological approach to the concept of archives, the following studies utilise historical recordings for various approaches. Drago Kunej points out that commercial recordings (78 rpm recordings) have largely been overlooked by researchers in Slovenia and abroad, yet such folk music recordings have important cultural, ethnomusicological and folkloristic as well as ethnochoreological value. Thus, in his study on Slovenian folk music, the 78 rpm records offer numerous opportunities for research and constitute a complement to field recordings, or—as Kunej states—they represent the only sources for specific musical styles. The close connection or even dialogue between historical sources and fieldwork is the topic of Anda Beitāne's contribution. She demonstrates the dynamics between fieldwork and historical sources caused by a shift in Latvian ethnomusicology due to the political independence of Latvia in the early 1990s. As a consequence, historical sources were recognised as valuable and indispensable material for contemporary research.

While these two case studies use historical sources to complement and amend previous results, three more articles focus on comparative methods by analysing historical recordings for discussing cultural transformation. Susanne Fürniss analyses two historical collections of Mabi recordings made in Cameroon in 1908 and in Berlin in 1909. The problems that she faced when confronting the Mabi of today with these historical recordings represent the difficulty of linking archived sounds to their cultural meanings, which have changed during the last century: either some of the documented items of music are no longer practised today or some of today's dances were not documented in 1908, or other songs and dances were created only later on. The study of Claire Lacombe, on the other hand, focuses on the diachronic analysis of the Fang's xylophone music. She evaluates the persistence and modifications of orally transmitted music and, thereby, compares sources from different places and times. As a result, this diachronic analysis finally enters into a dialogue with the history of this music itself, showing the memory of the musicians and the memory on the place of recordings as well as the memory of the collector. Émeline Lechaux goes in a similar direction when she draws attention to the diachronic comparison of the *bwétè* ceremonies in Gabon in 1966 and in 2013. She discusses which methodology would best suit a diachronic comparison having heterogeneous collections of different ethnomusicologists at hand.

Such new approaches open the floor to the introduction to Digital Humanities, which have developed since the establishment of digital

support and online platforms for storing, organising and disseminating knowledge. Digital Humanities is a transdisciplinary field that combines knowledge of different disciplinary origins with the use of web technologies with the aim of facilitating the field's remote access and its growth through collaborative actions. This matrix closely coincides with the quality of the sound sources due to their material profile, which is perfectly transferable to digital support. Consequently, the Internet is now the most important medium for sound and music circulation and, based on the proceeding digitisation of analogue holdings or the preservation of digital born sources, "digital" sound archives have grown exponentially both in domestic and institutional contexts. Joséphine Simonnot carefully explains how the web-based platform for the French *CNRS – Musée de l'Homme*, called TELEMETA, deals with this new profile of sound archives. Her text narrates all of the processes through which the platform was conceived, based on open format, a collaborative premise and, especially, the opportunity to democratise the sound, transforming it into a collective patrimony accessible not only to specialists and researchers but also to all those who like or make music and are interested in it. However, producing an online archive includes, among other things, the necessity to classify music toward indexation. Marie-France Mifune meticulously describes the process through which a system of indexation is connected to a database when analysing DIADEMS, a structure that aims to provide new automatic tools for indexing and analysing the audio content of TELEMETA. Mifune refers to all of the steps needed to organise a classification system based on strong interdisciplinary work, which includes IT developers, acousticians, anthropologists, linguists, ethnomusicologists, sound engineers, archivists and experts in multimedia development.

The two last chapters of the first section of articles address new challenges for sound archives, framed by the development of Digital Humanities. While democratising access to sound and music patrimony, the digital platforms also create new systems of classifying music and sound, arising from the creation of the so-called friendly balance between the needs of the global user and the limits of technology. In a certain way, Digital Humanities open new possibilities for ethnomusicology and sound archives, and, simultaneously, they are an interesting place for critical enquiry that stimulates the production of new knowledge in these two fields.

Part Two: Written Documents and Musical Instruments as Sources

The second part of this publication deals with two different kinds of historical sources: written documents, namely, handwritten song- or notebooks, and musical instruments.

Until now, personal song- or notebooks have been mostly neglected as sources and therefore rarely studied. The two articles on personal songbooks present sources from different times, and they approach the material from different perspectives. Shai Burstyn focuses on personal notebooks written by young Israeli girls between 1920 and 1960. He discusses them as important records in the socio-cultural context and historical testimonies of the tension between the individual and the community. The notebooks share the fate of being interesting sources, yet rarely preserved objects, with the Swedish personal songbooks presented in the article by Gunnar Ternhag. Ternhag's subject of research is historical songbooks, written mainly in the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. New research methods, commonly used in related, mostly text-oriented, disciplines, and terms like "musicking" (Small 1998) and "new literacy" (Barton et al., 2000) are successfully applied in studying this specific kind of historical sources in ethnomusicology. Both articles demonstrate that this approach in analysis can provide insight into practices connected with songs and singing in the past, and can contribute to a broader understanding of earlier folk traditions.

Two further articles deal with musical instruments as ethnomusicological sources. The text by M. Emin Soydaş presents research on an extinct musical instrument in Turkey, the *kopuz*. He discusses possible ways of its reconstruction on the basis of iconographical and written historical documents, and views the revitalisation of this important instrument as the ultimate aim. Andreas Meyer's article has a broader approach and considers how cultural memory is expressed in three different exhibitions of musical instruments. On the example of African musical instruments, he analyses arrangements of artifacts, based on terms and methods of semiotics and narratology, and illustrates how cultural memory is created in a museum's exhibition.

Part Three: Individual Memory, Musical Practice and Heritage

The last section deals with individual memory versus collective history. Individual memories, stored and combined in collections and archives, are creators of collective history; they have played a significant role in multiple individual, collective, aesthetic and political discourses of national or ethnic history and identity as well as other aspects of identity. Many individual collections, in their turn, are integrated in institutional archives. Through different processes of selection and authorisation, in which individuals as well as cultural institutions play significant roles, documented cultural expressions have become representations of "cultural heritage" or legacy. Individual memories and expressions may become charged with meaning by different kinds of actors or agents but may also be re-evaluated and re-charged later on by other agents. The five articles in this section demonstrate a variety of aspects on collected and created memory, on musical practices as vehicles of identity, and on processes and problems concerning the idea of heritage.

In the first article, Ingrid Åkesson discusses how processes of selection, concerning individual singers in field recordings as well as style elements derived from these singers' practice, can contribute to the creation of aesthetic ideals in contemporary practice of traditional songs. As few traditional singers were still alive and active in Sweden in the late 20th century, archival recordings were brought forward to create an ideal for the present by listening to segments of the past. The related acquisition of sound ideals and style elements from other song cultures indicates that the process represents the creation of an (imagined) aesthetic and sound-related past rather than a past with national or ethnic characteristics.

National identity is, however, at the centre of Olli Heikkinen's article. His topic is the literary and musical creation of Finnish identity in the 19th century based on folk melodies. The author points out that the collecting of lyrics as well as of melodies was permeated with literary ethos; a national identity should be represented by printed publications of edited and arranged songs. The songs went through processes of entextualisation, decontextualisation, recontextualisation, literisation and literarisation – common elements in the cultural heritage process.

The text by Ingrid Bertleff concerns an example of a many-layered cultural and ethnic identity. The author's starting point is the song culture of Germans who, in the 18th century, settled and cultivated land along the Volga River and near the Black Sea. Many members of these still coherent and German-speaking cultural groups later migrated to the United States.

Around 1970, their traditional songs were reinterpreted as symbols of a newly created group identity, as American Germans from Russia, now regarding the group's history from the perspective of the present. Thus, the present need for cultural identity is presented as the driving force behind creating a new discourse about the past.

Christiane Gesierich's article also focuses on memory and reconstruction. She studies the Russian *gusli* singer Aleksandr Kotomkin through the prism of three dimensions of memory. As a representative of the traditional performance of *byliny*, old Russian heroic epic songs, in post-WWII Germany where he took refuge, he contributed to the memories of this tradition in accompanied form, as well as acquiring a prominent place in the collective memory of his readers and listeners. In his autobiography, he resurrected the Russia of his childhood based on his own memories.

The last article in this anthology, building a bridge to the first article by Miguel Garcia, takes a critical and theoretical stance. Tala Jarjour discusses the concepts of archive, safeguarding, representation and authority, as well as the discourse surrounding these concepts. She focuses on the relationship between the contemporary safeguarding of musical traditions endangered by violence, and questions of representation and authority. Jarjour especially problematises current attempts to preserve the music of Christians in Syria, where not only the music but also the performers are under constant threat of annihilation. The article suggests close affinities between pain, agency and the authority to represent, and, pointing at a few examples, poses critical questions about collecting music and about the kinds and levels of contextual awareness that inform such representational engagement. Among other theorists, the author refers to Jacques Derrida concerning the archive, and Talal Asad concerning agency and pain.

With this anthology the editors endeavour to contribute to the ongoing discussion about archives and open a discussion about historical sources and their role in the field of ethnomusicology. Our goals are to promote critical reflection on the past, and determine the position and stress the value of historical sources in contemporary debate. Therefore, we encourage other colleagues to review and reconsider the material preserved in archives and other collections.

Finally, we would like to express our sincerest thanks to all our authors-colleagues for contributing and providing insight in their current research. We are very grateful to Aoife Hinley, Emily Schalk and Marlene de Wilde for language checking and proofreading.

The Editors

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PART ONE:

RETHINKING ARCHIVES AND COLLECTIONS: FROM FIELDWORK TO DIGITAL HUMANITIES

CHAPTER ONE

SOUND ARCHIVES UNDER SUSPICION

MIGUEL A. GARCÍA

This article is an exogamic venture: an attempt to think about sound archives beyond the boundaries of ethnomusicology.[1] In recent years, ethnomusicology has usually—but not always—been the "natural" field of research and criticism for field-recording-based sound archives. Despite the fact that ethnomusicology has a heterogeneous and polyphonic texture due to its proximity to other social and humanistic disciplines, most of us share a strong presupposition: archives are "sets of things" or "sets of objects" that must be named, classified, studied and put in order, mainly according to their materiality. I use the concept "materiality" in order to emphasise the status that recordings acquire when their aural, sensitive and human dimensions are underestimated or made invisible.

Generally, we bear this presupposition in mind to different degrees and in a conscious or unconscious manner all along the different stages of our research with any kind of sound recordings. Of course, this is not a perspective that must be abandoned because it has been the background of many research projects and institutional programmes that have produced high-quality results. But, in my opinion, it would be theoretically healthy to think of sound archives by setting this perspective apart, at least for a while. Thus, in this paper I aim to replace the concept of "archives as sets of things" with the concept of "archives as knowledge". Due to my broad approach to this matter, I hope that some conclusions may be directed towards other types of archives or documents.

If we provisionally accept that archives in general, and sound archives in particular, offer us or, let's say, are some sort of knowledge, then we could suggest five interweaving archive attributes:

1. Archives are discursive knowledge
2. Archives emerge from particular scientific paradigms
3. Archives are aesthetically oriented knowledge
4. Archives are ideologically oriented knowledge

5. Archives are shaped by multi-sourced, fragmentary and unfinished discourses[2]

Archives are discursive knowledge

Unfortunately, we have few theoretical works on archives and even fewer on sound archives. However, some stimulating discussions on archives and the Internet have emerged in recent years regarding accessibility, decentralisation, democratisation, copyrights and so on.[3] Most of these discussions seem to overlap the concepts of archive and file. Usually, both concepts are used to refer to something like bits of information moving across the Internet and being manipulated by different powers and technologies. Also, we have works that draw attention to the relationship between archives, memory and colonialism. García Gutierrez´s book, *Otra memoria es posible. Estrategias descolonizadoras del archivo mundial* (2004), is perhaps the most provocative example of that perspective. To put it simply, García Gutierrez denounces the colonialist procedures behind some archives and makes claims for the democratisation of the world memory. In ethnomusicology, Ana María Ochoa Gautier (2011) argues that nowadays the role of sound archives is mainly to contribute to the reorganisation of the senses and the redistribution of the sensitive. Ochoa Gautier takes into consideration how new technologies create forms of self-production that help to move archives from formal institutions into the private sphere. From a very peculiar point of view, the French philosopher Jacques Derrida, in his book *Mal de Archivo. Una impresión freudiana* (1997), speculates on Freud's notebook, and on his house in Vienna becoming a museum and archive. Frankly, Derrida's writing is very erratic and it does not help us to define what an archive is. Quite different is Michel Foucault's *Archaeology of Knowledge* (2004 [1969]), in which the discursive character of knowledge is highlighted and a definition of archive is provided. On one hand, from Foucault's perspective, scientific discourse—we could say ethnomusicological discourse—is not a surface upon which pre-existing objects—let's say songs, recordings, cylinders, etc.—are described but rather a *locus* where objects are recreated or even invented.

On the other hand, Foucault points out that archives are

> (…) systems that establish statements as events (with their own conditions and domain of appearance) and things (with their own possibility and field of use) (146) (…) the archive defines a particular level: that of a practice that causes a multiplicity of statements to emerge as so many regular events, as so many things to be dealt with and manipulated. (…) it reveals

> the rules of a practice that enables statements both to survive and to undergo regular modification. It is the general system of the formation and transformation of statements. (147)

Summarising Foucault's point of view, we can say that systems of statements create events and things, and that the archive emerges like "the general system of formation and transformation of statements" (147). Clearly, it is possible to reconstruct the history of many sound archives from Foucault's approach and to show how the discursive handling of all the agents involved works.

Let us focus on a case study. Since 2011, I have been working at the Phonogramm-Archiv of Berlin with three wax cylinder collections of Kawésqar (or Alakaluf), Selknam (or Ona), and Yagan (or Yamana) songs and verbal utterances. The recordings were made in Tierra del Fuego—an archipelago at the southernmost tip of South America—between 1907 and 1923 by Charles Wellington Furlong, an American explorer, Wilhelm Koppers and Martin Gusinde—both German anthropologists and missionaries of the *Societas Verbi Divini (*Society of the Divine Word).[4] In all, the collectors made 76 recordings, which were sent to the Phonogramm-Archiv of Berlin for preservation and study. Thanks to Susanne Ziegler of the Phonogramm-Archiv, it was possible to reconstruct the history of the three collections. The cylinders were sent to Berlin by the collectors before the Second World War. During the last days of the war, all the cylinders were evacuated from the museum in order to protect them from the bombardment. In total, 2000 cylinder cases were sent to Silesia. At the end of the war, the cases were under the control of Soviet forces and sent to Leningrad. In 1960 they were moved to East Berlin, and when the Wall fell, they were returned to the Ethnological Museum in Berlin-Dahlem. This explains why for a period of almost 40 years the cylinders were thought to be lost.

Table 1 shows information about the collectors and the recordings.

One of the aims of my research on these collections and collectors was to reconstruct "discursive lines", that is, dialogical nets, shaped by researchers and information on people from Tierra del Fuego and their songs. I realised that not only had the collectors tried to characterise Fuegian songs but also many travellers, military men, anthropologists, other missionaries, one psychiatrist and, more importantly, four ethnomusicologists: Erich von Hornbostel (1913, 1936, 1948, 1986), the Argentine ethnomusicologist Jorge Novati (1969–1970), the American folklorist Alan Lomax (Chapman 1972), and the French musicologist Gilbert Rouget (1970, 1976). What I found extremely interesting in these studies and the dialogues between those ethnomusicologists was that very

Collector	Number of cylinders	Recording date	Location (Tierra del Fuego)	Ethnic group
Martin Gusinde (1886–1969)	13	1923	Canal Smith, Mejillones, Muñoz Gamero, and Remolino	Alakaluf, Selknam, Yagan
Wilhelm Koppers (1886–1961)	30	1921–1922	?	Alakaluf, Yagan
Charles Wellington Furlong (1874–1967)	33	1907–1908	Lauwi, Najmish, Puerto Harberton, Punta Arenas, Río del Fuego, and Río Douglas	Selknam, Yagan

Table 1-1 Collectors and early recordings in Tierra del Fuego

easily and very early on the analysis and discussions moved from the "recordings of Fuegian songs" to the "Fuegian songs themselves". That means that the object of research was changed, almost imperceptibly. The first object of research, "the recordings of Fuegian songs", included some awareness of the presence of technological mediation—the phonograph and the wax cylinders—and the intentions of the collectors. In the second object of research, "Fuegian songs themselves", technology and collectors were both deleted. It was not an innocuous or naive change but involved a significant epistemological transformation.

If Michel Foucault were alive, he would probably say that a system of scientific statements gave origin to something called "Fuegian songs" and now we have something called a "Fuegian songs archive" that allows us to form new statements. Namely, the "Fuegian songs archive" was created by discursive procedures. Since—according to Foucault's concept—discourse is not limited to verbal utterances, it is possible to affirm that musical analyses carried out by Hornbostel (1936, 1948) and Rouget (1970, 1976) were also statements that contributed to creating the Fuegian songs. To be coherent with this viewpoint, we could say that the songs from Tierra del Fuego were created twice, first by Fuegians and then by scientific discourse. An ethnocentric image of the Fuegian was created by scientific discourse; in this manner their songs were conceptualised as the "most primitive" and "exotic" sounds from around the world, the "oldest living testimonies" of our own music.[5]

Archives emerge from particular scientific paradigms

Since this is the most evident attribute of archives, I will address it briefly. Even though scientific paradigms influence every moment of research, I only focus on one aspect.[6] The cornerstone of many archives with which we work is collecting. An idea strongly rooted in collectors' positivistic imaginary of the beginning of the 20th century was that sounds were "things" to be collected. In that scientific paradigm, the word "collection" implies that:

a) Collected "things"—such as songs—are free of the collector's influence
b) These "things" can be removed from their contexts
c) These "things" can be alienated from their creators
d) These "things" can be lodged in containers: archives, files, discs, wax cylinders, diaries, shelves, cases, etc.
e) In spite of all these manipulations, these "things" can keep the qualities they had before the collector's intervention

In summary, the word "collection"—collecting—in a positivistic framework means harvesting and accumulating. Of course, not all of these ideas are explicitly expressed by collectors, and sometimes they are even criticised. But, in fact, these ideas lead all research and archival procedures. Regardless of the fact that nowadays we know that to collect means to represent, I wonder to what extent this positivistic conception is still alive in our imaginary. Even though we are living under new scientific paradigms—poststructuralism, postcolonialism, or whatever— some traits of old paradigms usually stay alive in an unconscious or uncritical way.

Archives are aesthetically oriented knowledge

This point could also be called "the wheeled phonograph". Let me show you why. The German anthropologist Robert Lehmann-Nitsche recorded aboriginal and Creole songs in Argentina at the beginning of the 20th century. The following table shows some information on his recordings.

Recording date	Location	Ethnic group	Recorded material	Number of cylinders
1905	La Plata, Province of Buenos Aires	Creole popular musicians	Urban and rural popular genres: 62 *estilos*, 29 songs, 15 *milongas*, 6 *cifras*, 4 *huellas*, 4 *tangos*, 2 *vidalitas*, 2 *gatos*, 2 *zambas*, 1 *aire*, and 2 Spanish music imitations.	129
1905	La Plata	Tehuelche	Songs, performances of musical bow, narratives and one vocabulary.	62
1905 (and 1907?)	La Plata (?)	Araucano (Mapuche)	Songs	7
1906	San Pedro de Jujuy, Province de Jujuy	Toba, Chiriguano, Wichi and Chorote	Songs, vocabularies and one instrumental piece.	40
1909	?	Toba	Songs	8

Table 1-2 Recordings made by Robert Lehmann-Nitsche in Argentina

In the field, Lehmann-Nitsche faced two unexpected situations. First, he realised that some performances of shamanic songs had huge dynamic differences; *fortissimo* was suddenly followed by *pianissimo*. In order to attenuate those differences, he put the phonograph on a small wheeled table and moved it backward and forward. Later, when he was recording Creole songs, he discovered that some expressions were too long for the recording time of wax cylinders. So, some stanzas had to be omitted.[7] The singer, or maybe the collector, had to decide which stanzas to keep and which others to leave out. It is evident that in both cases aesthetic judgements were taking place: a technical limitation required an aesthetic decision. On this point we can bring into the discussion Hayden White's perspective. Let us remember that in order to show the discursive and aesthetic character of historiography, the American philosopher, in his book, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (1973), put forward the phrase "poetics of history". If we agree that aesthetic conditioning is usually active in archive creation and development, then we can say that there is something like a "poetics of archives".

Archives are ideologically oriented knowledge

I approached this point extensively at the ICTM Conference in Canada (García 2011b). My hypothesis is that very often ethnomusicological and archival procedures become a colonialist repertoire of routines for the control and reduction of Otherness. But to what extent can colonialist ideology lead concepts and methodological procedures? Once again, it is possible to find an example from the Tierra del Fuego archive.

According to several philosophers,[8] colonialism produces difference and creates a part of "reality" imaginatively located in the borders. At the same time, a supposedly "universal", "scientific" and "objective" knowledge is produced in this part of "reality", usually viewed as "poor" and "underdeveloped". In order to produce this sort of knowledge, musical expression must sometimes be mutilated, and singers, musicians and also analysts must be made invisible. Gilbert Rouget devoted 33 pages of an article (1970) to present the analysis of five seconds of a Selknam song. His work is a display of methodological and technical virtuosity: several musical and linguistic transcriptions, graphs made by the sonograph and stroboconn, a discussion about Hornbostel's interval definition, etc. From Rouget's point of view, the Selknam song displays uniform durations, presence of stresses, modulation of intensity, strong importance of vocal timbre and interdependence between frequency and vocal timbre, among other features. With regard to voice, Rouget found in the Selknam song a high larynx, reduced pharyngeal cavity, a reduced vocal cavity, etc. In this way, Rouget provides a very fragmented image of the Selknam song. Moreover, he did not give any information about Selknam culture. From his standpoint, the Selknam song is music without context, sung by people without culture or history. In addition, it is remarkable how Rouget managed to disappear in the thickness of the technical, detailed and apparently exhaustive analysis. Ethnomusicological research was, in many cases, something that went hand in hand with colonialism, recording musical expression before their creators had disappeared, or marching behind colonialism, analysing music once their creators were dead. In my opinion, the seeming ingenuousness of the aesthetic appreciation, the seemingly "natural" functioning of the ear and the artificial, cold and meticulous musicological analysis are very often accomplices of colonialism.

Archives are shaped by multi-sourced, fragmentary and unfinished discourses

This attribute of archives is closely related to the first point. If, as I have stated, archives are not “things” but knowledge—discursive knowledge—then we could accept that many people—collectors, researchers, archivists, technicians, museologists, etc.—intervene in that knowledge. This has at least two consequences. On one hand, as many people with different interests, epistemological perspectives, and technologies become involved, this knowledge is always open to a wide range of interventions: new classifications, digitalising, links to other sources, provocative or perhaps old-fashioned interpretations, etc. In addition, several disciplines often converge in the study of sound recording collections, transforming them into multidisciplinary knowledge. On the other hand, if we have many interventions, we have several ideological and aesthetic conditionings taking place. In this manner, archives are knowledge in process, not a set of documents. Every intervention on an archive helps to keep the knowledge it expresses active and to feed its never-ending structure.[9]

Epilogue

Maybe all these archive attributes are completely evident to us. Maybe what I have written sounds like a platitude. In spite of this, most of us are usually unaware of them or simply ignore them. Why? Because we feel more comfortable and less anxious when we handle “things” than when we deal with ethereal, vanishing and sometimes contradictory knowledge. Don’t we feel more comfortable and safer when we handle musical transcriptions than when we handle sounds? However, in my opinion, some anxiety is always a good starting point for developing fresh perspectives on sound archives. And that requires keeping sound archives under suspicion.

Notes

[1] A shorter version was presented at the *19th Meeting of the Study Group on Historical Sources of Traditional Music* (Vienna, March 6 to 10, 2012). Moreover, some ideas were expressed in a longer article in Spanish (García 2011a and 2012, chapter 3).

[2] In order to be understood, I’ve expressed these premises in a very compelling way. But, of course, they are very controversial.

[3] These topics have been developed with different degrees of profundity in many of the articles published in the last decade. A pioneer article which offers a provoking agenda is “Music and the Internet” by Steve Jones (2000). Additionally, several articles on the subject can be found in the book *New Media, Old Media: a history and theory reader*, published by Wendy Hui Kyong Chum and Thomas W. Keenan (2006). Also, a paper with a strong theoretical content with regard to the accessibility and formation of the archives can be consulted: “Envisioning the Archival Commons” by Scott Anderson and Robert Allen (2009).
[4] The recordings on wax cylinders by Koppers and Gusinde appear in the Phonogramm-Archiv in Berlin as “Koppers Feuerland” and “Gusinde Feuerland”, respectively. The first one corresponds to the recordings made in 1922 and the second to those made in 1923. The reading of documents from different sources suggests that both correspond to Gusinde despite the fact that the first one bears the name of Koppers (Wilhelm Koppers accompanied Gusinde on his third journey to Tierra del Fuego). The reasons for the existence of a labelling which might be equivocal are still difficult to elucidate, and approaching them exceeds the limits of this contribution.
[5] I approached this topic with more detail in García 2012 (Chapters 4 and 5).
[6] Anthony Seeger clearly expressed the importance of the researcher’s theoretical perspective in the conformation of the field-recording based archives: “Field researchers are not omniscient, and field collections are compromised (as well as strengthened) by the assumptions and theoretical perspectives of the fields for which they were prepared.” (1999: 2)
[7] It is possible to find more information about Lehmann-Nitsche’s work in García 2009 and García and Chicote 2008.
[8] The whole book *Otra memoria es posible*, by García Gutiérrez (2004), is based on this idea.
[9] The unfinished character of archives is currently being taken into consideration by a few authors (for instance, see Ernst 2006). After the presentation of the ideas contained in this article, Verne Harris also gives a report of such character: “Notwithstanding the fantasy of a comprehensive, complete archive, always an archive is an assemblage of fragments […] there are dynamics of both inclusion and exclusion.” (2015: 10).

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CHAPTER TWO

INSTITUTIONALISING AND MATERIALISING MUSIC THROUGH SOUND SOURCES: THE CASE OF BRUCE BASTIN'S *FADO* COLLECTION IN PORTUGAL

SUSANA SARDO

On the 27th of November 2011, UNESCO approved the inscription of the Portuguese musical genre *fado* on the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. At the core of the submission of fado to the UNESCO committee—which was approved by the Municipality of Lisbon on the 12th of May 2004—was a particular collection of 78 rpm discs, recorded during the first half of the 20th century, that included recordings virtually forgotten for almost 50 years. This collection was "discovered" outside Portugal in 1993 by a Portuguese collector. From the moment it was recognised as "Portuguese patrimony" by the official entities, the collection underwent a very interesting process of transformation according to the ways in which it was regarded by different agents and addressed by distinct discourses. Within this process of conceptual metamorphoses are the voices and speeches of politicians, music collectors, scholars, journalists and fado singers (fadistas[1]). This paper intends to analyse the historical process through which the collection of commercial recordings was "repatriated" and institutionalised in Portugal and will address the following question: which kind of transformations can occur to a set of discs when it becomes an archive for the collective memory of a community?[2]

One of the key concepts used in this paper is that of the archive. In this sense, and because the term archive has been gradually re-semantised,[3] it is important to clarify my approach when addressing the concept. As Derrida emphasises, "nothing is less clear today than the word 'archive'" (1995: 57), especially because it has been expanded from a very narrow

domain related to a place for lodging primary sources to a polysemic one defined by a set of rules related to a "general system of the formation and transformation of statements" (Foucault 1972: 130), when conceiving the system of statements both as events or things (ibid). According to Foucault, an archive "reveals the rules of a practice that enables statements both to survive and to undergo regular modification" (ibid). In this sense, I would endorse the very open proposal of Foucault and also the main idea of Derrida when referring to an archive as a place for the domiciliation and consignation of memory (1995). Within this framework, a collection of discs can be recognised both as a system of revealed statements as well as a place where memory can be guarded once identified by people as part of their own personal and collective archive. This is the case of the collection of fado 78 rpm discs, historically appointed by different sources as "the fado archive", which will be analysed in this text.

Fado as immaterial knowledge

Fado is a popular urban song genre that, according to the musicologist Rui Vieira Nery, "was developed in Lisbon from the 1830s on" (Nery 2010: 433, author's free translation). In spite of being disseminated throughout the country and also in the Portuguese emigrant communities settled in different parts of the world (e.g., Brazil, the USA, France, Germany, Australia and Canada), its related origin to Lisbon creates a special relationship with the Portuguese political capital as a place where fado performance is validated. The performance of "classical" fado comprises a male or a female solo singer, and the instrumental accompaniment of a Portuguese guitar[4] and an acoustic guitar. However, since the 1970s, fado has been exposed to extensive changes, especially in relation to the instrumental arrangement. In some cases it was labelled according to different styles, acquiring names like "symphonic fado" or "fado ladino", or even denouncing its admission in the field of world music with "samba-fado", "fado jazz" or even "fado-raga".

Fado is transmitted through a very strong oral tradition. As expressed in the file presented to UNESCO in order to propose fado as Intangible Cultural Heritage

> The genre is based on a widespread amateur practice of informal performance from which emerge the majority of its professional practitioners, but there is a permanent interaction between these two circles. Young performers, both singers and players, usually come from an informal, orally transmitted training which takes place in the traditional performance spaces (neighbourhood associations and Fado houses), and

> often in successive generations in the same families. Informal tuition by older, respected exponents is a key element in this process of transmitting and reprocessing (AAVV 2011: 4).

Several myths of origin about fado, which I will not discuss here, have been very important in creating a kind of free imaginary by relating fado to Africa, Brazil, rural Portugal, dance, underground environments or particular characters, thus generating a singular knowledge universe about the performance of fado and the figure of the fadista. This transforms fado into a polysemic performance, which includes historical and immaterial knowledge, beyond music, based on the overlap of written and oral discourses. Using the proposal of Homi Bhabha applied to postcolonial cultures, we may say that fado has been conceived as an “in-between” performance genre, always travelling within Portugal and abroad, in Lisbon and other Portuguese cartographies, in the rural and the urban context, in the popular and the aristocratic social environment, and even as an object of representation for artists, writers and poets at the same time that it was described by local ethnographers, oral poets and artisans. Furthermore, two landmarks centred on the imaginary created around two people, which defined fado performance as we know it today. Those people are the fadistas Maria Severa Onofriana (1820–48) and Amália Rodrigues (1920–99).

The first, historically known as Severa, was described by the Portuguese poet Sousa do Casacão in the lyrics of the fado “A Severa” (1848), which was transcribed for the first time by the Portuguese writer and politician Teófilo Braga in *Cancioneiro de Músicas Populares* (1867) and recorded in 1908 by the singer Avelino Baptista (ODEON 43044). Following Casacão’s text, several written speeches produced by journalists, writers, historians or ethnographers provided overlapping layers of information about the image of Severa, transforming her into a sort of human representation of fado. José Malhoa’s painting, *O Fado* (1910), which represents Severa as a sensual prostitute (allowing the black shawl to show her body), inspired female fadistas and created a kind of compulsive obligation to wear a black shawl during a fado performance. Severa was also the theme of the first Portuguese sound film, directed by José Leitão de Barros (1896–1967), with music composed by Frederico de Freitas (1902–1980) and based on the script of the writer and intellectual Júlio Dantas (1876–1962), who in 1901 produced a novel of the same name. In these last cases, Severa is fancifully represented as a gypsy woman (Colvin 2010: 159) who, once romantically involved with a Portuguese earl, can access the aristocratic palaces thus allowing fado to be performed outside the taverns.

Fig. 2-1 Maria Severa Onofriana. Illustration by Pedro Sousa Pereira, design by Inês d'Almeida da Gama (2014), over José Malhoa's painting

Amália Rodrigues, the second landmark for fado performance, released her first recording, "As Penas", in 1945 in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (CONTINENTAL 2002). This was the beginning of a life-long national and international career through which she created a new style for fado that remains almost untouchable up to today. Described as "the queen of *fado*" in different discourses, she remains "the model" for women fadistas who intend to recreate her performance style and her voice. As Rui Vieira Nery points out

> [Amália] had a decisive influence in reshaping the cultural conventions for fado performance, from the systematic use of the black shawl and dress, the positioning in front of the guitar players, and the use of a particular gestural language: dropping the head back, swaying with the melodic phrasing, the eyes half open, the hands in prayer and the arms open to accompany the climax of the final performance. (Nery 2010a: 1137, author's free translation)

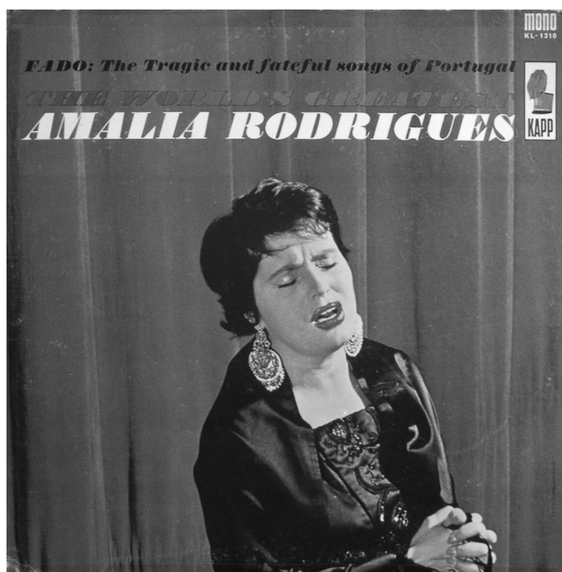

Fig. 2-2 Cover of the LP *Amália Rodrigues: The World's Greatest* edited in USA by KAPP in 1963 (KL-1310). The image very well represents the expression of suffering and faith iconised by Amália.

We may say that the inter-textual dimension of fado defines an immaterial knowledge that decides the performance, the way that fadistas are recognised and how they represent themselves both on the stage and in real life. The expression frequently evoked by the fadistas—or even by fado lovers—defining fado as "a way of life" or "a way of being" reinforces this dimension of cumulative knowledge beyond sound, which is especially visible in the act of performance. In the words of Salwa Castelo-Branco (1994: 125)

> Fado public performances are complex cultural happenings that are structured by the interaction of general aspects, like the social and political context, and specific aspects, like the occasion of performance, the repertoire, the performers, the public and the rules that lead the performance (author's free translation).

I would add to these topographies the possible historical understanding, which was built up through processes of exhibition and hiding and transformed fado into a polyphonic knowledge—in the sense proposed by Bakhtin—eminently oral and centralised in the city of Lisbon.

The "discovery" in 1993 of the disc collection revisited in this paper, which was recorded during the first half of the 20th century in Portugal and abroad, inscribed new voices into this constellation of knowledge and anticipated other statements (*ennoncées*) for fado. Therefore, fado acquired another cartography: it was transformed into a national cause, incorporated institutional arguments and was materialised in a discographic form.

Bruce Bastin and the collection of 78 rpm fado discs—treasuring silenced recordings[5]

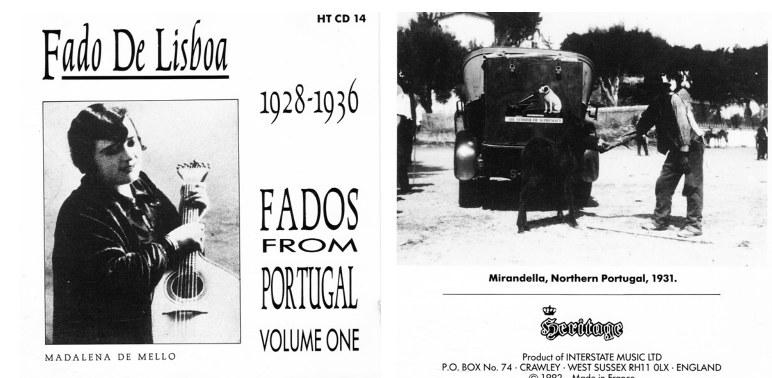

Fig. 2-3 Cover and back cover of the CD *Fados from Portugal* published by Interstate Music Lda – HT CD14 (London 1992)

In 1993, the Portuguese collector and editor José Moças found a commercial CD called *Fados from Portugal 1928/1936* in London (Fig. 3). In his own words, this was "a very curious happening!" (Moças 2012). In fact, all the repertory on fado recorded in Portugal or abroad during the first half of the century was completely unknown to the Portuguese due to two main factors: (1) As Portugal never had a sound archive, there is no law for music storage. Consequently, all the recordings registered and even released in Portugal did not necessarily remain in the country; (2) The fadista Amália Rodrigues, whose first recording was published in 1945, established a performative style for fado—vocal, visual and emotional—that somehow overshadowed almost all the singers before her, and conditioned the way new fadistas were promoted or excluded. This situation created a lapse of information for 50 years that transformed the London episode into a kind of extraordinary discovery, amplified by the fact that the oldest recordings of fado were found outside Portugal.

The Portuguese editor quickly tried to find out the origin of the recordings and got in touch with Bruce Bastin, a British folklorist and music collector who, in 1988, had bought in Portugal a 78 rpm collection of 2,500 discs (5,000 recordings), which had been stored in a warehouse near the northern city of Porto. Those discs were recorded in Portugal and also abroad by Portuguese emigrants. They were edited by His Master`s Voice, Columbia, Homocord, Victor and Grammophone between 1902 and 1945, and included fado and "teatro de revista" (a musical theatre genre of political satire).

At the time, the biggest collection of 78 rpm discs known in Portugal was comprised of 1,300 recordings, which were stored at the National Museum of Theatre in Lisbon, featuring, in particular, music from the revista genre of politically satirical musical theatre. In this sense, Bastin's collection represented the most important archival unit on fado and other Portuguese urban music. In 2001, after several attempts to convince Bruce Bastin to sell the editorial rights to Portugal, the Portuguese editor José Moças—whom the press has dubbed "the discoverer"—was authorised by the Portuguese government to initiate formal contact with Bruce Bastin and prepare for the acquisition of the entire collection. This was the beginning of nine years of negotiation between Bastin and Portuguese officials—including the Ministry of Culture and the Municipality of Lisbon—for whom the acquisition of the collection constituted a national duty.

However, the high price of the discs—1.1 million euro—represented a problem for the officials. Therefore, the Ministry of Culture nominated a commission of experts—musicologists, anthropologists and ethnomusicologists—to scientifically validate the collection. Consequently, between 2001 and 2007, Portugal witnessed a long public discussion about this process, promoted by the mass media. Suddenly, the music registered on those discs—and the discs themselves—was transformed into a "treasure". We may say that it was monumentalised (Le Goff 1990) and conceived as something that belongs to Portuguese patrimony because it represents our cultural memory. In 2003, an important Portuguese weekly newspaper reported on the collection with the following words

> Somewhere outside London there is a treasure trove of incalculable value for the memory of fado and Portuguese music of the twentieth century, waiting for official green light to return home: a private collection of around 5,000 unreleased recordings (predominantly fado but also politically satirical musical theatre repertoire, traditional folk music and "historical enactments"), including the earliest recordings of fado, from 1904, which were lost until now. (Lisboa 2003: 1, author's free translation)

In fact, all the speeches about the collection referred to it through expressions of monumentalisation like: “the biggest in the world”, “our cultural memory”, “an inestimable treasure”, “essential for our history”, “a precious piece”, “a rare specimen”, etc. The information relating to the number of recordings was extremely variable, ranging between 900 and 10,000. This depended on the reference to the support type, the number of recorded tracks, the discs exclusively dedicated to fado, and the difference between Bastin’s original and the upgraded collection that was gradually completed following the interest of the acquisition. A long discussion about the concept of the phonogram was developed in the newspapers in order to determine if the word refers to a musical support (wax cylinder, magnetic tape, 78 rpm, etc.) or to a track on a disc. And gradually, due to the way in which the mass media followed and emphasised the subject, a kind of a national conscience emerged, generating a citizens’ movement to force the government to buy the fado collection. In 2003, one of the more important Portuguese newspapers provoked its readers as follows

> Is fado ours? Yes, it is. But it is a vassal of His Majesty, Bruce Bastin, a collector who has an important part of it (…). In those five thousand copies, the origin of fado is printed. It’s a question of soul! Our soul! (Magalhães 2003: 1, author’s free translation)

From that moment, fado became a national cause. This gave rise to a national citizenship movement in order to obtain the amount to buy the collection. At least three public initiatives were distinguished:

(1) In 2004, the municipality of Coimbra—which maintains a very important tradition of fado—created the “Heart Operation”, asking its citizens for donations in order to guarantee a contribution of €150, 000.
(2) In the same year, one of the most representative national newspapers (*O Público*), edited a collection of 20 fado CDs, which were sold alongside its weekly edition for €6.50, of which 60 cents were designated for buying Bastin’s collection.
(3) On the 8th of June, 2005, a gala for the celebration of fado took place in the historical Estoril Casino, charging €125 per admission. One important Porto wine producer and the Raymond Weill watch trade produced a limited collection of their products to be sold during the gala with the label “100 years of fado”. Several fadistas sang for free during the gala and it was broadcast on national television. During the live broadcast, national television reported a

> bank account number where the Portuguese could deposit donations towards purchasing the collection.

On the 19th of September, 2006, the Ministry of Culture, the Municipality of Lisbon and EGEAC (a public company responsible for the Fado Museum) signed an official agreement for the joint management of the collection after its acquisition. During the ceremony, which took place in the Fado Museum, the Ministry of Culture announced the creation of a National Sound Archive—a project that has not yet been implemented — in order to receive the discs. In the official text of the protocol, the collection is presented as "a singular source for the knowledge of an important part of music history and culture of the twentieth century in Portugal" (Ministério da Cultura 2006, author's free translation). Finally, on December 21st, 2007, the acquisition agreement with Bruce Bastin was signed and during the year of 2009, the collection was transferred to Portugal and stored in the Fado Museum where it has been digitised under the supervision of the Institute of Ethnomusicology.

Throughout the long process over the 14 years since the collection was "discovered" in London by the Portuguese editor José Moças until its acquisition by the Portuguese officials, the collection's value was the subject of multiple and even antagonistic enouncements. However, when in May 2004 the president of the Lisbon Municipality officially announced the intention to submit fado to the UNESCO Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity, the collection acquired a superior value as an important argument for the application, and its acquisition became irreversible. In the words of the president of the UNESCO Application Commission—the musicologist Rui Vieira Nery who was, at the same time, one of the members of the committee to evaluate Bruce Bastin's records—the collection was

> an invaluable contribution to the UNESCO's submission. It represents the centrepiece of declaring fado as Immaterial Heritage of Humanity because one of the requirements is precisely to show that Portugal is making efforts for the preservation and study of fado patrimony (Património da Humanidade 2005, author's free translation).

In fact, due to the absence of relevant sound documents related to fado, the Bastin collection—after its purchase, it was called "the fado archives"—was the strongest documental piece to justify the candidature. On November 27th, 2011, exactly 10 years after the first efforts to acquire the "fado archives", UNESCO declared fado as Immaterial Heritage of Humanity.

Fig. 2-4 Bruce Bastin's collection after arriving in Portugal in 2009. Photo: José Moças

Institutionalising and materialising music through sound sources: desired objects, imagined music

I now return to my original question: what kind of transformation can occur to a set of discs when it becomes an archive? To answer this question, we must focus on three universes of signification: the discs as an object, the music registered on the discs and the knowledge produced by different agents and speeches about both universes (the inter-subjective knowledge).

The discs acquired different status over the years: they were recorded between 1902 and 1945[6] as commercial and sophisticated objects; between 1949 and 1988, they were transformed into a set of "things" stowed in a warehouse in Porto; in 1988 they became Bruce Bastin's private collection; after 1993 they were discovered by a Portuguese editor and transformed into the "Bruce Bastin Collection"; between 2003 and 2007, through a process of institutionalisation, they became the "Fado Archive".

The music was recorded between 1902 and 1945 as a way to promote Portuguese fadistas; between 1950 and 2003, it was completely forgotten and smashed by the Amália phenomena; after 2003 it acquired the status

of historical memory, materialised in disc form and imagined as the voice of the ancestors, who were supposed to represent the real and the original fado; in 2011 it was converted into an object of research and preservation. This was a condition that validated the UNESCO title of Intangible Patrimony of Humanity.

All of the above transformations were shaped by different discourses produced by politicians, collectors, journalists, academics, institutions and public opinion. In fact, the news about Bastin's collection arrived in Portugal as a double surprise: firstly, the Portuguese (including institutions and individuals) were then realising that 78 rpm discs, in spite of being commercial resources, could be considered important historical sources and, consequently, archives. Furthermore, they seemed to reveal a world prior to Amália, offering fado a place of heroism and ancestry that could be listened to instead of remaining imagined. As a consequence, fantastic and glorious discourses about Bruce Bastin's discs, produced by journalists, musicologists, anthropologists and politicians, suddenly transformed the collection into a "document monument", according to the proposal of Jacques Le Goff (1990). Through those discourses, the collection became the materialisation of fado's history. Its importance lies especially in the evidence of its existence more so than in the effective knowledge of its contents. Even so, Portugal testified a national civil movement in defence of the collection, which led to its institutionalisation and finally to the development of an institutional and national conscience of the importance of recorded sound as a testimony of an historical memory. In a certain way, the fado archive represented a Lieux de Memoire as defined by Pierre de Nora. Nora assumes that

> Lieux de mémoire are created by a play of memory and history, an interaction of two factors that results in their reciprocal over-determination. (…) if we accept that the most fundamental purpose of the lieux de mémoire is to stop time, to block the work of forgetting, to establish a state of things, to immortalize the dead, to materialize the immaterial—just as if gold were the only memory of money—all of this in order to capture a maximum of meaning in the fewest of signs, it is also clear that lieux de mémoire only exist because of their capacity for metamorphosis, an endless recycling of their meaning and an unpredictable proliferation of their ramifications. (Nora 1989: 19)

In the aftermath of the nomination of fado as UNESCO Intangible Heritage—for which the collection of fado was vital—public opinion is now appealing for another archive of fado: they want to know what is stored on those discs, and are requesting the "deinstitutionalisation" of the

collection, the re-materialisation of fado into free access digital sound files, in order to transform the "archive of fado" into an "archive for all". And this is, probably, the beginning of a new journey for the "archive of fado", shaped by a new public conscience about the concept of archive, information and collective memory.

Notes

[1] The word *fadista* refers to the fado singers. I would like to use the term in Portuguese as it incorporates a set of attributes which includes performative vocal skills, oral discourses about fado, public social behavior and a process of music embodiment beyond the act of singing, comprising the responsibility to represent a collective memory and a history of fado.
[2] I will use the concept of community proposed in the report of the Expert Meeting on Community Involvement in Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage, held in Tokyo, Japan, 13–15 March 2006. According to the document, communities are "(…) networks of people whose sense of identity or connectedness emerges from a shared historical relationship that is rooted in the practice and transmission of, or engagement with, their ICH".
(Source: http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001459/145919e.pdf).
[3] A broad discussion about the term "archive" can be found in the paper of Marlene Manoff (2004) "Theories of the Archive from Across the Disciplines".
[4] The Portuguese guitar is a pear-shaped string instrument, of the cittern family, with twelve wire strings. This guitar acquires at least two different forms in Portugal, and also two names: the "Lisbon guitar" and the "Coimbra guitar". These two guitars present different tunings and also particular distinctions in shape and style of performance. In the case of the Lisbon guitar, it is used to accompany "fado de Lisboa" while the Coimbra guitar accompanies "Canção de Coimbra"—also called "fado de Coimbra"—and is also used for single instrumental music, the "guitarrada".
[5] The historical information for this paper is based on an interview with José Moças on January 29, 2012, and on the analyses of several written sources, which includes a press dossier also organized by Moças. I wish to thank José Moças for his personal willingness and help in making his own archival materials available.
[6] I refer to the original collection of recordings bought by Bruce Bastin in Portugal. In fact, due to the work of José Moças to complete the collection, at the time of its acquisition, the time lapse represented by the recordings was from 1900–1949.

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CHAPTER THREE

78 RPM RECORDS AS A SOURCE FOR ETHNOMUSICOLOGY AND FOLKLORE RESEARCH: EXPERIENCES FROM SLOVENIA

DRAGO KUNEJ

Introduction

Until recently, audio material on gramophone records was largely overlooked by ethnomusicologists, folklorists and anthropologists both in Slovenia and abroad. The production of 78 rpm records ended in most countries during the late 1950s and due to the outdated sound format of the medium and the predominance of modern sound formats, audio content from old records is difficult to obtain. These recordings were unknown to both folk music researchers and to the general public, and have only recently attracted interest as listening and research material.

There is a growing awareness at the ZRC SAZU, Institute of Ethnomusicology in Ljubljana (Slovenia), that this kind of audio material represents a valuable scholarly resource. The Institute has launched a research project with the basic goal of gathering information on audio recordings of Slovenian folk material from 78 rpm gramophone records and studying it from the perspectives of ethnomusicology, ethnochoreology and folklore. The project represents an expansion and a more thorough treatment of existing studies on the first sound recordings of Slovenian folk music, and highlights sound recordings from old 78 rpm gramophone records as a source for academic studies. Until now, Slovenian folklore studies and ethnomusicology did not consider these records a relevant scholarly resource that could help in investigating—and building a picture of—Slovenian folk music in the past.

The article introduces the project, the first of its kind in Slovenia, and discusses old 78 rpm gramophone records as an important scholarly resource. The first results of the research have already uncovered new scientific knowledge while also demonstrating that only a multidisciplinary approach to studying historical audio sources of traditional music can provide reliable resources for study.

Basic characteristics of 78 rpm records as sound sources

The study of folk music based on sound recordings offers several advantages compared to transcription-based study. Specifically, sound recordings allow one to perceive music in the most basic way: listening. The considerable limitations and incompleteness of musical notation offer only a basic and incomplete representation of music and sound because the essence of sound is missing: the actual sound itself, with all the details of its interpretation, dynamics, tempo, timbre and so on. However, a sound recording is not a complete scholarly resource either because the perception and understanding of music is affected by many technical and methodological recording factors (cf. Schüller 1992, 1994)—as well as acoustic, psychological and sociological factors—when playing back recorded material (cf. Blaukopf 1993). This is especially true for early recordings in ethnomusicology. Because of the limited technical capabilities of the first recording devices and today's lack of technology and expertise for playing back and interpreting early sound recordings, these can represent a deficient, or even misleading, scholarly resource (cf. Kunej D. 2008). Important tasks for the researcher include becoming familiar with the technical characteristics, methodological processes and conditions of the time at which early recordings were made, and trying to assess and take into account various factors that may have affected them. For early sound recordings, which are today largely available to researchers for analyses in the form of (digital) copies made from original carriers, it is also important to be aware of the technical parameters and the process of playing back and re-recording the original sound medium because this has a decisive impact on what is heard on the recording (cf. Bradley 2009).

Gramophone records were sold in large numbers and so it is possible to find and obtain multiple copies of a particular performance. On the other hand, the recordings of a single performer or a certain musical genre were not usually collected in one place as they would mostly be collections of field recordings within other kinds of research archives. So it is necessary to track them down, make a list of them, determine the circumstances of

their recording, establish the identity of all of the performers and any other technical or content-related information and, finally, to obtain the recordings themselves. This can be very protracted and time-consuming work because these records are scattered across the globe, and many have been lost or destroyed. It is also difficult to obtain precise information about such recordings, especially for study and research, because the purpose of issuing the records was not a “documentary” recording. It was for the satisfaction of musical, aesthetic and other needs of listeners and, more importantly, the generation of profit from sales. The records therefore have only the most basic information about their content and performers printed on their labels, and further information is difficult to obtain.

One key phase in this research is therefore researching the quantity, location and condition of audio material and searching for accompanying metadata. With the help of different written sources and literature (e.g., catalogues, discographies, newspapers advertising, etc.), field studies, the collections of various institutions and private collectors and so on, it is necessary to first produce a basic list of 78 rpm gramophone recordings. Based on this list (a discography), it is necessary to study the specifics of the material, such as its quantity and condition, and to determine where individual recordings are to be found. This is followed by the process of acquiring audio carriers (gramophone records) or copies of recorded sound material.

In parallel to studying the quantity and location of audio material, its collection, as well as the acquisition of metadata to accompany the sound recordings, has to take place. The accompanying information on content, performers, recording circumstances, technical details and so on may also be found separate from the recordings, in different places and institutions to the sound recordings themselves. Therefore, looking for, collecting and acquiring it may be more complicated and time-consuming than obtaining the audio material itself. It is necessary to emphasise that detailed, comprehensive and systematic study of material recorded on historical audio carriers is possible only through good knowledge of any available accompanying information as this can make a decisive contribution to the proper playback of mechanical carriers using modern equipment (cf. Bradley 2009). The information accompanying the recordings therefore has a direct impact on their listening and interpretation of the sound recording.

For example, the perception and understanding of recorded music is affected by many technical and methodological recording factors as well as acoustic, psychological and sociological factors determined by the

situation in which the recorded material is played back. From today's perspective, historical recordings usually have poor technical quality. The recorded sound is therefore considerably impaired and acoustically coloured.[1]

In song recordings the lyrics are often difficult to understand, and in instrumental recordings, it is difficult to recognise the instruments. In addition, the recordings are often distorted. The manner of recording itself did not allow dynamics in the performance because for a good recording it was necessary to have a fairly strong, uniform sound source. The poor sensitivity of historical recording devices makes it impossible to hear reverberation or the acoustics of the room on these recordings, which creates a rather isolated, empty unnatural sound during playback. Technical imperfections (e.g., the rather poor sensitivity of the device and the limitation of the length to between two and four minutes) often led to methodological drawbacks in recordings. As a result, the performers had to be close to the horn or microphone and stand still during recording. In addition, the performance had to be relatively loud and clear. All of these factors define the auditory impression of the recorded material (cf. Kunej D. 2008, Copeland 2008, Bradley 2009).

It is also necessary to emphasise the fact that mechanical carriers are gradually worn down each time they are played; this was especially evident when they were played back on the original devices with acoustic pick-ups, which pressed relatively heavily into the groove. Therefore, using the best copy[2] (original carriers in best conditions), appropriately cleaned and mechanically restored, replayed with the most appropriate equipment and settings and with the greatest possible knowledge, experience and accompanying information, could provide the best sound quality of the recorded material, which could serve as good scholarly resources.

Slovenian folk music on records

As mentioned above, before the research project, commercial 78 rpm gramophone records of Slovenian musical culture were almost unknown to the Slovenian public and music researchers alike. It has been impossible to find any publications, analyses or studies that include such recordings. Gramophone recordings of Slovenian music have not yet been studied from musicological, ethnomusicological and folkloristic perspectives. Likewise, Slovenians do not have a detailed discography of commercially recorded material from the period during which gramophone records were made. There are no 78 rpm record collectors in Slovenia so it is very

difficult to find individual copies of these records in Slovenia. Only a few individuals, and a few antique collectors, may have an old record, perhaps with Slovenian music on it, among other items at home. Some records of this type are stored in the music collections of the National and University Library, the Technical Museum of Slovenia and the Slovenian Ethnographic Museum, while a few records are also kept in the archives of Radio Slovenija and the ZRC SAZU Institute of Ethnomusicology in Ljubljana.

The basic goal of the project is therefore to prepare, in cooperation with sound archives and various institutions both in Slovenia and in other countries, an overview (or discography) of the first Slovenian folk sound recordings on gramophone records, with accompanying ethnological, historical, technical and other documentation (metadata). And, with the help of experts in various areas (ethnomusicologists, musicologists, folklore scholars, ethnochoreologists, ethnologists, anthropologists, historians etc.), to assess the historic, aesthetic, ethnological, anthropological, acoustic, technical and other circumstances that shaped these sound recordings and influenced the selection and performance of the recorded material. Based on the collected sources and accompanying information (content, performers, recording conditions, etc.), as well as on the study of their historical background and technical analysis, guidelines could be established for the contemporary reproduction, use and scholarly study of this historical sound material. This will allow researchers from various disciplines to use the collected and processed recordings as an appropriate resource.

The era of Slovenian music recorded on 78 rpm gramophone records can be chronologically classified in several ways. However, it makes sense to focus on division into two basic periods, based on developments in technology: firstly, recordings made acoustically (until ca. 1925) and, secondly, recordings made with the use of electricity. Technological development also introduced great changes in performance practice, ensemble structure, the methodological approach, recording aesthetics and other areas. This is all reflected in the recorded material and the marketing of records.

During the first period, recordings were made without the benefit of electronic amplification and the sound quality (fidelity) was quite inferior by later standards. The sound from some instruments, such as violins, could not be adequately detected unless the instruments were modified to concentrate the sound. Furthermore, it was difficult to record large orchestras—a limited number of musicians could be gotten close to the horns. As a result, one instrument, or just a few instruments, accompanied

most of the early Slovenian singers, and only small instrumental groups were recorded. The second period began around 1925, when the so-called "electrical process" was introduced. This recording process allowed for the use of microphones, electronic amplification and electromagnetic recording heads. The result was a great improvement in fidelity over the acoustic process and provided the capability of recording large orchestras. New technology also influenced the musical styles of a new generation of artists.

Slovenian recordings could also be further divided into two large groups according to the location of recording sessions: firstly, recordings made in Ljubljana and other European cities and, secondly, recordings of Slovenian immigrants in the U.S. This division is also based on the recorded material's characteristics, although many recordings were marketed globally and grew beyond ethnic and geographic borders.

1. Slovenian records made in Europe

The most significant Slovenian 78 rpm recordings made in Ljubljana and other European cities were recorded in the acoustic period. Slovenian recordings from that period have been preserved on different labels, such as Gramophone Co., Zonophone, Dacapo, Odeon, Jumbo, Jumbola, Homokord, Favorite, Kalliope, Lyrphon, Parlophon, Pathé and others. Recording engineers from some of the most important European gramophone companies made several recordings in Ljubljana and consequently published a large amount of Slovenian material under different labels. Thus, a recording engineer, Max Hampe from the Gramophone Co. (Britain), recorded in Ljubljana three times, for example, in 1908, 1909 and 1910 (cf. Kelly 1995). Similarly, the German company Favorite had two recording sessions in Ljubljana in 1910 and 1911 (cf. Lotz and Englund 2011). Soon after these recording sessions were completed, recordings of well-known Slovenian artists of the time were introduced to the Slovenian market. Based on the matrix numbers and with the help of newspaper advertisements, we can estimate that between 1908 and 1910, Max Hampe made about 160 recordings in Ljubljana. Judging by the newspaper advertisements, there are 40 recordings of Slovenian performers, which were issued on 20 double-sided Favorite records in 1910 (cf. Slovenec 1910: 2). A comparison with the matrix numbers system indicates that there might be more of such recordings, however, either not all of them were published or they might not have represented Slovenian music. A similar amount of Slovenian material was also recorded and issued by Favorite the following year.

A relatively large number of recordings also meant a varied selection of performers. Some of the artists who very often recorded gramophone records for different companies and labels of that time were: Singers of the cultural society “Glasbena matica” from Ljubljana; “Kvartet pevcev Glasbene matice” (Singers Quartet of Glasbena Matica) from Ljubljana;[3] the instrumental group “Slovenska kmečka godba” (the Slovenian Peasant Band); actors Anton Danilo, Josip Povhe and Anton Verovšek from a Ljubljana theatre; operetta singer and actress Irma Polak from Zagreb; different military and marching bands from Ljubljana and others.

In the period between the two world wars, many Slovenian records were recorded and issued by the company Edison Bell Penkala (EBP). The company was established in 1926 in Zagreb (Croatia) as a branch of the London-based company. Zagreb, as the centre of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SHS), had a good strategic and geographic location for the dissemination of records to the South-East European and Middle Eastern markets. In 1927, EBP began its own recordings in the recording studio where, from the beginning, new technology with an electrical recording process was used. The company operated successfully until 1937, when it declared bankruptcy. After WWII, a new gramophone company, Jugoton, was established, based on the EBP equipment.

The recordings of the EBP also reflect the intertwinement of the geographic and cultural environment of the Slovenians and Croatians. Various Croatian artists included Slovenian songs in their repertoires, which were also popular and in demand in the Croatian environment. These performers often had experience with the Slovenian music heritage as they performed in Slovenia as well. The Slovenians who were active in the Croatian cultural environment also played an important role in the intertwining of cultures. Slovenian tenors were very popular in Croatian opera, but we have to emphasise the work of the Slovenian soprano, Irma Polak. She recorded a large number of records, which predominantly included her hits from the opera and operetta repertoire. Still, her recordings also include several Slovenian folk songs.

From preserved recordings, catalogues and other lists and data sources, it could be concluded that many folk songs, or folk song arrangements and instrumental pieces with folk character, were recorded (cf. Rasberger 1930). Slovenian music was recorded also in Vienna (Austria), Berlin (Germany) and other European places where numerous Slovenian artists appeared. Slovenian music was also recorded by musicians from other (Slavic) nations. Most of this recorded material includes folk songs and music (cf. Edison Bell Penkala 1927, Staklarević 1997).

Many of the recordings made in Europe were later reissued and also made available to the USA market. For example, a considerable amount of Slovenian material was included relatively early in the Columbia E6000 catalogues series (cf. Numerical … 1919). The preserved records from this series prove that this was often reissued material which had been recorded in Europe. Among them there are also Favorite recordings made in 1910 in Ljubljana. This is clearly seen from the original matrix and catalogue numbers of the Favorite company, engraved into the records next to the Columbia label.

Fig. 3-1 The reissued label of a Favorite record titled *Fantovski nabor* by the "Kvartet pevcev Glasbene matice" recorded 1910 in Ljubljana. (Courtesy of Charles F. Debevec)

2. Recordings of Slovenian immigrants made in the USA

There were a large number of immigrants, primarily Europeans, in the United States at the beginning of the 20th century. The American music industry saw great potential for record sales and began recording music for "foreign-speaking" customers. In the era of 78 rpm records, various recordings aimed at immigrants were issued in their thousands. European subsidiaries of American gramophone companies would also often purchase these recordings for production and sale in Europe. While recording specialists from the Gramophone Co. travelled throughout

European and Asian lands seeking local artists, agents from the Victor and Columbia companies searched for musicians among the immigrants to New York and recorded their music in their languages. They began by issuing recordings of national anthems and other very well-known European songs that they recorded with the accompaniment of studio orchestras. To these they later added recordings of folk, and otherwise popularised, songs as well as recordings of performers playing characteristic folk instruments. The success of these early records resulted in record companies issuing more recordings of "original" folk music and advertising them in their catalogues of "foreign" records. These recordings were created primarily in response to demand from immigrants from rural parts of Europe that had settled in the United States and wanted to use records to help stay in touch with their homeland and their culture (cf. Spootswood 1982, Gronow 1982, Gronow and Saunio 1998).

Slovenian immigrants to the United States represented a good market, and a few of their own performers made records there. As they had done for immigrants from other countries, large record companies produced Slovenian-language catalogues of records by Slovenian performers for Slovenian listeners. In doing so they were largely counting on immigrant nostalgia for their homeland and hoping that this would increase record and gramophone sales. For example, the 1925 catalogue *Victorjevi Recordi v Slovenščini* (Victor Records in Slovenian), which especially emphasised that it contained all of the Slovenian records issued by the company up to January 1925, starts out by stating that

> With the help of Victor, you can hear the music of your native land and enjoy the best and most beautiful sounds of the land where you were born. Refresh your memories of the distant days of your youth in a far-off homeland. The songs that you sang and the music that you danced to is sung and played here by the best and most popular artists, your fellow countrymen. (Victorjevi Recordi v Slovenščini 1925: 1)

Of course, it also continues with an invitation to listen to and buy other recordings: "Whenever you like, you can hear how the best singers and musicians of all lands produce the greatest music of all time" and at the end immodestly adds, "There is hardly any song or piece of music that has been performed that you and your friends cannot enjoy if you have a Victor Victrola in your home," thus also advertising their Victrola gramophone.

That is why the Slovenes have a relatively large number of commercial 78 rpm gramophone records that document Slovene folk music and were recorded among Slovene immigrants to North America, primarily in the

1920s and 1930s. Many of these recordings were also reissued in England and sold in Europe, especially on the Slovene market (cf. Glavni katalog Columbia 1932).

The extensive publication *Ethnic Music on Records* (Spottswood 1990) indicates that between 1893 and 1942, nearly 600 recordings of Slovenian "folk" music were made by 44 different performers. These recordings were primarily various adaptations of folk songs and instrumental music, as well as some folkdance melodies played on the accordion or by small ensembles. Early recorded songs from the mid- to late 1910s often reflected longing for the native country and a family left behind, as well as impressions about the "new homeland" – America; e.g., "Moj mili kraj" (My Sweet Hometown), "Na tujih tleh" (On Foreign Soil), "Kranjica v Ameriki" (Kranjica in America), "Jezična Zofka v Coney Island" (Zofka the Chatterbox in Coney Island). But many well-known Slovenian folk songs were also recorded. For example, "Barčica po morju plava" (A Boat Sails on the Sea), "Bratci veseli vsi" (All the Happy Brothers), "Regiment po cesti gre" (The Regiment is on the March), "Pojdmo na Štajersko" (Let's Go to Štajerska) and so on. From 1923 onwards, the number of recordings increased, as did the variety of performers. In 1924, 1925 and 1926, there were 40 to 50 compositions recorded per year, and in 1927, 1928 and 1929, there were 80 to 105 per year. In 1930 and 1931, the number of recordings fell back to around 40 per year, and then from 1932 onwards they almost completely tapered off—it is rare to find a Slovenian performer with recordings of "folk" music after this point before the end of Second World War.

Fig. 3-2 Labels of the Slovenian records made in the USA. (Courtesy of Charles F. Debevec)

Conclusion: results of the ethnochoreological case study

Folk music recordings on gramophone records have important cultural, ethnomusicological, folkloristic and ethnochoreological value and significance. Most of them represent very early sound recordings of Slovenian folk music. Recorded dance melodies in particular represent priceless ethnomusicological and ethnochoreographic material. They are also the oldest sound recordings of Slovenian instrumental folk music (Kunej D. 2008).

It was understood until recently that the oldest audio examples of Slovenian folk dance music were directly connected with the field research of the Institute of Ethnomusicology and its tape recordings; the Institute acquired its first tape recorder in 1954 and started making systematic field recordings in January 1955, when the oldest field recordings of Slovenian instrumental folk music were made (cf. Kunej D. 1999). But after the old gramophone records were listened to, many audio examples could be defined as folk music. The ethnochoreological case study of Matt Hoyer's and the Hoyer Trio's Slovenian folk records[4]—based on collected historical and ethnological data about the Trio, analysed sound material from preserved and digitised original records and different sources and metadata accompanying the records—shows that most of the folk dance music repertoire had already been recorded on gramophone records (Kunej R. 2013). The majority of the data on folk dances in the Ribnica Valley (Slovenia), where Matt Hoyer spent his youth, was collected in the 1960s when a systematic gathering of folklore material took place. Based on the field research from that time (cf. Kumer 1968: 410–22), a repertoire of folk dances from the area was made and compared with the dance repertoire of the Hoyer Trio on 78 rpm records. The comparison shows two very similar selections of folk dances, with almost 70 percent of the folk dance repertoire already having been recorded by the Hoyer Trio about 40 years prior to the field recordings (Kunej R. 2013: 171–73).

Another problem is that researchers have focused their field research on traditions that were dying out or had completely died out. Consequently, informants had to recall many dance melodies. But they were not played for their original purpose, only to be recorded by a researcher. It often happened that a musician did not remember the whole dance tune, or that their psychophysical abilities did not allow for the execution they themselves would have wished for—one that resembled the way it would have been played originally. As a result, many of the recorded dance tunes are played by one musician only or even sung (murmured) or whistled. Because of this the question needs to be asked:

how would this dance tune have sounded if it had been played by a group of folk musicians for the purpose of dancing? The commercial recordings on the gramophone records can partially answer this question.

One example is a dance *zibenšrit*[5] (Seven Step dance), one of the most popular Slovenian folk dances in the period between the late 19th and the early 20th century. Today it is only performed by folk dance groups and mentioned in the curriculum, but it is no longer danced at parties in the country. In field research in the 1960s, Zmaga Kumer mentions seven villages from the Ribnica Valley where the *zibenšrit* dance was still known; in some places people can still dance to it while elsewhere they can only remember it (Kumer 1968: 413). From this field research, the sound archive of the Institute of Ethnomusicology in Ljubljana also holds several recordings of the *zibenšrit* melodies from the Ribnica area; but played only by older musicians and at the researcher's request. One of these recordings was made on March 14, 1965 in Kračali, played on an accordion by then 73-year-old Janez Čampa, who was born in 1892. This recording is considered to be one of the oldest audio examples of the *zibenšrit* in the archive. But on the Hoyer Trio records, we can also find a recording of *zibenšrit.* It was recorded in December 1926 in New York, USA, played by the 35-year-old Matt Hoyer, an immigrant from the Ribnica Valley, born only a year before Janez Čampa and with his birthplace very near (seven kilometres) to Čampa's. Hoyer also played the tune solo on an accordion, as mentioned on the label, which moreover states that this is a tune "for a dance". Both recordings feature two different musicians who were actually born at the same time in the same Slovenian region but were recorded almost 40 years apart and provide two different sound images. Hoyer's recording uncovers the character and manner of playing such tunes as it is performed by a musician at his peak, whose interpretation matches that of a musician who is trying to warm up the dance atmosphere. It is also of interest since it was made at the time this dance tradition was still alive, which can be seen from the character and determined way of playing, appropriate tempo—not too fast—as well as a rhythmically suitable performance as it is easy to dance to the recorded music (cf. Kunej R. 2013).

The case study on the Hoyer Trio records, seen from the perspective of ethnochoreology, has generated a new view of the sonority of Slovenian folk dance traditions. In addition, the sheer number of folk dance melodies Matt Hoyer and his Trio recorded on gramophone records shows that the dances Slovenian ethnochoreologists define as folk dances were more present in the 1920s than we often imagine today. This conclusion, which

ethnochoreological research had not considered until now, was achieved by exploring old gramophone records.

There are several reasons why old gramophone records have been overlooked as a resource in the research of folk dance (cf. Kunej R. 2014). One of the main reasons is the fact that gramophone record production is associated with mass and popular culture. The dominant belief was that folk dance and its accompanying music are unique and that folk dance music and its characteristics can only be found by conducting field research. The researchers whose studies focused on folk dance music tended to concentrate on their own field research. Initially, this included transcribing dance tunes then later recording the music on a tape recorder. As a result, other audio recordings, such as gramophone records, were completely ignored as a comparative resource in ethnochoreological research.

The 78 rpm records offer numerous opportunities for research. In the study of traditional music, commercial gramophone recordings complement field recordings, and in some cases gramophone records may be the only document of extant musical styles that were never documented and studied by fieldworkers.

Notes

[1] The narrow frequency range of the recordings is particularly bothersome. For example, for wax cylinders in the best of circumstances this was between 100 and 5,000 Hz (Fadeyev et al. 2004), and in field recordings made with smaller and simpler phonographs it was even narrower.

[2] The selection of the best copy, in those circumstances where multiple copies of mechanical carrier exist, is a process of determining the most original intact copy of an item (Bradley 2009: 33).

[3] The artists who recorded gramophone records for different labels the most often were singers of the cultural society “Glasbena matica” from Ljubljana. The cultural society was established in 1872 with the objective of enriching the Slovenian musical scene, and played an important role in preserving and expanding Slovenian musical heritage. Within its framework were archives, an art section for the publication of sheet music, a concert agency, a bookshop, an orchestral society, a music school and a choir. The “Glasbena Matica” mixed choir was established in 1891 and quickly achieved great success under its first choral conductor Matej Hubad, introducing a new level of choral music quality in Slovenia. The “Glasbena Matica” mixed choir consisted of a large number of permanent singers, who performed both with and without instrumental accompaniment, singing music by both Slovenian and foreign composers. Their concerts were broadly representative in nature. In addition, different formations of the choir would often record gramophone records. Occasionally smaller vocal groups would be formed within

the choir, including, amongst others, “Kvartet pevcev”, a group of four male singers, namely Matjan, Stegnar, Završan and Šebenik.

[4] Matija Arko (1891–1960), better known as Matt Hoyer, was born in Slovenia. He immigrated to the States as a teenager (1904), bringing with him his love for music and the accordion. Music became an important part of his life. He formed with his stepbrothers Frank and Ed Simončič the Hoyer Trio, named after the local name of his mother’s house, and which Matt also used for his artistic name. Matt played the accordion, Frank the banjo and Ed mainly the guitar, while occasionally picking up the chromatic accordion as well. The Hoyer Trio became extremely popular amongst Slovenians as well as emigrants of other nationalities. Hoyer Trio music contains a lot of Slovenian folk dance tunes. By mixing Slovenian traditional music and elements of various popular American genres of the time, Matt created the foundations of the polka music, the appeal of which crossed ethnic boundaries and later on achieved general popularity; he is considered by many to be the originator of Slovenian polka music in the USA and is often called the pioneer or grand-daddy of Cleveland-Style Polka Music. Matt Hoyer with his trio, solo, in duets or in cooperation with other musicians recorded a large number of 78 rpm records. The recordings were made between 1924 and 1929 for all three then-leading USA record labels: Victor, Columbia and Okeh. These records give us insight into his musical activities and the early history of Slovenian instrumental music in the USA.

[5] The Seven Step dance is known across most of Europe. Its Slovenian name is a phonetic version of the German word *Siebenschritt*, which is why we can surmise that the dance came to Slovenia from German-speaking lands. In the first part, the *zibenšrit* has a characteristic structure of seven steps, which are then repeated in the opposite direction. In the second part, this is then followed by three steps that are repeated in the opposite direction, which is then followed by a turn. The entire second part is then repeated once again.

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CHAPTER FOUR

HISTORICAL SOURCES AND FIELDWORK IN LATVIAN ETHNOMUSICOLOGY: EXPERIENCE AND RESULTS

ANDA BEITĀNE

Introduction

The dialogue between historical sources and fieldwork has always been a topical issue in ethnomusicology. Traditionally, it has been assumed that researchers are initially drawn to study historical sources and only plan and conduct fieldwork afterwards; fieldwork is seen to contribute to and help clarify the study of historical sources. In reality, the opposite often occurs—historical sources are revealed directly as a result of fieldwork.

The aim of this article is to demonstrate how fieldwork has influenced a paradigm shift in Latvian ethnomusicology, also changing the attitude to historical sources, amongst other issues. The examples described here demonstrate the dynamics between fieldwork and historical sources over the last 25 years in the documentation and study of local multipart singing repertoires on the border between Latvia and Russia.

In the early 1990s, a significant shift occurred in Latvian ethnomusicology whereby—alongside the regaining of independence—the "iron curtain" fell and Latvian scholars gained access to ethnomusicological literature published in the West. This circumstance, combined with the communication of scholars at international conferences, brought about a paradigm shift (Boiko 1994: 47). Studies defining the age and origins of traditional music, as well as examining these in the context of ethnic history and issues of long-standing ethnic contact (Bendorfs 1986, 1988, Boiko 1987, 1990, Brambats 1973–74, 1983, etc.), were exchanged for field studies, promoting fieldwork as the core of ethnomusicological study (Boiko 1991, 1996, 1998, Beitāne 1995). This, of course, does not mean

that fieldwork had not been conducted previously in the study of Latvian traditional music. However, an analysis of the results suggests that up until 1990, field study was restricted to gathering traditional music for the needs of archives in order to guarantee its preservation and to make it accessible for study in the short- and long-term future, while older materials were preferred for research in the present. Latvian folklorist Dace Bula also concludes that, as opposed to the practice of the past,

> a full-fledged, if not superior, subject of research has become that which has been gathered in the field by the researchers themselves, which is no longer made up of an isolated collection of folkloric items, but possibly a completely documented meeting of folklorists and the keepers of folklore. (Bula 2009a: 7)

The attitude of Latvian researchers towards fieldwork since the mid-20th century has also been analysed by Bula in the article "Tale of the Field in Latvia's Academic Discourse". She sees it in the context of international experience and arrives at the conclusion that

> Latvian folklore studies have missed two distinct divergences. Firstly, we have avoided the fad of fieldwork that spread in international scientific circles in the 1960s and 1970s. This was a time when, alongside the development of a contextual approach, direct observations from the field during the moment of performance turned out to be the *sine qua non* of folklore studies. We have also not been touched by the cooling-off that was brought about by the crisis in the field at the turn of the century and the epistemological and ethical dead ends uncovered by postmodern critique. In the meantime, Latvian folklorists have been constantly faithful to fieldwork—in annual folklore expeditions between 1947 and 1975 and less regularly since 1978. However, this apparently unbroken history is not totally without a turning point, which occurred in the early 1990s and essentially changed the relationship between the collection of material and its study. (Bula 2009b: 16–17)

This description can equally be applied to the collection of traditional music in the above-mentioned period because it usually happened in close collaboration with folklorists within the framework of folklore-collecting expeditions. These expeditions were usually organised once a year, with a number of researchers taking part, mostly folklorists-linguists. Musicians or ethnomusicologists (in a number of cases, these were students of composition or musicology) were usually invited along to transcribe the music during these expeditions, usually right there in the field. If for some reason it was not possible to invite musicians along, songs were recorded

and transcribed later, again with the help of musicians. At this time, transcriptions were used exclusively as a basis for the study of traditional music, often with no attention paid to audio recordings of songs. What we describe today as the "field"—that is, the environments in which live traditional music and its varied contexts exist, mainly the singers and musicians themselves—did not come under the scrutiny of researchers, with a few exceptions. Therefore, it must be admitted that not only the concept of "fieldwork" but also fieldwork as a type of research entered the study of Latvian traditional music only in the early 1990s. This gives reason to consider that ethnomusicology in Latvia only really began at that time.

Latvian ethnomusicologist Martin Boiko, whose work in the late 1980s and early 1990s began a fundamental revolution in the understanding of the study and documentation of traditional music, should be thanked for this inception. Not long after, the effects of this revolution could be seen in the scientific literature. In his 1991 study "North-Latgalian Drone Singing: Context and Structures", Boiko admitted that there were no broader studies in Latvian ethnomusicology dedicated to the life and context of traditional music that described its current state, and made an effort to describe the local context in some of the currently still-existing territories (Boiko 1991: 3–4). This statement is very significant in the context of the history of Latvian ethnomusicology. Firstly, it indicates a change in attitudes and a research focus in favour of studies of an empirical nature, which promotes fieldwork as a primary method in the study of traditional music. Secondly, it emphasises fields that have either not been focused upon earlier or, alternatively, have been subordinated, meaning that the focus is placed on the necessity of resorting to the live practice of traditional music and its varied contexts, the documentation and description of the current state, and also to local diversity. This study by Boiko was also the first research in Latvian ethnomusicology to use the concept of fieldwork in place of the designation "folklore expedition".

It was specifically the results of fieldwork that influenced the paradigm shift in Latvian ethnomusicology in the early 1990s, because the scene that was discovered by working in the field differed greatly from what was indicated in the historical sources. Firstly, this can be related to the quality of documented material, which was often imprecise or fragmentary due to the way traditional music was recorded in folkloric expeditions (a lack of information about the forms of musical performance and functional contexts, often merely approximate transcriptions, multipart music documented as being in unison, etc.). Secondly, it was discovered during fieldwork that Latvia still had a number of vibrant areas

of traditional music, where the existing musical repertoire was practically undocumented. Therefore, in the 1990s, fieldwork became the main and, in many cases, also the only source studied by Latvian ethnomusicologists, with historical sources being relegated to a subordinate role.

Fieldwork experience in north-eastern Latvia

One area of traditional music that still exists today is found in north-eastern Latvia, beside the Russian border (Fig. 1). Here, one encounters a number of specific types of multipart singing discovered only in the late 1980s and early 1990s as a result of fieldwork. Boiko worked in this field from 1989–1992, during which time he introduced me, as a student, to fieldwork, which opened up completely new horizons for both of us. The local traditional music practice uncovered much of which we were unaware; nothing of the sort had previously been studied or documented.

Fig. 4-1 Map of north-eastern Latvia. Drawing by Dita Pence

One of the first discoveries was finding singing with drone in the repertoire of local singers. Until then, it was believed that this type of multipart singing did not exist in eastern Latvia. Published sources contained only three one-part transcriptions from north-eastern Latvia that could be recognised as drone songs, although the drone parts were missing (Melngailis 1952: 87, 95, 113). In his 1991 study, Boiko

comments sarcastically: “It seems that Melngailis [a Latvian composer and collector of traditional music as well as the author of these transcriptions – *A.B.*] never found out that, in reality, these songs have two parts” (Boiko 1991: 4). This attitude is understandable because after working for four years on the systematic documentation and study of singing with drone, Boiko had succeeded in not only recording the repertoire of drone songs and their local diversity but also identifying the functional conditions and performance style of these songs. The differences between what was encountered in the field and what could be found in the sources were obvious.

In 1990, fieldwork also demanded a change of attitude towards the quality of recordings. Researchers tried to use professional sound recording technology as much as possible in order to achieve a better result. During the process of creating sound recordings and transcriptions, in a number of instances the performance of north-eastern Latvian drone songs displayed more or less consistent deviations from equal temperament. These can be observed in the following example.

♩ = 80

1.Puo - ri, puo - ri, lī - ta - tyuc - si, puor šū ze - mes

ga - ba - leņ!. Puor šū ze - mes___ ga - ba - leņ!.

Ā

Fig. 4-2 Singing with drone from north-eastern Latvia. Recording by Martin Boiko, 1991. Transcription by Anda Beitāne

In 1992, another specific form of multipart singing was discovered not far from the Latvian-Russian border, which the singers themselves called *dzīduošona ar padgyušonu* (an approximate translation could be “singing with assistance”). The singers were two sisters of an advanced age, and they remembered only two songs. In addition, while singing, they constantly argued about how the song should be sung. This instance is also identified by Boiko as a previously unknown phenomenon, namely,

two-part singing with a solo lower part, whereby, according to the informant, the lower part is sung by just one person while the upper part (which begins after the solo part has been sung) is sung by the rest of the singers (Boiko 2008: 189–190). Unfortunately, by 1992 there were no longer any other singers in the area who could demonstrate anything similar, and therefore this recording is simultaneously a discovery as well as the sole and last example of a unique type of multipart singing.

Fig. 4-3 "Singing with assistance". Recording by Martin Boiko and Anda Beitāne, 1992. Transcription by Anda Beitāne

These are only two examples that illustrate the conclusions reached by ethnomusicologists at that time, who justifiably believed that absolutely nothing had been achieved until then in the research of traditional music in that particular region, or that it had been conducted either incompletely

or completely wrongly. In other words, back then we felt like explorers who had to start everything from scratch.

Briefly describing the paradigms of fieldwork in Latvian ethnomusicology over the past 25 years, one must conclude that during the first 10 years (1989–1999), researchers mostly focused on the past instead of the present. Working with various groups of singers, they attempted to document the musical repertoires that had existed in the first half of the 20th century and earlier, taking into account the fact that these repertoires were inherited from previous generations. With the passing of time and the change of generations of singers and musicians, researchers began to scrutinise contemporary processes and the life of the musical repertoire in a contemporary context. New perspectives in fieldwork practice appeared from 1999. Due to a fear of losing their traditional musical heritage, organisers of local cultural activities staged events that were aimed at preserving and passing on traditional culture. Participation in these events in the role of researcher and partially also as a consultant helped researchers realise that traditional music life could also be documented from *the inside.* This framework allowed for an increased understanding of the contemporary conditions of the traditional music repertoire and how it functions in local practices. As opposed to fieldwork in the 1990s, whereby researchers mainly worked with small groups of singers or individual older singers, trying to record their repertoire of earlier years before ensembles were established, in the 21st century each participant in the process became important, as did the contemporary context of singing, which in most instances was already the practice of ensembles. Taking part in local events brought research principles closer to another method of fieldwork, namely, participant observation. This method was implemented by taking part in local practice and is described in various places in the anthropological and ethnomusicological literature (Georges & Jones 1980, Favies 1998, DeWalt & DeWalt 2002, Barz & Cooley 2008 et al.). This can be a challenge for the researcher because it is not that easy to simply become a part of a culture and afterwards return to one's original culture as if nothing had happened—and doing so repeatedly.

My participant observation in north-eastern Latvia began in 2006 during a local event in which I unintentionally became involved in playing with local musicians. This was followed by an invitation to continue playing with them, which I, of course, accepted with pleasure, becoming the violinist for the local ensemble. Over a period of two years (2006–2008), I played at weddings, dances, coming-of-age celebrations and other events almost every weekend, as well as simply playing during various social situations that often continued until the morning light. The

local musicians did not really understand what I did in my professional life and accepted me as an equal. Over time I was gradually accepted as "one of them", also in terms of the local community. This allowed me not only to become familiar with their lives, repertoire and opinions from an *insider's perspective* but also to understand the environment in which the subjects of my research resided—in other words, the relevant local music practice. Although this was not always easy psychologically, I am convinced that this method is very useful for research. It prevents one from having unfounded idealised illusions and allows one to observe and evaluate the development of the local music practice, including its place and significance in the life of the local community.

After two years spent partly living in the local community of north-eastern Latvia, I realised that my continued participation could begin to influence the relevant music-making practice. This conclusion brought about my decision to finish the observation and allow the traditions to live their own lives. This issue of the influence of the researcher on traditions can also be seen in a wider context—for example, in the fact that various cultural and educational institutions wish to use ethnomusicologists as instruments in the preservation and development of various processes in traditional culture. These conditions have led to a new paradigm of fieldwork, which appeared in Latvian ethnomusicology quite recently and is associated with a conscious distancing from any kind of processes that could influence local music-making practices and instead remaining in the role of observer.

In summary, fieldwork in north-eastern Latvia has undergone a number of stages over a period of 20 years:

- A revolution was begun in terms of attitudes to the documentation and study of traditional music (1991).
- As a result of fieldwork, previously unknown musical repertoires were discovered in a number of Latvian regions (1989–1999).
- Significant information was gained about the different contexts of traditional music (1990–1998).
- Traditions that otherwise would have been lost along with the last people who knew and inherited them were documented at the last instance (1989–1995).
- The involvement of ethnomusicologists in the life of traditional music continued to increase (from 1999).
- There is a conscious distancing from involvement in the contemporary processes of traditional music in order to avoid influencing them (from 2010).

Starting with the initial discoveries, which now have historical status, work in the field continued alongside an increased participation in the life of local music, which in turn led to the conscious distancing from this practice. Of course, this does not rule out the development of this practice again in the future.

Returning to historical sources

After beginning the research process, it turns out that what initially appeared to be a discovery might also be found in historical sources. The largest repository of these sources is the Archives of Latvian Folklore, which holds the material collected during the folklore expeditions described in the introduction of this paper. Furthermore, during the course of research, a number of other interesting sources were found that could not have been located without the help of fieldwork. Therefore, fieldwork and the study of historical sources complement and add to one another, and various stories are created. One of these stories is as follows.

The story of a song

The hero of this story is a song that represents a specific form of multipart singing from north-eastern Latvia. This form of three-part singing—with a solo upper accompanying part—makes up a significant proportion of the local repertoire and also occupies a special place in the value system of the singers themselves. Songs representing the above-mentioned form of multipart singing, which are usually sung by women, characteristically have a branching functional spectrum and an interesting associated folk terminology. For example, this multipart singing style is called "singing with a half part" in the local tradition, with the understanding that the "half part" is the upper accompanying part sung in the second half of the song or at cadences and half cadences. The singers refer to the performance of this part as "lifting it up" or "yelling", adding that this part can only be sung by singers blessed with particularly powerful voices. This type of multipart singing was also discovered in the early 1990s, thanks to fieldwork.

In the first stage of research, between approximately 1992 and 1998, fieldwork resulted in a definition of a representative repertoire of this type of multipart singing. Parallel to this, a historical source was discovered that had come about due to an interesting student initiative in the late 1970s. One must also mention Boiko, who, while still studying at high school, undertook a number of journeys to the villages of eastern Latvia

with two school friends. Boiko explains his motivation to undertake these trips as the desire to look for an alternative to the cultural and musical environment that existed in Riga under the Soviet regime. Boiko's discoveries in the villages of eastern Latvia opened up a new world for him—a vibrant music repertoire played in a specific manner and differing in its very essence from his previous assumptions about traditional music.

In the summer of 1979, Boiko visited a village in northeast Latvia, where he met with Antons Slišāns, the head of the municipality and also a poet and active promoter of local traditional music practice, who had recorded the repertoire of local singers from as early as 1971. The three above-mentioned students transcribed these recordings in the village library, creating what appear to be, from a contemporary perspective, incomplete transcriptions. The notebooks containing these transcriptions were held in Boiko's private collection until 1994, when he gave them to me, his then student, as I had already begun studying the multipart singing in question. This collection of transcriptions demonstrates how the repertoire of multipart singing was even broader in the local tradition in 1971, and it brought me to the conclusion that a number of songs recorded in these transcriptions had already been lost in live local singing practice by the 1990s.

In 1999, during an event initiated by local cultural organisers, a "new" song, previously unheard but also sung with a solo upper accompanying part, came to my attention. As I did not have a Dictaphone at the time, I made a transcription in the field, scribbling the notes on a bus ticket found in my pocket. A little later, it turned out that this song was one of the "lost songs" found only in Boiko's transcriptions. The reason I had not encountered this song before in my fieldwork over the previous five years is simple—I was standing in front of a group of singers I had not met before. A year later, in 2000, while working with five of the lead singers of this group, we made a field recording of this song.

Fig. 4-4 Autumn song. Recording and transcription by Anda Beitāne, 2000

Another source was found when searching for historical recordings of traditional music in the archives of Latvian Radio—recordings of the same group from 1978 and 1988, in which this particular song was also recorded (Fig. 5). The transcription in Figure 4 was based on a recording made during a traditional music concert in Riga and for which the singers had probably rehearsed. All the other recordings of this song were made under field conditions and demonstrate a number of differences in terms of the number of singers and their composition. Thus, for example, the lower voice can hardly be heard in the 2000 recording (Fig. 4), but it is easily heard in the 1988 recording. This is because in 2000 the group no longer had members who could sing the bottom part.

♩= 52 ♩= 48 ♩= 52

1.Ru - dins ī - ti, ru - dins ī - ti, Mei - ti - ņuo - mi,

ī - ti, ru - dins ī - ti, Mei - ti - ņuo - mi,

ī - ti, ru - dins ī - ti, Mei - ti - ņuo - mi,

♩= 48 ♩= 52 ♩= 48

la - pi - ņuo - mi, Mei - ti - ņuo - mi, la - pi - ņuom.

la - pi - ņuo - mi, Mei - ti - ņuo - mi, la - pi - ņuom.

la - pi - ņuo - mi, Mei - ti - ņuo - mi, la - pi - ņuom.

Fig. 4-5 Autumn song. Recording by Latvian Radio, 1988. Transcription by Anda Beitāne

Meanwhile, events were happening in a neighbouring village only a few kilometres away. In the 1990s, Slišāns taught one of the song variants from the original 1971 recording to other local singers who had founded an ensemble. This version was similar to both of the above-mentioned examples (Fig. 4 and 5), although the multipart structure was simplified; it had been transformed to two-part singing in parallel thirds and no longer had a solo upper accompanying part (Fig. 6).

♩= 66 - 72

1.Ot, na tī kry - ta, ot, kļo-va lo - pa, Ot, kur aug-da - ma, ot, grū-ze-juo - si,

1.Ot, na tī kry - ta, ot, kļo-va lo - pa, Ot, kur aug-da - ma, ot, grū-ze-juo - si,

1. 2.

Ot, ri-di ri - di, ot, rai-tai ri - di, Ot, kur aug-da-ma, ot, grū-ze-juo - si. ot, sie-ti-nie.

Ot, ri-di ri - di, ot, rai-tai ri - di, Ot, kur aug-da-ma, ot, grū-ze-juo - si. ot, sie-ti-nie.

Fig. 4-6 Wedding song. Recording by Jānis Brunovskis, 1998. Transcription by Anda Beitāne

In 2007, during the period of participant observation mentioned above, as an experiment, I tried to teach this song to youths in the same village. They learned it from the transcription of the 1971 recording, and we kept the experiment a secret from the older generation of the local community and, of course, from Slišāns. I planned to surprise them with a performance of the song during a local event. In this case, the aim was to observe the reaction of the audience and to ascertain whether the older community members would recognise the historical sound of this song performed by the younger singers, which, as distinct from the simplified version, demonstrated characteristics such as three-part singing instead of two-part and also included the upper solo accompanying part. In this way, the historical source was used during fieldwork to clarify whether and how the local community would react to changes that affected their own repertoire.

The main target audience was the older singers, who were aware of themselves and their place in the local community as the heirs of the traditional repertoire they had inherited orally from previous generations and preserved until today. For them, of course, it was important for this heritage to be preserved for the future. These singers were also used to being the only singers in the local community who sang this type of repertoire, while the younger generations preferred different repertoires. The reaction of the older singers to the version sung by the youths can be

described as appreciative. After careful listening came a surprised recognition—"they sing almost the way we do". The older singers did not notice the above-mentioned differences in the multipart structure. Here, one should note that there are a number of songs in the singers' repertoire that are sung in three parts with a solo upper accompanying part. The singers themselves stress that in these cases the solo singing of the upper part is an obligatory condition of singing the song. Obviously, the break in the oral tradition in relation to this particular song has influenced the simplification of the multipart structure in the local singing practice, which apparently should be viewed as an inevitable process. It is hard to believe that the multipart singing associated with this song sung by the youths could take root in the local practice because the main authorities in this case would remain the older singers.

This allows one to assume that the singers do not especially consider the multipart structure of their repertoire in depth; instead, they sing the songs in the way that they have learned them, either through oral transmission or artificially. This example also demonstrates today's situation in which the vitality of the traditional repertoire is encouraged from the outside, with the assistance of educational events. These events have become a contemporary context of the traditional music repertoire in which ethnomusicological fieldwork is undertaken, following what is happening today to the repertoire recorded in various historical sources.

Conclusion

These examples illustrate a situation in which it initially seems that historical sources contain very little information in comparison to fieldwork discoveries, but over time more new sources, which would have been unknown without the help of fieldwork, are revealed. It is precisely these sources, a large number of which have been discovered accidentally and which have often been compiled by non-ethnomusicologists, that best reflect the changes in the cultural process and the dynamics of local traditional music repertoire over a longer period of time.

The aim of this paper was to demonstrate how fieldwork has influenced the paradigm shift in Latvian ethnomusicology as well as how the attitude of the researcher to historical sources has changed over time. Tracing the dynamics of the relationship between fieldwork and historical sources in the last 20 years, one must conclude that Latvian ethnomusicologists have depended more heavily on the results of fieldwork in their studies (Beitāne 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, Boiko 1999, 2010, etc.). However, there has also been more or less attention given to

historical sources, of which many sources have been found during fieldwork (Beitāne 2008, 2009, Boiko 2005, 2008, etc.). As opposed to the first half of the 1990s, when fieldwork revealed a number of areas that had not previously been found in the historical sources or had only been partly recorded, a number of years later, fieldwork had turned towards studying traditional music in contemporary life. In this context, historical sources became increasingly significant, serving not only as material for comparison but also as an instrument to analyse the processes of change.

The emergence of fieldwork at the forefront of ethnomusicological research was therefore influenced by the state of historical sources at the time, which contained obvious "black holes" in places where one could discover rich, living local traditional music practice through fieldwork. It is therefore possible to compare Latvia's situation in the 1990s with the explosion of fieldwork mentioned by Bula that was experienced in international science during the 1960s–1970s. So much new material was brought to the attention of Latvian ethnomusicologists in the early 1990s that it was enough to study only what had been recorded in the field. Of course, during the research that followed, it was necessary to view the fieldwork findings in their material context, which was preserved by and hidden in historical sources. Therefore, the research paradigm in Latvian ethnomusicology since the early 1990s was essentially directed by the results of fieldwork, in which historical sources found in the field became more and more significant.

I must agree with Bruno Nettl, who in the foreword to the book *Shadows in the Field. New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*, suggests that fieldwork has changed radically over the course of the 20th century. All of the stages of development of fieldwork mentioned by Nettl—from simple collection (during which musical recordings are made and questions are asked about the contexts of the music and the learning conditions) to attending events and participating in the study of music (in which, amongst other things, we also learn how to make this music) and ending with the infiltration of local groups, which is followed by concern that our presence can influence changes in these cultures (Nettl 2008: v)—can also be applied to the history of Latvian ethnomusicology and are referred to in this paper. The list can also include findings in historical sources, a field in which ethnomusicologists are also active, just as they are active in the live practice of traditional music. It is often immediately after fieldwork that the historical material is revealed in a totally different light. In other words, the dialogue between fieldwork and historical sources is in a state of constant interaction. A focus on live traditional musical practice and its place in the environment—in other words, the

musical practice of the relevant local community, which is initially restricted to fieldwork—gradually moves toward using various historical sources, without which it is not really possible to completely understand the life of this music.

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CHAPTER FIVE

RECORDINGS OF THE MABI PEOPLE, DIFFERENT PLACES SAME TIME: CAMEROON 1908 AND BERLIN 1909[1]

SUSANNE FÜRNISS

The *Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv* hosts wax cylinders with music from the town of Kribi—located on the South-Cameroonian Atlantic coast—and its surroundings. The documentation indicates that these recordings concern mainly the musical culture of the Mabi,[2] but a closer look reveals that they also include music from other ethnic groups that live in the area. Indeed, there is a certain amount of confusion in the documentation of the Phonogramm-Archiv concerning the ethnical origin of the songs.

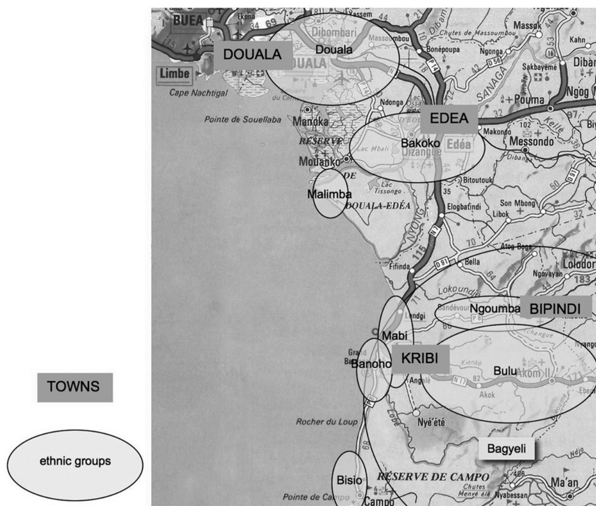

Fig. 5-1 Map of the coastal region of South Cameroon: an ethnic mosaic

Contexts

1. The Kwasio people

The Mabi belong to a larger group named Kwasio, which includes the Bisio from Equatorial Guinea and the Ngumba, living some 60 kilometres away from Kribi and the coast. Oral memory and anthropological and linguistic research agree that these groups migrated together from East Cameroon during the 19th century (Dugast 1949, interviews Fürniss 2012–15, see below). They had and still have very intense social, ritual and musical exchanges. According to the context, these groups are considered "the same" by several of their members. Indeed, Mabi intermarry with Ngumba and Bisio and share the same lineages. It seems as though the musical repertoires have mainly been the same for the Ngumba and Mabi. This is slightly different for the Bisio, who have maintained a larger musical heritage over the last century (De Aranzadi 2009).

2. Collectors and collections

Kribi and its hinterland are mentioned three times in the *archive*'s files, namely in the collection of Georg August Zenker (1908), Hans Waldow (1907) and in the archival recordings by Erich Moritz von Hornbostel (*Archiv Kamerun*, 1909). The recording situations of these collections are very different, as two collectors—Zenker and Waldow—have actually been in Cameroon and acquired personal knowledge of the local cultures, whereas Hornbostel only heard snippets of Mabi music through solo versions of collective songs, and has no experience of Africa. Although one might expect detailed descriptions at least by Zenker or Waldow, it is astonishing to state that in all cases, there exists hardly any data to accompany the cylinders and contextualise the recordings. The present study aims to furnish information concerning the recording contexts, recorded repertoires and cultural practices, as well as interethnic relationships and individual life trajectories.

3. Fieldwork between 2012 and 2015

I have dedicated three fieldtrips[3] to the identification of both the contents and the ethnic origin of the recorded items in three collections: Zenker, Archiv Kamerun and Waldow (see below). My interlocutors were the traditional chiefs of the different communities and the culturally

competent people to whom they introduced me: community elders, retired teachers, church elders, amateur historians and musicians. They were all particularly interested in the local traditions and the maintenance of their memory. The most important among them will be presented throughout this article.

In about 30 collective or individual interview sessions, I played the historical recordings and discussed the musical and textual contents of the pieces, as well as the social and religious context of the repertoires. Several sessions were dedicated to the personal experience of the elders and their memory of what their parents and grandparents had taught them. Besides working on the historical recordings, I recorded several current musical practices and participated in the annual Mabi music festival.

The collections

1. Georg August Zenker

Georg August Zenker (1855–1922) was a botanist and "planter" who worked for the German colonial administration before settling independently as a plantation owner in Bipindi, 66 kilometres from Kribi. He was the first head of the Yaoundé "station", which later became the Cameroonian capital.

In 1895, he had to leave the German administration because he was living with three African wives (Laburthe-Tolra 1970, Jung 2012). Later, he founded a large family with a Cameroonian wife and settled in Bipindi, where he lived until the end of his life. He is buried with one of his wives and his eldest son in the domain, which is still in the hands of his descendants.

Zenker was the only German to be allowed to stay in Cameroon after 1916. His special status in the country is why his very modest collection of only seven items is of particular interest not only for the knowledge of the documented traditions but also for a better understanding of German activities in colonial Kamerun.

1.1. Zenker and the Mabi

Zenker lived at an important intersection of roads and paths among the Ngumba and the Bagyeli. He was a good hunter and was initiated into a hunting society of the Bagyeli-Pygmies, with which he went on elephant hunts. According to oral records among the Mabi, Zenker encouraged a group of Mabi from Kribi to settle near his domain, in the village of

Bifum.[4] Besides his interest in natural history, Zenker spent time studying the Mabi culture. He wrote a manuscript of 27 pages, which was published in 1904 in the *Ethnologisches Notizblatt* (Zenker 1904). He collected plants and birds and also a considerable number of ethnographical objects, which he then sent to Germany. The director of the Ethnological Museum in Berlin, Felix von Luschan, called Zenker an "old benefactor",[5] a sponsor of the museum, who provided approximately 100 ethnographical objects from the region. There are only a few Mabi items as most of the artefacts are Ngumba, Bulu and Bakoko.

Fig. 5-2 Georg August Zenker, Bipindi, 1898. Photo in Chamier-Glisczinski 1925

1.2. Zenker's recordings and metadata

According to the archival documentation in Berlin, the Phonogramm-Archiv provided Zenker with a phonograph and probably 50 wax cylinders.[6] He sent back a set of 8 cylinders recorded in January 1908, one of which was already broken on its arrival in May of the same year. As Hornbostel pointed out on the reception of the cylinders,[7] all of them had suffered from mould. The alterations of the material due to the difficult climate (heat, dust, humidity) and bad transportation conditions are the reason these recordings are nowadays very difficult to listen to, which makes the identification of both the contents and the ethnic origin so problematic.

In 1908, Zenker made some recordings in Kribi: ritual and re-creative music, canoe-songs, two dance repertoires and songs from the initiation ritual, *ngi*. He compiled a simple list, which arrived covered with grease according to an internal note at the museum:[8]

Zenker's list	Handwritten additions concerning the ethnic origin of the recordings
I. Sending of Phonocylinders	
1. Namoballa, women's song, dance	*Buli, indicated "Mabea"*
2. Ngisa I }	*("Mabea") Bakoko*
3. Ngisa II } Dances	
4. Songo [or LONGO] Canoe-Song	*Mabea*
5. Ngi }	*Buli or Mabea*
6. Onomngi } sung during the Ngi	*Mabea Buli*
7. Isanga ISANGA }	*Mabea*
8. Baja BAJA } Dances	*Mabea*
recorded January 1908 G. Zenker	

Table 5-3 Documentation of Zenker's wax cylinders

The recordings themselves contain no other indications although Zenker must have known the instructions (Luschan 1904) provided by the archive to each potential collector. Indeed, each recording starts with the reference tone of the tuning fork but Zenker omitted to orally announce the contents of the recording.

1.3. Challenges: titles and ethnic origins

The list of cylinders contains titles of the recordings but what do these titles really designate? Are they names of repertoires? Or names of dances? Or song titles? At the beginning of the 20th century, European scholars—and even less so musically untrained people like Zenker—did not yet know that African traditional music heritages are mostly organised in repertoires linked to a specific context (Arom et al. 2008). It is very usual that these repertoires are named. Within these repertoires, there are specific songs whose first words generally function as the "title" of a piece. My fieldwork in Cameroon revealed that item 4 of the Zenker collection provides a perfect example of this possible confusion: *Longo* is the name of a song but the repertoire of the canoe-songs is *ngusi*.

Another challenge is the question of the ethnic origin of the pieces. The handwritten additions to Zenker's list are quite ambiguous as two ethnic groups are mentioned next to four of the seven items, either Mabi and Bulu or Mabi and Bakoko. The Bulu and Bakoko live at a distance of less than 100 kilometres from the current Mabi-territory in Kribi. During the last century, these populations intermingled and the knowledge of each

other's musical heritage was common, as much as nowadays. The indication of Kribi as the recording place is therefore not proof that the recorded music is part of the musical heritage of the people living in Kribi.

During my fieldwork, it appeared that nowadays the supposed ethnic diversity is even higher and the uncertainty remains. The main result is that only one of these recordings seems to be of genuine Mabi origin, although not from Kribi but from the border with Equatorial Guinea, where the Mabi's "cousins", the Bisio, live.

Three repertoires have been confirmed and, although this is a very small collection, items 5 and 6 are of the greatest interest for the tradition holders of the 21st century. Let us emphasise these recordings, as well as the canoe-song, which are representative of the traditional culture of a hundred years ago.

1.4. The Ngi initiation ritual

The Ngi was an important and widespread initiation ritual at the beginning of the last century. In a letter to Prof. Luschan, the director of the Ethnographical Museum in Berlin, on January 1, 1905, Zenker writes

> Bipindi is the intersection point of three tribes who are very different in their activities and speak different languages. They share the Ngi-ritual, but practice it in different manners. [...] I will observe the Ngi and will write to you later about it.[9]

This was corroborated in 2012 by the chief of the Nziou quarter in Kribi,[10] according to whom the Ngi was also practised by the Mabi who joined Zenker near Bipindi.

Zenker's recordings—which are identified as Bulu—are supposed to have been collected in Kribi. However, very few Bulu live(d) in Kribi. Zenker recorded two phases of this complex initiation ceremony. What we know from Tessmann's study on the related Fang people (1913) is that it appeals to a masked spirit—Ngi—who is guided by the official leader of the ceremony, the *Onom ngi*, literally "Head of the Ngi".

The Ngi was practised two generations ago but it seems to be out of practice nowadays as most of the people of the region are either Catholic or belong to the African Protestant Church.

1.4.1. The voice of Ngi?

Item 6, entitled *Onom ngi*, contains a regular alternation between a soloist and choir, preceded by a long diatribe by the soloist. One clearly hears that the singer's voice is modified by a mirliton or a guttural vocal

technique. Whereas my interlocutors confirmed that the choir is composed of the initiated, a doubt remains as to the identity of the soloist. If the soloist is the "Head of the Ngi", not the mask itself, his utterance should have been produced in a normal voice. The voice modification however is normally an indicator for the voice of a mask.[11] Who are the initiates answering to: the spirit or its human guide?

The documentation in Berlin contains a card which sheds light on this question and which seems to confirm my hypothesis. It specifies namely that the Ngi

> [...] takes the saliva from the dead and eats it in order to obtain his voice which may apparently be heard a mile away and on behalf of which he enjoys his 'big name' all over the country.[12]

That a singer swallows a substance in order to disguise his voice as a spirit's voice is a known phenomenon in the region. Whether this may be a dead person's saliva has to be confirmed, but we know that the Tsogo in Gabon, for instance, swallow special herbs that irritate the vocal folds for a similar result (Sallée 1968, Zemp et al. 1996).

1.4.2. The limits of the research

The information I could obtain from several elder Mabi concerning this subject in 2013 and 2015 seems contradictory.[13] On the one hand, the Ngi wore a wooden face mask, which may function as a voice-modifying device. This kind of mask was sent by Zenker to the Ethnological Museum.[14] On the other hand, some said that the Ngi was not supposed to sing and that item 6 is an invocation of the spirit. The notes in the archive, however, seem to indicate the contrary. Zenker's collection of ethnographical objects also contains some mirlitons. A list in the museum's archive indicates that one of them[15] was played during a Ngi-ceremony: "[The] Instrument used for the Ngi dance (sounds like a comb and tissue, is used in the same way)". Either the historical gap between the recordings and my interlocutors is too great to be bridged or the ritual secrets are still protected when talking to a foreign uninitiated white female ethnomusicologist. This seems to be a limit to any actual fieldwork.

Another intriguing question is the recording context. Nowadays, out-of-context recordings of ritual music do not generally make the related spirits appear. Moreover, characteristic features of the ritual situation will generally be omitted. The fact that one clearly hears the transformation of the voice is indicative of a recording in a ritual context. Considering the immobility and the spatial constraints of the recording device, this would

be most exceptional. This is another mystery that will probably remain unsolved.

2. Archive recordings by Erich v. Hornbostel and Jakob Malapa

Erich von Hornbostel recorded Mabi songs sung in Berlin by an inhabitant of Kribi, Jakob Malapa, who had the opportunity to travel to Germany. One of my very aged Mabi interlocutors had been in primary school with Malapa's son Honoré in 1935 and the memory of this event was still present. In 2015, I was very lucky to find the stepdaughter and two grandchildren of Malapa, but unfortunately they did not know much about the circumstances of their elder's journey. According to the family memory, he went to Germany as a cook. He married a German woman with whom he had a son before he went back to Cameroon at the end of the 1920s.[16] The quality of the recorded songs proves that the young man, Jakob Malapa, who came to visit Hornbostel in the Berlin Archive, had a beautiful voice and was a gifted singer.

Hornbostel recorded 41 cylinders with songs by Jakob Malapa and Paul Mukeke from Malimba, another young man from the region. The ethnic puzzle comes up again as Malapa was Batanga-Banoho and Mukeke was Malimba.[17] They sang songs from the Mabi, Duala, Bakoko, Malimba, Banoho and Bulu. Ten songs by Malapa are identified in the list as being of Mabi origin.

2.1. Identifications of Archiv Kamerun

Cross-questionnaires with competent people from most of these cultures revealed that—from today's perspective—only three songs are clearly identified as being of Mabi origin; while another is identified as being from their Bisio cousins. Apart from the poor sound quality, a difficulty was the question of language change over a hundred years and the existence of secret languages for ritual songs.

Malapa seems to have sung mainly *ngósò*-songs—songs that comment on diverse situations of daily life. The same type of repertoire exists among several cultures of the region, which is the reason for the great linguistic diversity of the songs. Although the lyrics are not always intelligible nowadays, the meaning of the songs has been identified. Various types of relations between men and women, difficulties with the German steamer company, subjects related to the seaside but also proverbs

are represented in the songs of the *Archiv Kamerun*-collection recorded in Berlin.

2.2 The same canoe-song in two collections

One song was recorded by Zenker in Cameroon but also by Hornbostel in Berlin.[18] It is the paddlers' song, called "Longo" by Zenker.

Fig. 5-4 "Longo", canoe-song. Archiv Kamerun 37, 1909. Transcription S. Fürniss

The documentation of *Archiv Kamerun* reveals the same confusion as the Zenker collection concerning the ethnic origins of the songs: this item is attributed to the Mabi and/or the Batanga-Banoho who also live in Kribi. My different Batanga-Banoho and Mabi interlocutors, however, identified both versions of this song as being of Bakoko origin, another coastal people living north of Kribi. As in colonial times, they were the main transporters on the sea and the rivers; they travelled a great deal and their songs were known all over the coast. Several stops were placed along the rivers and the coast in order to allow the paddle-teams to relay. Longo, the "title" of the recorded song, was a station on the Lokoundje River, which flows through Bipindi. As to the contents, people mentioned a secret language as it might have been addressed to the water spirit, Mami Wata.

This song repertoire *ngusi* was sung when the paddlers arrived at one of these stations. Besides these common occasions, the people could hear the paddlers' songs during canoe competitions, which were occasion for very popular festivities. Even nowadays, at the annual festival of the Mabi,[19] a canoe competition is part of the activities. But, unfortunately, nobody sings anymore and I have not yet met a paddler who still knows these songs.

3. Hans Waldow

Hans Waldow (1870–?) spent from 1904 to 1915 in Cameroon as a medical doctor of the colonial administration and head of the hospital in the town of Limbe, in former Victoria (Ziegler 2006: 386). His professional activities brought him to Lolodorf, 44 kilometres north of Bipindi in February/March 1907. He recorded 29 cylinders that show quite heterogeneous contents: 11 Bagyeli, 4 Ngumba, 3 Bulu, 4 Ewondo, 4 Ewe (Togo); the others are unidentified.

The three cylinders contain four Ngumba songs:

1)a) Dance song (for women) “o Jamgo, ombe ngwan”, sung by Maffia, a Ngumba boy, approx. 8 years old
b) *idem* “o Janga o wue”; see text
2)a) *idem* “wah ge digi”; see text
b) *idem* “o dombe dombo”
3) Repetition of 2 (?)

Waldow did not give any contextual explanation for his recordings but he provided song texts or at least the contents of the songs. He had a Bulu assistant who had been trained in phonetical notation and who was in charge of the transcription and the translation of the lyrics.

3.1. Interviews 2012–13

Although Waldow recorded in Lolodorf, some of his informants came from Kouambo, five kilometres south of Zenker’s residence in Bipindi. It is consequently at this place that I conducted my main fieldwork—among the Ngumba. Other interviews have been conducted in the village of Lambi, some eight kilometres north.

The discussion on the name of the singer brought to light that it should be Massia and not Maffia, which indicates a very probable copy error from Gothic hand-writing to machine-typing, as the Gothic “s” within a word is very close to a modern “f”.

As for the contents, the very bad tone quality of the recordings was certainly why three of the songs could not be identified. The general sound image and the topics of the written lyrics enabled my interlocutors to recognise certain mystical contents of the songs and relate them to the singer of epics or his wife, but they could also have been songs for other ritual and entertainment contexts.

3.2. Permanences in the Waldow collection: The Ngumba bride's ceremony

In spite of a certain discouragement in trying to find out the social and symbolic context of these songs and what they mean to society today, the current research includes a feature that encourages this type of re-examination.

Fig. 5-5 The women of Kouambo reconstitute a bride's ceremony for the ethnomusicologist. Video by S. Fürniss, 2012

Cylinder 3 is accompanied by the following text:

O dombe dombo, yolo dombo dombo me nyine ma mura labo,
Dombo yan o dombo dombo, yolo dombo
me nyin ma mura laboo

When you receive a new wife, the elder women sing: I have seen a woman who knows how to talk a lot.

My verification of the text in 2012, together with Mbpille Dieudonné, a person of note in Kouambo,[20] showed not only that the transcription was excellent and still comprehensible but also that this song is still sung and the text, as well as the melody, has hardly changed (except for the pitch...).

O Dombo, beautiful Dombo,
I have seen the woman who talks
My Dombo, beautiful Dombo, etc.

Solo
O Do - mbe Do - mbe Do - mbe Do - mbe
Do - mbe
Choir
O Do - mbe Do - mbe Do - mbe Do - mbe
Do - mbe

Fig. 5-6 “Dombe”, one of the songs of a bride’s ceremony. Video S. Fürniss 2012, transcription S. Fürniss. (The poor sound quality of the recording does not allow for a correct distribution of the lyrics)

Mbpille’s translation of the Ngumba words reveals that Waldow had probably not noticed that his Bulu assistant had added his own comment to the mere translation of the song lyrics. So, he did not mention that this song was sung by the elder women during the welcome ceremony, *màliú mágywàl*, for the new bride who comes to live in her husband’s village. The lyrics express the bridegroom’s wish that his wife may be wise. A bride’s quality is indeed not to “talk a lot”, as Waldow’s translation suggests, but to “talk well”, i.e., to know how to talk to her husband and to be polite and diplomatic.

Although it is an old custom, this ceremony may still be celebrated, and many of its songs are still sung by the women of Kouambo.

How to bridge the historical gap?

In the case of the three collections I have analysed here, the problem is the same: it is very difficult to link the archived sounds to their cultural meanings over the gap of tremendous changes of culture and social behaviour during the last century. In the case of the Mabi, most of the documented music is no longer practised. And nowadays, there are dances and games which were not documented in 1908 and others which were created afterwards.

Fieldwork gains a new methodological dimension as the research for hints and clues has to be conducted with people of several generations but who are not—in any case—contemporary to the archived material. Two

Mabi elders, a 92- and a 93-year-old, were of tremendous help as they belonged to the generation of Jakob Malapa's son.[21] In the generation of people in their fifties, some people remembered what their parents or grandparents had told them about their experience with rituals that have been abandoned today.[22]

The information recorded on the Archives' documentation sheet was helpful in some cases but it remains difficult to evaluate to what extent they may have induced answers, at least those concerning the textual contents and the social context of the songs.

This work is delicate as it appeals to different types of collective and individual memories, which are then rendered according to the way the person would like to present herself/himself or her/his community. Thus, the collected information remains uncertain and, at times, hypothetical.

Notes

[1] The author wants to thank Laurence Fayet for her attentive reading and the very constructive revision of this text.
[2] The colonial designation for this ethnical group was "Mabea". This exogenous name is still used in Cameroon, outside the Mabi-community.
[33] September–October 2012, November–December 2013 and June 2015; thanks to financial support from the programme Corus PatriMuS (2012), the Labex BCDiv (2013), and the ANR programme DIADEMS.
[4] Interview with architect Ernest Gouialpfouo-Nzouangou (born in Bifum), whose father started to work for Zenker when he was ten years old and specialised in bird-hunting and conservation (September 28, 2012).
[5] Letter from F. v. Luschan to C. Stumpf, October 19, 1906. Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Inv.nr. E 1859/06.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Letter from E. M. v. Hornbostel to F. v. Luschan, May 20, 1908. Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Inv.nr. E 944/08.
[8] Register entry from May 7, 1908. Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Inv.nr. E 944/08.
[9] Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Inv.nr. E 195/1905.
[10] Majesty Joseph Nong. His grandparents practiced the Ngi at Bifum-village, two kilometers from Zenker's domain, Bipindihof. Interview September 27, 2012.
[11] See the excellent CD *Masques Dan* by Hugo Zemp (1993).
[12] I wish to thank the librarian of the German Goethe-Institut in Yaoundé, Uwe Jung, for his help with deciphering this handwriting (which is *not* Zenker's handwriting). The complete text: "Ngi is used in order to find the poison of an illness. He stands still at the place where the poison is in the earth and brings it out for a good payment (spear...). Is originally from Bulu-country: even when looking for

another [xxx], he finds it out. No women may then be on the street. He takes the saliva from the dead and eats it in order to obtain his voice which may apparently be heard a mile away and on behalf of which he enjoys his ‘big name’ all over the country. His presence is announced by a herald or a young man, the *mbone ngi*.”

[13] I discussed this particular subject several times each year with the chiefs of the Nziou and Lobé quarter, a group of knowledgeable elders and a still-active female healer.

[14] Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Inventory number III C 19091.

[15] Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Inventory number III C 10660.

[16] Interview with Malapa’s stepdaughter, June 2015.

[17] In June 2015, I was lucky to meet two nephews of Paul Mukeke in Edéa.

[18] Item 4 of the Zenker collection and item 37 of *Archiv Kamerun*.

[19] *Nguma mabi* “Mabi Pride” is an annual festival which gathers all Mabi chiefs and officials for an important parade on December 15th.

[20] Mbpille passed away in 2014. His work was confirmed by Majesties Nong and Tsagadigi in Kribi.

[21] Bama Joseph and Ngalli Taddée, both still alive in 2015.

[22] Such as Majesty Tsagadigi Blaise, who had still attended the initiation.

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Chapter Six

"Fieldwork in Archives": A Methodological Approach of the Fang's Xylophone Music through Sound Archives (1908–2000)

Claire Lacombe

Since the invention of the phonograph, the conservation of sound recordings has provided the opportunity to evaluate persistence and modifications of oral traditional music. The present study represents such a diachronic analysis on Fang xylophone music conserved in European sound archives. This study links sources from different places and times in order to deduce information concerning the sources, the musical system and the history of the ethnical group so that the study of sound archives became a kind of "fieldwork in archives" (Lechaux 2015: 21).

Context of this study

The Fang are located in Central Africa, particularly in North Gabon, in South Cameroon and in Equatorial Guinea. During the nineteenth century, the Fang, associated with the Bulu and the Beti, were named as *Pahouins* (in French) or *Pangwe* (in German). This denomination is no longer used (Alexandre 1958: 4), but it is still relevant in the historical context of this study. The Fang are subdivided into three principal subgroups: Fang Ntumu, Fang Mveng and Fang Fang.

Three kinds of xylophones[1] are played by Fang people:

- The single resonator xylophone, usually played at church by the Fang Ntumu, was probably imported with Christianity at the beginning of the twentieth century (Rivière 1999: 139). This kind of xylophone is not represented in the archive even though it is the

most recent one. Hervé Rivière (1999: 139) gives a description of this instrument, which has between nine and twenty-three keys fixed on a wooden resonance box.

- The portable xylophone with calabash resonators (cf. Fig. 1, 2), called *mendzang*. Five or six instruments play together in an orchestra. The number and size of the keys depend on the instrument: the lowest xylophone has two or three keys and the highest one around nine. Each instrument has its own name and way of playing. This kind of xylophone is the most common nowadays and in the archives. It is usually played at wedding ceremonies (Duvelle 2000).

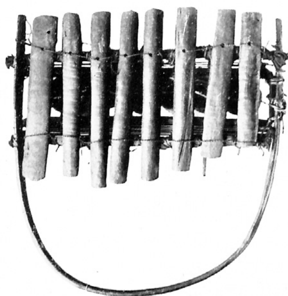


Fig. 6-1 Xylophone with calabash resonators (*mendzang*). Photo: In Tessmann 1913: 322

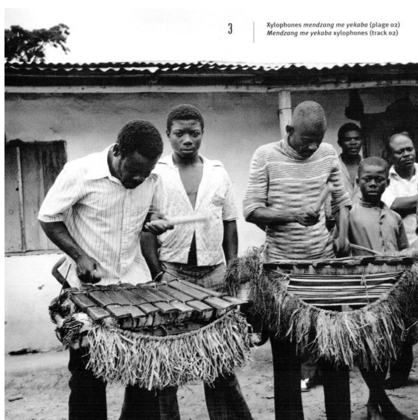


Fig. 6-2 Xylophone with calabash resonators (*mendzang*). Photo: In Duvelle 2000: 9

- The log xylophone (cf. Fig. 3) is called the *melane* or *mendzang me biang*. It may have from eight to more than twenty keys disposed on two banana tree-trunks, and can be played by one or two musicians. Sometimes the keys are distributed on two different instruments—a small one with eight keys and a taller one with twelve keys. A different musician plays each instrument. This xylophone was played during the initiation ceremony *Melane* for the ancestor's cult called *Byéri* (Sallée 1980: 52). Nowadays, the log xylophone has disappeared from Gabon.

Fig. 6-3 Log xylophone. Photo: In Duvelle 2000: 7

Corpus and method

The corpus of Fang xylophone recordings I have studied is heterogeneous and includes:

- 16 wax cylinders collected by Günter Tessmann in 1908; all of them are recordings of the log xylophone and each cylinder has between one and three pieces.
- 2 recordings published by Herbert Pepper in 1959; one recording is a dance played by a portable xylophone orchestra and the second is played by a log xylophone.
- 22 recordings by Pierre Sallée, collected in 1966; most of these recordings are pieces and two of them are recordings *in situ*.
- 2 published recordings by Michel Vuylsteke in 1968; one from each type of xylophone—the portable and the log.

- 3 published recordings by Charles Duvelle collected in 1976; two recordings from different pieces played on log xylophone and one recording of different pieces played by an orchestra of portable xylophones.
- 5 published recordings by Claude Flagel in 1993; one piece is played by an orchestra of portable xylophones, the others are played by log xylophone.
- 2 recordings mixed with music from Johann Sebastian Bach published by Pierre Akendengue in February 2009; one is played by an orchestra of portable xylophone combined with a European baroque orchestra and the other is a recording of log xylophone and cello.

These sources are located in different European archives and institutions: Tessmann's wax cylinders are stored in the *Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv*.[2] Those by Pierre Sallée are in the CNRS Musée de l'Homme archives and are available online on Telemeta.[3] Recordings from Vuylsteke and Flagel are stored in Tervuren at the archives of the Royal Museum for Central Africa.[4] This group of recordings gathered all those from xylophones played by Fang people available nowadays from institutional archives in Europe.

My research centralised all the different kinds of metadata linked to each recording. I consulted written sources related—to various degrees—with the recordings; for example: Tessmann's monograph (1913), articles by Sallée (1980, 1985) and Gourlay (1984a, b) or disc inlays (Duvelle 2000, Dehoux 1992, Vulysteke 1968, Flagel 1991, Pepper 1958). For comparative and diachronic reasons, recent studies on Fang music or Fang history and publications concerning neighbouring ethnical groups were also consulted.

Methodological approach

The method I used includes four stages to deduce different levels of information on historical sources:

- **Localising and collecting** the existing recordings. For example, the recordings by Pierre Sallée stored in the CNRS Musée de l'Homme archives were copies; the originals were stored in the IRD (Institut pour la Recherche et le Développement) archives in Bondy. Two recordings were missing from the copies but not from the originals.

- **Identification** of sound contents and comparison with the metadata. The type of xylophone was missing on most of the recordings but the comparison of sounds and the way of playing allows me to determine, for example, which type was recorded.
- **Confrontation** between archival information and written sources. For example, the origin of some recordings was not precise enough and comparisons between Tessmann's diary and places of recordings gave me the opportunity to localise them.
- **Musical analysis and transcription**. The final stage of this study allowed me to deduce information about the origin of some recordings (Ntumu, Mveng) and to compare the ways of playing and tuning the same type of xylophone between 1966 and 2000.

What can we learn about Fang xylophone music through sound archives?

We can achieve two levels of knowledge while working specifically on sound archives. The first level concerns information deduced from comparisons between recordings and metadata. The second level deals with musical analysis and diachronic study.

1. First step: deductions

Through the confrontation of musical material and metadata, deductions may occur in relation to places, dates and contents of recordings.

For example: the places and dates of recording written on the boxes of Tessmann's wax cylinders are discordant with his field diary. These recordings were collected in 1908 and not in 1907 (Laburthe-Tolra 1991: 26–32). During the spring of 1908, Tessmann was forced to leave his camp in the centre of Equatorial Guinea for the southern part of *Protektorat Kamerun* so all the xylophone recordings by Tessmann come from Cameroon and were collected during the summer of 1908.

The type of xylophone recorded by Tessmann was not mentioned in the metadata despite the fact that he gives information about two types in his monograph (Hornbostel 1913: 322–24). Comparison of recordings by Sallée with those by Tessmann allowed me to confirm that he only recorded the log xylophone.

Helped by Susanne Fürniss, I added one cylinder of xylophone music to the list from Berlin. Cylinder 30 is referred to in the metadata as "a/ *Blasinstrumente*, b/*Blasinstrumente mit Gesang*" (a/wind instruments,

b/wind instruments and song) and the vocal announcement at the beginning of the recording is: "*Xylophon-Konzert, Xylophon-Duett*". Confusion may have occurred during registration at the archive institution or it could be a linguistic misunderstanding. In fact, the vocal announcement of cylinder 33 is *obwé*. A German transcription should have been *oboe*, which means oboe, a wind instrument, but, in fact, *obwé* in Fang language seems to be a binary couple dance, as shown in descriptions given by Tessmann, which was danced during the "soul ceremony" (Laburthe-Tolra 1991: 282).

Deductions may also concern the musical system:

1.1. For the portable xylophone:

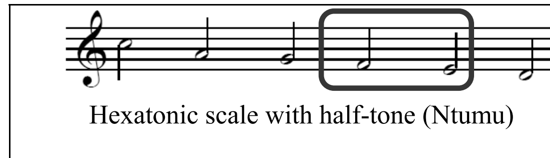
The number of instruments in the orchestra changes from one sub-group to another: Mveng and Fang orchestras count six instruments (cf. Fig. 4) while Ntumu only five.

Fig. 6-4 Fang Fang, Gabon, six musicians. Photo: In Le Bomin 2001: 214

The topology of the portable xylophone is linear (Dupont 2003: 13), despite those played in Central Africa (see Le Bomin 2000, Dehoux 1991). This organisation may have consequences for the way of playing this instrument and the musical organisation.

Comparisons between tuning the portable xylophones between Ntumu and Mveng through archive recordings shows that both use a hexatonic scale. The scale on Mveng's xylophone has no half-tone whereas Ntumu's xylophone has a half-tone.

Hexatonic scale without half-tone (Mveng)


Hexatonic scale with half-tone (Ntumu)

In the orchestra, the lowest instrument plays a rhythmic role, like a drum, despite the fact that the xylophone is a melodic instrument. V. Dehoux showed the same use in the xylophone orchestra from the Central African Republic (1991: 3).

Fang people play dance music with the portable xylophone orchestra. The choir they accompany always sings in unison, which is a particularity of the Fang compared with neighbouring peoples.

***1.2. For the log xylophone*:**

The keyboard topology may change, generating confusion between the number of instruments and musicians. In 1908, Tessmann announced that one or two musicians played one instrument. In 1966, Sallée recorded pairs of xylophone, which means two musicians playing two different xylophones (1980: 52). In 1976, Duvelle took pictures of solo instruments played by one or two musicians (2000: 7–8).

The keyboard's topology of the log xylophone is not linear. Again, the topology of the Fang people's keyboard is distinguishable from neighbouring populations like the Azande in the Central African Republic.

2. Second level: diachronic analysis between change and persistence

In oral traditions, beyond individual modifications, fieldwork in archives allows identification of general changes and persistence.

2.1. What seems to be constant?

Photos and descriptions in archive sources show that the morphology of each kind of xylophone is the same as at the beginning of the twentieth century. The context of playing these instruments has also been maintained since that time.

The tuning of the portable xylophone stays stable in time and places. The scale of the Ntumu instrument recorded in 1966 by Sallée is the same as one recorded in 2000 by Le Bomin in two distant villages.

Finally, stability could be observed despite space through comparison of the Fang and the Beti-Eton. The way of organising their portable xylophone orchestras is similar (the lowest xylophone plays a rhythmic role, two medium xylophones play an accompaniment and the highest one is the soloist).

2.2. What has changed?

The most important modification is the disappearance of the log xylophone in Gabon. With the disappearance of its context of playing, the instrument is no longer played. In 1908, Tessmann recorded only log xylophone. In 1966, Sallée collected more portable xylophones than log ones. In 2000, Le Bomin did not manage to find one log xylophone. This instrument was used in a particular context linked with the ancestor's cult, the *Byéri*. The log xylophone was played during the three days of initiation (*Melane*) into this cult (Laburthe-Tolra 1991: 282). The arrival of Christianity at the beginning of the twentieth century forced the Fang people to give up the *Byéri*. This comparison of archive sources reveals an important modification of the Fang society, not only a musical modification but also more generally a spiritual one.

Conclusion

Far from the bearers of tradition, archives give the opportunity to learn about music and society. The diachronic analysis between archive sources enters into dialogue with the history of music itself.

Each recording should be considered a complex individual memory: the memory of musicians, the memory of the place of recording and the memory of the collector. Three levels of memories are gathered in one recording. A diachronic analysis makes conversation between these memories and the memory of each recording studied. Thus, this confrontation of individual memories gives information about the

collective memory of the Fang people and about their history and historical changing over a hundred years.

Notes

[1] Each subgroup has some musical particularities that allow the distinguishing between them.
[2] See http://www.smb.museum/en/museums-institutions/ethnologisches-museum/collection-research/about-the-collection.html. Information on the wax cylinder collection of Tessmann can be found in Ziegler 2006.
[3] http://archives.crem-cnrs.fr/
[4] http://music.africamuseum.be/french/index.html

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CHAPTER SEVEN

WHEN PAST AND PRESENT HOLD A DIALOGUE THROUGH MUSIC: THE DIACHRONIC COMPARISON OF *BWÉTÈ* CEREMONIES (GABON)

ÉMELINE LECHAUX

Introduction

This article focuses on the diachronic comparison of *bwétè* ceremonies among the Mitsogo population of Gabon from 1966 to 2013. Twelve thousand people—1 percent of the Gabonese population—belong to the Mitsogo population. They live in the mountainous region of the Ngounié province and in the Estuaire province, especially in Libreville, the capital. They speak the Getsogo language—B.30 group, according to Guthrie (1967–1971)—and French, the official language of Gabon.

The *bwétè* is an initiation society that exists in many populations in Gabon. My research concerns a branch of *bwétè* called *bwétè dísùmbà*[1]. The term *dísùmbà* means the "beginning" and the "origin of all things". This collective and masculine initiation consists of the acquisition of knowledge about the world and the origin of humanity.

The starting point of this research was the discovery of Pierre Sallée's collection.

To make a field of archives from an archived field

Pierre Sallée (1933–1987) was a French ethnomusicologist. Between 1965 and 1978, he collected many recordings, paper documents and photographs about the music of 30 different populations in Gabon. In 1988–1989, this collection was presented to the Laboratory of Ethnomusicology (Musée de l'Homme, Paris)—which became the

Research Centre for Ethnomusicology[2]—where it is preserved at present in Nanterre. There, I made digital inventories of the recordings and the paper documents. I also made a documentary analysis of more than a thousand musical pieces. Thanks to the work of a team from the Research Centre for Ethnomusicology, all the recordings have been digitised and indexed. These recordings are available on the collaborative platform Telemeta.[3]

Fig. 7-1 Pierre Sallée recording a harp-zither player. Lekoni (Gabon), 1966. Pierre Sallée's collection. Research Centre for Ethnomusicology, Nanterre. © All rights reserved

Before working on the Pierre Sallée collection, I had already worked on the current practice of *bwétè* ceremonies. When I listened to Sallée's recordings, I was aware of the similarities to the ceremonies performed nowadays, 50 years on, in Gabon. I then decided to work on links between *bwétè* knowledge and practices of the 1960s and those of the 21st century, with the aim of contributing to the dialogue between history and ethnomusicology through the construction of a diachronic comparison.

This diachronic perspective is particularly relevant in terms of anthropological and ethnomusicological literature. Indeed, even if questions of origin and dissemination of *bwétè* are often discussed through restitution and analysis of endogenous discourses, no study deals with its

history through both the analysis of sound material and the comparison of recordings made at different times.

Working on Pierre Sallée's collection at the Musée de l'Homme, I made a *field of archives* from an *archived field.* I questioned these audio recordings and paper documents in the context of new research, including them in a project other than Sallée's.

Conducting my own fieldwork among the Mitsogo population and gathering recent documents about *bwétè*, I have been able to explore the history of these ritual repertoires over a period spanning half a century.

I gathered sources about *bwétè* collected by three ethnomusicologists. All of these sources were collected among the Mitsogo population in Gabon: firstly, all the information and material Pierre Sallée collected in the 1960s, mainly sound recordings from 1966 and 1968 and the film *Disoumba* (Sallée 1969); then, information and material collected by the French ethnomusicologist Sylvie Le Bomin between 2001 and 2003; finally, information and material I myself collected between 2005 and 2013.

The results of the diachronic comparison are presented in my doctoral thesis (Lechaux 2015). On one hand, they contribute to enriching the knowledge about *bwétè* ritual and its history. I analysed the permanencies and the variants of the *bwétè* ceremonies from three perspectives: the musical instruments, the ritual protocol and the musical analysis of a repertoire of songs specific to these ceremonies: that of the *mópɔ̀sɛ̀* phase, central to the *bwétè* ceremonies. I theorised that the essential principles of these ceremonies and those of the musical repertoires have changed little over half a century. This hypothesis was confirmed by a detailed analysis of materials compared with results of fieldwork and those of anthropological literature. The results of the diachronic comparison indicate a great stability of this part of the Tsogo culture, over two generations, in an increasingly globalised world in which musical pieces and dances of this ritual meet those that are broadcast and danced in Gabonese bars, such as the Congolese rumba.

On the other hand, the results of my doctoral thesis offer a method for diachronic comparison in ethnomusicology. In this article, I will explore the following question: how can we study and compare different individual cultural memories and expressions from different times in order to increase knowledge about *bwétè* history?

It will be shown that the use of these sources as *musicological objects* is particularly relevant to make past and present dialogue. For instance, this angle of approach can shed light on the social context in which a sound recording was collected. This evidence is substantiated by the explanation

of the analytical development that led me to identify one phase of *bwétè* ceremonies: the *mópɔ̀sɛ̀* phase.

Which methodology for the diachronic comparison?

As they were collected by three different ethnomusicologists, the materials I analysed were heterogeneous and some of them were second-hand materials. How to analyse and compare these types of material in the same body of work?

This is the endogenous organisation, characterised by a sequence of phases during the ceremonies, which was the reference point for the first stage of my analysis work. In the field, my investigations focused on the moments characterised by the presence of music and dance. Each of these moments has a vernacular name. In the field, I collected fourteen different names of phases, yet some phases are repeated during the same ceremony and from one ceremony to another. I invented the notion "version of phase" to refer to each interpretation of a phase as it occurs at a precise moment.[4]

I analysed the ceremonies filmed by Sylvie Le Bomin in 2001 based on her paper documents. These data provided some names for the different phases and described the ceremony proceedings but they concerned *bwétè* ceremonies organised in another context in 2002. So I watched these audiovisual recordings with initiates in the field and worked with them to identify the different phases.

Moreover, between those phases, there are moments whereby the initiates give a description but no nomenclature. So, to analyse the ritual, I myself segmented ritual time into different moments. I call these moments "sequences" when I refer to my own segmentation.

Then, the comparison of the documentation collected by Sylvie Le Bomin with that of Pierre Sallée did not allow the identification of units in the recordings that could be compared. Indeed, the segmentation of the ritual time conducted by each of those ethnomusicologists was not based on the same criteria. Contrary to Sylvie Le Bomin, Pierre Sallée gave very little information about the names and the sequence of phases in his written descriptions of the ceremony of 1968. So then, how to proceed in identifying the ritual protocol?

The trail that consisted of conducting the comparison from a guiding case proved to be productive. I chose the current practice as a guiding case due to the possibility to access data based on endogenous categorisation. Therefore, I considered the phase as the first level of analysis.

Lastly, to analyse the body of data, I used the free and open source software program Lignes de temps (Timelines), developed by the Institute

for Research and Innovation (IRI) in 2007.[5] This software allows the segmentation, annotation, indexing and comparative analysis of sound and audiovisual material based on different criteria. This software is now available as a web platform with open access for researchers and teachers, and includes new publishing capabilities: a player embedded for simple annotation, a mash-up tool, hyper video composer, etc.[6] Lignes de temps is mainly used for film analysis. My work was the first to experiment with its use in ethnomusicology. I adapted the functionalities of this software to the ritual analysis.

The analysis of the ritual protocol, i.e., the sequence of phases, shows that the 1960s' practice and the current practice share thirteen phases, which indicates an important stability of the ritual protocol. Figure 7-2 illustrates this result with recordings from 1968 (Pierre Sallée) and 2001 (Sylvie Le Bomin).

Fig. 7-2 Stability of the ritual protocol (1968–2001). Timelines "Versions of phases and sequences". Lignes de temps, Institute for Research and Innovation

In the bottom left-hand corner, the names of the recordings are indicated: the first one refers to the ceremony of 1968; the second one to the ceremony of 2001 that begins the initiation, and the third one to the ceremony of 2001 that ends the initiation.

For each of them I created what is called a timeline. The timelines which appear in the image are called "Versions of phases and sequences". Each segment corresponds to a version of a phase or to a sequence. I associated a colour with each of them. Some colours are repeated. All

segments that have the same colour are either identical phases or identical sequences. For instance, two segments in dark blue are two versions of the *mópɔ̀sɛ̀* phase. One can easily browse these segments and compare them by making edits.

Most of my analysis work consisted of the segmentation of the sound and audiovisual material. This led to the creation of 4,671 segments that I listened to and compared in order to understand how the ceremonies developed and what the principles were. Some of these segments are musical pieces defined as follows: a musical piece is "the materialisation, within a category, of a musical utterance identifiable as such by the upholders of that culture" (Arom et al. 2008: 294).

Identification of the *mópɔ̀sɛ̀* phase from the ceremony of 1968: example of an analytical development

When analysing the ceremony that begins the initiation of 2001, one can see, at the beginning, the initiates carrying the sacred bush they call *sómbì* in the context of initiation. Then, they plant it in front of the temple. The bush will remain planted during the entire duration of the initiation. The sacred space formed around the *sómbì* represents the central place towards which converge all the paths taken by the initiates. Certain moments of grouping together around this bush draw attention: the initiates form a circle and perform particular short songs.

As these specific moments were similar, in my opinion, I theorised that they corresponded to an endogenous category. My hypothesis was validated by fieldwork. My investigations allowed the emergence of the term *mópɔ̀sɛ̀,* which refers to the moments I considered identical. These moments correspond to an endogenous category I call "phase" and they constitute the heart of the ritual. The sacred bush has two functions: it protects the participants during the ceremonies and it is considered the "son of the *mótɔ̀mbì* tree", which is very important for the Mitsogo population. Indeed, according to an initiation song, "it is at the foot of this Tree of Life that will vibrate the child who will revive".[7] The space around the *mótɔ̀mbì* tree represents an important stage towards the integration into the initiation society.

However, although the importance of the *sómbì* had been noted by the ethnologist Otto Gollnhofer and by Pierre Sallée, the *mópɔ̀sɛ̀* phase and the musical repertoire associated had not yet been studied. So, I decided to analyse them.

The word "*mópɔ̀sɛ̀*" does not appear in Pierre Sallée's collection. Furthermore, most of the recordings of that collection are sound

documents—not audiovisual documents—which necessarily limits the analysis of certain parameters. I raise the following question: can we exploit the recordings for which there is little descriptive data?

In the ceremonies of 2001, the *mópɔ̀sɛ̀* phase is repeated ten times. What is its specificity? The grouping of the initiates in a circle is the most visible feature that allows the identification of this phase. Then, the musical analysis of the different versions of the *mópɔ̀sɛ̀* phase allowed me to identify a stockpile of pieces that are specific to this phase. How did I identify these pieces? In Sylvie Le Bomin's paper documents, pieces, names and delimitations are not indicated. Listening to the recordings, I was dealing with a sound continuum whose segmentation was not provided by the collector. I therefore segmented the sound continuum taking into account the renewal of musical material. This work was based on my fieldwork and the listening sessions I did with initiates so as to delimit the boundaries of a piece's identity: two utterances are considered as the same piece if they have the same melodic-rhythmic pattern and the same text. The pieces performed during the *bwétè* ceremonies have predominantly a cyclic form. I produced a typology of the *mópɔ̀sɛ̀* repertoire. It enabled me to identify 39 different pieces in the current practice. These 39 pieces are specific to the *mópɔ̀sɛ̀* repertoire. This stockpile of pieces was the point of departure in reconstructing a part of the puzzle of the ceremony of 1968. In the ceremony of 1968, I identified eight pieces identical to those of the ceremony of 2001.

Therefore, what confirmed this lead towards the identification of the *mópɔ̀sɛ̀* phase as it was recorded in 1968? Let us recall the aforementioned feature that allows the identification of this phase: the fact that men are grouped together around the sacred bush. As the analysis of the ceremony of 1968 is based on sound material, there is no way of knowing if men are around the bush. But it turns out that Pierre Sallée used these recordings from 1968 to make his film *Disoumba* (Sallée 1969). I was able to establish the exact correspondences between sound units from 1968 and sound units from *Disoumba*. There is a moment in this film where the initiates are grouped together around the sacred bush. I could identify this unit in the 1968 recordings.

My different analyses gave strong indications that led me towards the identification of two versions of the *mópɔ̀sɛ̀* phase in the ceremony of 1968. Henceforth, after conducting fieldwork and making music analysis, I know that *mópɔ̀sɛ̀* is a specific phase of initiation. This data, combined with other results, has allowed me to contribute to the identification of the context in which the ceremony of 1968 was recorded: the ceremony that begins the initiation of *bwétè dísùmbà*.

To validate these hypotheses, I developed a validation stage based on three processes:

1) the accumulation of features;
2) the comparison between Pierre Sallée's sources and works of ethnologists;
3) the field investigations by making the initiates listen to the sound recordings.

Conclusion

In the ritual context of *bwétè*, music is an important operator that belongs to a complex system of relationships with other components of the ritual. In this article, I have raised the following issues: can we shed light on the social context in which a musical event took place in the 1960s when the only data are a sound *continuum* and some descriptive information provided by the collector? How can we get extra-musical information through musical analysis?

Choosing the current practice as a guiding case, I have conducted a diachronic comparison of *bwétè* ceremonies that has led me to identify the context of the ceremony that begins the initiation in the sound recordings made by Pierre Sallée in 1968. Concerning the ritual protocol, I have identified the two versions of the *mópɔ̀sɛ̀* phase, the location of initiates around the sacred bush as well as the ritual actions and dances around this bush. Thus, this study shows how the work of the musicologist contributes to the science of anthropology.

Finally, the use and study of historical sources have been particularly relevant in creating a new perspective around the history of *bwétè*. Pierre Sallée made other recordings of *bwétè* ceremonies. Further analyses could be made to strengthen the method, be more representative and enrich the knowledge about the history of this ritual.

Notes

[1] To lighten the text, I will write "*bwétè* ceremonies" in the rest of the article to refer to my research subject.

[2] CREM - LESC, CNRS - Université Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense.

[3] http://archives.crem-cnrs.fr/archives/fonds/CNRSMH_Sallee/. Metadata of Pierre Sallée's collection is available without access codes. In return, a registration is needed to consult the sound recordings.

[4] This notion is based on the term "version" associated with the term "musical piece" used by certain ethnomusicologists, particularly Simha Arom (1985).

[5] http://www.iri.centrepompidou.fr/outils/lignes-de-temps/.
[6] http://ldt.iri.centrepompidou.fr/.
[7] Lyrics translated from Getsogo. Pierre Sallée's collection, Research Centre for Ethnomusicology, Nanterre.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

THE CNRS – MUSÉE DE L'HOMME SOUND ARCHIVES FROM 1900 TO THE PRESENT: A LONG WAY BETWEEN HERITAGE, KNOWLEDGE AND TECHNOLOGIES[1]

JOSÉPHINE SIMONNOT

The online web-based platform for the French *CNRS – Musée de l'Homme* sound archives offers access to published and unpublished recordings of music from all over the world, collected from the 1900s through the present day. We first introduce these sound archives managed by the Research Centre for Ethnomusicology.[2] We then explain their entry in the new web eco-system as well as their availability to a broad audience through a suite of tools for analysis and visualisation. Finally, we study how a sound archive database can become a collaborative tool for the production and dissemination of knowledge.

Historical constitution of the archives

Over the last century, audio documents have become increasingly important in ethnomusicology and the best available technologies have always been required. Recordings are not only a way to fix and preserve music for future generations. They also support musical transcriptions for researchers and shape our knowledge of musical phenomena. In this context, the *CNRS – Musée de l'Homme* music archives became one of the largest ethnomusicology archives in Europe, providing today online access to audio documents as well as detailed metadata. The establishment of these archives represents a long process begun by the musicologist André Schaeffner in the 1930s to collect, organise and archive published and unpublished audio recordings such as the Paris Universal Exhibition cylinders (1900). André Schaeffner participated in the "Dakar-Djibouti"

expedition (1931), an ethnographic field trip headed by Marcel Griaule on the Sub-Saharan belt. Aware that collecting musical instruments was not enough to understand musical practices, he made audio recordings, engraved on cylinders,[3] of numerous performances from Senegal, Mali, Cameroon and Ethiopia. These audio materials were preserved in the newly established *Phonothèque* in the *Département d'Ethnologie Musicale* of the *Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadero* in Paris, associated with the organology section of the department, which contained a significant collection of musical instruments. These instruments are now located at the *Musée du quai Branly* in Paris.[4]

In the following years, hundreds of audio recordings were added to the collection, including those from other explorative missions in North Africa involving Germaine Tillon and Thérèse Rivière (1936). Many published records were also collected from domestic and foreign labels such as *Victor*, *Zonophone*, *His Master's Voice*, *Brunswick*, *Columbia*, *Parlophon*, *Odéon*, *Polydor*, *Pathé* or *Gramofono*, as well as records produced during the Colonial Exhibit held in Paris in 1931. In 1937, the *Musée d'ethnographie* became the new *Musée de l'Homme*.

Fig. 8-1 A 78 rpm disc, recorded in Romania by Constantin Brăiloiu,1937. Photo by Jean-Marc Fontaine, 2009

A new ethnographic expedition crossed the central part of the African continent in 1946 and brought back musical recordings on shellac 78 rpm by Gilbert Rouget (Ogooue Congo Mission) (Gérard 2012), that were added to the collection of the *Musée de l'Homme*. Around the same time, the museum began releasing their collections of fieldwork recordings to the public on 78 rpm records under the label "*Musée de l'Homme*" (Fig.1).[5] In 1952, Rouget recorded the first tapes on the field, and since 1954, around 100 recordings were published as 33 and 45 rpm records [6] by editors like *Vogue Contrepoint* and *Boîte à Musique (BAM),* as well as different scientific institutions such as the *Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology* (Massachusetts, USA) and the *Institut Français d'Afrique Noire* (IFAN). The *Département d'Ethnologie Musicale* became the *Laboratoire d'ethnomusicologie* (Laboratory for Ethnomusicology) of the CNRS in 1968. Simultaneously, a sound laboratory was established for frequency analysis, with a Stroboconn in the 1950s and a Sonagraph in the 1970s.

The museum's collections later became the *CNRS – Musée de l'Homme* Archives. Between 1988 and 2001, 37 CDs were published under the label *Chant du Monde*,[7] such as *Anthology of Voices of the World* (1996) and *Musical Instruments of the World* (1990). In 1999, having been hired as a member of CNRS staff and warned about the insubstantiality of the tapes, I started the digitisation of some emblematic collections and the indexation of the native digital recordings. Later, the French Ministry of Culture supported a digitisation programme to continue this extensive work.

In 2009, the *Musée de l'Homme* was closed for renovations. The audiotapes were transferred to the French National Library, where they were preserved in an air-conditioned environment and where the digitising could be finished. The *Laboratoire d'ethnomusicologie* (Rouget 2004), renamed as the Research Centre for Ethnomusicology (CREM), moved with the record collections to the *Université Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense*. Over the years, the collection of unpublished audio materials has constantly increased, and has currently reached a rate of about 30 collections deposited annually, which represents between 500 and 1,000 audio items referenced in the database. Thousands of field recordings are deposited by collectors (or by their heirs): wax cylinders, celluloid records, magnetic tapes, DAT, together with descriptive documentation, more or less detailed, and dissemination agreements. However, the temporal nature of audio-visual materials raises specific issues of preservation and accessibility. Although digital formats can be duplicated

without loss of information, obsolete analogue formats are fragile and technology for accessing content on these formats is disappearing quickly. To handle issues with changing technologies, since 2007, the CREM has been implementing a strategy to classify and preserve these documents with an online sound database. This is the latest step taken in an almost century-long process of audio document diffusion and progressive adaptation to new technologies. Moreover, organising the digitalised archives into a standardised system fulfils a mandate from the French Ministry of Culture and the CNRS to provide access to digitised content on the Internet. Since 2011, these archives have been available through a web-based platform and represent a model for online collaborative tools (http://archives.crem-cnrs.fr). Today, 57,900 items from 6,100 collections are catalogued on this database. As of October 2016, more than 37,200 sound files have been uploaded, among which about 22,100 are available through streaming to the public without requiring user accounts. With an average of 2,500 single visitors each month consulting the platform, this database serves as a case study for the online diffusion of music archives.

Telemeta: a new open and collaborative web audio platform

Fig. 8-2 CNRS – Musée de l'Homme audio archives' home page

Telemeta is an open-source software platform designed by the Parisson Company,[8] which facilitates the management and indexing of sound files in the audio database (Fig. 2). As such, this digital assets management system (DAMS) is free and can be downloaded online,[9] embracing a philosophy of knowledge sharing. Sounds are available for listening in a compressed format delivered from a streaming server. Furthermore, sound can be visualised with a dynamic audio player using *TimeSide,*[10] an open web audio processing framework. Various graphical representations can be chosen, such as the waveform or the spectral view. These are useful for spotting speech or music sections and for navigating within a recording (Fig. 3).

The *CNRS – Musée de l'Homme* platform allows the enrichment of the sound database by researchers, students, archivists and people with special knowledge who can edit the metadata with a user account, with some practical rules given by the CREM staff. In particular, they can add historical, contextual or analytical comments to the available metadata. They can also add time-embedded markers and associated comments to the audio recordings, thus contributing to the displayed information according to their own expertise. Contributors are also encouraged to provide pictures and references (publications, links). The monitoring of provided information is based on trusting that authorised contributors are driven by an honest willingness to share their knowledge.

Fig. 8-3 A song from Opera of Beijing; spectral view with markers and comments

Beyond the collaborative aspect of the database, the long-term preservation of the archives on a server is also a strong argument to encourage contributors to work on the documentation related to their recordings. High definition copies of the sound content of the database are kept and backed up daily on the CNRS Infrastructure for Digital Humanities server, *Huma-Num,*[11] along with other scientific content such as nuclear or astronomical data. Online availability for publication is another motivation for depositing material (i-frame, QR code or url link embedded). An RSS (Rich Site Summary) flux automatically sends out updates about modifications and additions to users who subscribe to it. Thus, it is easy for anyone to follow the changes that have been made to the database. Today, many researchers from all over the world wish to deposit the personal archives they have collected throughout their careers in order to keep a record of these unpublished materials.

Written in Python and Javascript languages, the sound archives metadata are based on an open-source relational database management system called MySQL (Structured Query Language). In order to contextualise the collections, CREM has chosen to structure its catalogue on four levels: Archive *Series, Corpus, Collection* and *Item*. The *Item* is the minimal unit, the individual sound file with its own set of information. Items are gathered in a *Collection*, which is the main level of entry into the database. Each *Collection* can appear as a published or unpublished set of music recordings from a field study. Collections deposited by an individual collector or institution are organised into separate *Corpuses*, each one in reference to a theme, such as an ethnic group, a geographic area or a set of fieldwork trips. These corpuses are gathered into *Series* (*Fonds* in French) that are named in reference to the collector or the depositor of the audio archive. Detailed profiles are provided for the latter two levels of the catalogue, introducing the work of the collector or institution with attached documents when available, embedded short audio-visual materials and hypertext links to relevant web pages. For instance, see the page of Mireille Helffer, who works on Tibetan music (http://archives.crem-cnrs.fr/archives/fonds/CNRSMH_Helffer).

Of course, the design of this platform is a financial investment but as open-source software, other government (or non-government) organisations can use it without incurring the initial costs. This is a "sustainable" investment because all the IT data are available and the digital humanity community can use and improve it. The software is under Affero GPL licence (Free Software Foundation). The entire database could also be exported by its owner to be reused and, in this way, we send a

selection of our metadata each semester to the Europeana Library aggregation.

Ways to access the *CNRS – Musée de l'Homme* sound archives

The Telemeta platform offers different paths to access a sound item. The home page offers access by geographical region, a random selection of recordings leading directly to each audio document's page and direct access to all free-access items (Fig. 2). The user may browse with a simple search function or use the "advanced research," with which a user can select a particular country or ethnic group, a collector, a type of instrument, a title, the year of recording or of publication, and so on. Each sound recording has its own page containing audio and written metadata. Numerous text panels are dedicated to the listing of all information available about each recording in fields such as the date and place of the recording, its context, and the various instruments or voices heard, as well as information about the format and musical analysis. Archivists can use commonly accepted norms, such as the International Standardisation Organisation for languages (ISO 639). The names of geographical locations are standardised using the integration of *GeoEthno*[12] and *GeoNames*[13] thesauruses, allowing Telemeta to manage the different historical names of a location (Dahomey is the former name of Benin, for example).

The level of access to the collections depends on the status of a user. Users with **administrator** profiles can access every element on the database, download audio files and assign a selection of authorised actions to each user profile. Archivists have a specific profile, which allows them to reorganise the catalogue and ontologies and to integrate new documentation. It also allows for the uploading and downloading of recordings as compressed (MP3 and OGG) or uncompressed formats (WAV, FLAC).

The **researcher** profile (with a login) can access all audio archives and has the ability to edit metadata and annotate the audio files, in keeping with the collaborative nature of the database. A user's browser sets the language in which the platform is displayed (French, English, Spanish, Chinese, Arabic or German). This profile also includes the possibility to create personal lists in which the user can save selections of sound items. Such an option is particularly helpful for organising playlists for conferences or courses, arranging a template for the publication of recordings and gathering different musical recordings the user wishes to

use for research. The aim is to provide for the researchers' needs, allowing them to work on their archives.

Visitors (users without a login) have access to all the metadata of the catalogue. In addition, they can listen to all free-access recordings: records published by the *Musée de l'Homme* and all recordings that the collector and musicians agree to disseminate online. Any visitor can listen and visualise these recordings or export the audio player into external web pages through an i-frame html link. Bloggers can share recordings from the database in that way. However, the visitor profile does not allow the downloading of sounds (only streaming) or editing of metadata. Statistics about which recordings are shared on which blogs or websites are recorded, allowing the administrators to keep track of the circulation of the audio files. This form of online access can also be provided to organisations through IP addresses to allow a broader dissemination of all audio materials without a password, as in *Musée du quai Branly* or *Musée de l'Homme*.

The usage options of the different profiles are regularly reassessed, based on surveys about user experiences. Thus, the database is in constant evolution. The next step is to create a working group for sharing annotation during a work in progress.

Access and intellectual property rights

The *CNRS – Musée de l'Homme* archive allows for the online streaming of a part of their sound recordings. Access to the metadata catalogue is free. Nonetheless, restrictive options allow for control over the distribution of the audio documents with login-controlled access profiles. Through such decisions, numerous questions related to both intellectual property and ethical issues of some recordings have emerged.

Oral information that is transmitted from one generation to another often has no identifiable author or composer. Moreover, most archives, particularly the oldest ones, do not mention the names of the performers. In such cases, under the legal system in France, the person producing the recording is not the sole owner of the sound document. The document officially belongs to the performers, even if unknown, and to the institution that financed the fieldwork. This status gives the producer rights over the recording as an edited object while performers remain the owners of the music. Until 2015, these performer and producer rights lasted for a period of 50 years following the recording date. After this period, the recording enters the public domain. But the European law changed recently to 70 years after the year of recording. Only collections

recorded before 1963 remain available, unless there are specific ethical issues (e.g., recordings containing a secret ritual). Therefore, recordings made since 1963 will be available in 2033, according to the present law. Maybe it is a good deal for music producers or lawyers. However, for academic archivists, it just means much more work: how to contact every collector or performer from all over the world? How to convince public institutions to pay for digitising this restricted data? Furthermore, most of the time, the communities demand free access to their own heritage. They have no restrictions, especially for non-commercial use, as is the case of our institutions.

Thus, each collection has a level of access specifying whether it can be accessed with or without the sound, according to the current intellectual property rights and the depositor's wishes. Moreover, the CREM committee has recently decided to give full access to all the records published by the *Musée de l'Homme*[14] that are already online, although the editor (*Chant du Monde/Harmonia Mundi*) stopped the distribution of CDs 15 years ago and most of the records are out-of-commerce.

Since 2014, the CREM has adopted the *Europeana* model concerning rights related to sounds. *Europeana Sounds,*[15] a project of the European Commission, is a consortium of digital libraries that aims to provide access to Europe's sound and musical heritage. The main guidelines are that all metadata will be licensed under the public domain and that institutions are encouraged to use the rights statements of the Creative Commons (CC0, CC-BY and CC-BY-SA).[16] The tagline of the CREM, aligned with *Europeana*, is: "Public domain is the rule, copyright is the exception." Thus, metadata provided to *Europeana Sounds* could be reused and sounds under the public domain would be available with free access, but with a policy of "no re-use".

Open-access is also applied to some recent collections: researchers and depositors are increasingly aware of the benefits of web sharing. On the one hand, intellectual property is considered to be perpetual and inalienable in France. No one is allowed to claim ownership over a recording produced by another individual or to have any commercial use of it, even if the data is published online. On the other hand, online accessibility has changed the way traditional music is shared in an academic context. This allows interactions with the recording's performers in the local communities: it is an opportunity for ethnomusicologists to provide original performers access to content. The benefit of the tool is to introduce a collaborative exchange between researchers and musicians around their practices. For example, Dana Rappoport, an ethnomusicologist at the CNRS, has provided access to all her recordings[17] of vocal music made

in East Indonesia (1992–2012), which represent about 2,210 audio items, with the agreement of the local people. In doing so, she expresses the local community's wish to preserve and share this vanishing heritage. Recently, after the online discovery of their forgotten ritual, the Toraja performers have requested that all data should be available and propose their contribution as transcribing song texts. Furthermore, they are very grateful for the preservation of their vanishing heritage. With the recordings online, they could process a re-appropriation of their ritual tradition and teach the young people.

Contribution of the new technologies to sound databases and research

Soon after the release of this platform, two other sound databases began using the Telemeta framework to host their recordings. One is the Laboratory for Musical Acoustics (LAM, UPMC/CNRS),[18] which is using this system to organise sounds from musical instruments in order to study their acoustic properties. Another database, *Scaled Acoustic Biodiversity* (Sabiod),[19] is a consortium of research departments involved in studying the audio signals of marine animals. Since 2015, the *Centre des Musiques Arabes et Mediterranéennes,* hosted in Sidi Bou Said, Tunisia, has implemented an Arabic interface of Telemeta to manage the Tunisian National Sound Archives.

Although the overall architecture remains the same, numerous elements were adapted, such as the organisation of the metadata. For archivists, the compatibility with the Dublin Core metadata format allows the content of their databases to fit the Open Archives Initiative Protocol for Metadata Harvesting (OAI-PMH). Therefore, information stored on the database can be referenced on web search engines dedicated to the digital humanities, which ensures the distribution of data.

Online platforms, such as *Isidore* (the French meta-portal for digital humanities) and *Europeana Sound*, harvest the free-access archives provided by the *CNRS – Musée de l'Homme*. Launched in 2014 and sponsored by the European Commission, this project will give online access to a critical mass of audio-visual digital objects. In 2017, over a million sound recordings will be available via *Europeana*, from classical and folk music to environmental sounds and oral histories. The project, coordinated by the British Library, brings together 24 partners (national libraries, research centres and universities) from 12 European countries that will work together on a new structure for audio data: the European Data Model for sounds (EDM).[20]

Since 2011, when the Telemeta platform became operational, academic and public use of the database has increased. Projects concerning sound databases also increased, providing wider financial support. Beyond the scope of ethnomusicology, researchers such as anthropologists, linguists, musicians and acousticians find elements for their own work. Students have conducted research by using collections, including research from a diachronic perspective (Khoury 2014, Lacombe 2013). Publications in many formats, whether books or articles, and even museum exhibits, can include audio illustrations in reference to specific recordings archived on the database by embedding a URL link or a QR code, as in Gérard (2012).

Numerous unanticipated uses of the platform have emerged, including teaching and specialised blogging. University professors from North America and Europe, as well as school teachers, use online streaming of music from the *CNRS – Musée de l'Homme* to illustrate points raised in class and to help students practice musical analysis and transcription. Scientific blogs with embedded sounds from the database are published, such as *Jabal al-Lught,*[21] *Climbing the Mountain of Languages*. Lameen Souag, a CNRS researcher in North African languages, presents an analysis of a recording from the early 1950s in Algeria (Korandjé tale (قصـــة ب,) with a transcription in Korandjé, Arabic, English and French. He writes:

> Champault's recordings have recently been made available online by the Centre de Recherche en Ethnomusicologie, through Cécile Funke's archival work. Many are in Arabic or French, but the Korandjé ones are an irreplaceable resource for the study of the language; in her time, the language was under rather less pressure and verbal arts were in much better health. (Jabal al-Lught 2014: http://lughat.blogspot.fr/2014/03/korandje-tale-conte-en-korandje.html)

Because the open-access policy applies to a large number of recordings, the archive platform makes musical knowledge accessible outside the academic sphere, allowing individuals to expand their knowledge (see, for example, the blog dedicated to 78 rpms, *Ceints de Bakelite*[22]).

Another community of users appeared on Telemeta last year: researchers in Musical Information Retrieval (MIR).[23] These researchers require many musical recordings to improve algorithms for the analysis of audio content. This use of Telemeta generates innovative research programmes at the forefront of new technologies in the digital audio field. Since 2013, new analytical tools have been developed through the *DIADEMS* project (Description, Indexation, Access to Ethnomusicological and Sound Documents),[24] a national French project involving several CNRS departments specialising in computer engineering (speech

and music detection). The objective of *DIADEMS* is to implement new options on the Telemeta framework and improve access to the musical data by users. In his thesis, *Spectre de rythme et sources multiples: au cœur des contenus ethnomusicologiques et sonores*, Maxime Le Coz (2014) present results of some analysis tools implemented in this project. Since 2015, new tools are tested by the CREM and the museum staff. Now, to index and segment the audio content, we are being helped in this long and careful process with online tools, like start recorder detection, speech/singing detection, monophonic/polyphonic parts detection, pitch, tempo, etc. With these new analysis tools and annotation markers, the CREM experiments with new collaborative work between the sound engineer and the archivist to identify the content and segment the sound files in an efficient way. The next step is the proposal of specific ontologies or tagging to describe the categories and manage the public access to annotations and enrichments of some work in progress from researchers. Exploring all the functionality of such analysis tools will be a long road. But, without doubt, the music information retrieval community is deeply interested in our anthropological material, looking for a "real life" sound database to build the audio research engine of the future. They have come to us with providential financial support to save our endangered old tapes.

Conclusion

Fifteen years ago, when the production and dissemination of CDs were economically difficult, the main concern was providing access to all individuals interested in the music archive of the *Musée de l'Homme* and facilitating work and study with these documents. Today, the digitisation of music and its publication online has facilitated the exchange of music on a massive scale never before imagined. Thanks to the Internet, new uses and new opportunities are available to scholars, and to the performers and their communities. The contemporary mechanisms for music sharing also create innovative research approaches and present new opportunities for connections between oral culture disciplines.

New challenges also appear, such as questions of intellectual property in an increasingly commercial world, even when culture and science are considered to be common property. Governments have always sponsored academic institutions that collected our musical heritage. Now, new tools exist to preserve, disseminate and study this knowledge if stakeholders agree to sustainably support the necessary technological infrastructure. An exciting fact is that the world's musical heritage is no longer limited to a

few specialists. Everyone can discover these resources, even local musicians and their descendants.

Notes

[1] This work, DIADEMS, is partly supported by a grant from the ANR (French National Research Agency) with the reference ANR-12-CORD-0022.
[2] http://crem-cnrs.fr
[3] http://archives.crem-cnrs.fr/archives/fonds/CNRSMH_Cylindres/
[4] The instruments catalogue: http://collections.quaibranly.fr/pod16/#f498e01e-2cf1-4f95-917d-5fc69726e770
[5] http://archives.crem-cnrs.fr/archives/corpus/CNRSMH_Editions_001/
[6] http://archives.crem-cnrs.fr/archives/corpus/CNRSMH_Editions_002/
[7] http://archives.crem-cnrs.fr/archives/corpus/CNRSMH_Editions_003/
[8] http://www.parisson.com/
[9] http://telemeta.org
[10] https://github.com/Parisson/TimeSide
[11] http://www.huma-num.fr/
[12] http://www.mae.u-paris10.fr/dbtw-wpd/bibliotheque/g/MON.html
[13] http://www.geonames.org/
[14] http://archives.crem-cnrs.fr/archives/fonds/CNRSMH_Editions/
[15] http://www.europeanasounds.eu/about
[16] http://creativecommons.org
[17] http://archives.crem-cnrs.fr/archives/fonds/CNRSMH_Rappoport/
[18] http://telemeta.lam.jussieu.fr
[19] http://sabiod.telemeta.org/
[20]http://pro.europeana.eu/files/Europeana_Professional/EuropeanaTech/EuropeanaTech_taskforces/EDMSound//TF_Report_EDM_Profile_Sound_301214.pdf
[21] http://lughat.blogspot.fr/2014/03/korandje-tale-conte-en-korandje.html
[22] http://ceintsdebakelite.com
[23] http://www.ismir.net/index.html
[24] http://www.irit.fr/recherches/SAMOVA/DIADEMS/en/welcome/

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CHAPTER NINE

AUTOMATIC INDEXATION AND ANALYSIS OF ETHNOMUSICOLOGICAL ARCHIVES: ISSUES AND NEW CHALLENGES[1]

MARIE-FRANCE MIFUNE

As very large scientific databases for social science research become increasingly available, their management raises fundamental new questions and new research challenges. The main challenges concerning scientific databases in ethnomusicology, such as that of the *CNRS – Musée de l'Homme,* include the preservation of audio content and scientific data, questions about intellectual property and ethical concerns for data publication, and the development of tools and technologies for cataloguing, documenting and accessing the data. In ethnomusicology, researchers work with sound recordings as well as with other multimedia documents such as videos and photographs. The digitisation of these resources allows us to preserve and easily access such materials.

Since 2011, these digitised archives have been available through a web platform called Telemeta. Today, 49,300 items from 5,800 collections of the *CNRS – Musée de l'Homme* are catalogued on this database (see the article by Simonnot for the description of the *CNRS – Musée de l'Homme* Archive and Telemeta platform within this volume). The purpose of the Telemeta web platform is to provide researchers and archivists with a system for preserving and accessing sound archives. Telemeta allows sound items to be shared along with associated metadata that contain information about the context in which the music was produced (such as the title of the musical piece, the instruments played, the population of origin of the musicians, cultural elements related to the musical item, the collector, the year of the recording and so on).

Indexation in Telemeta is currently based on a semantic search entirely dependent on the information provided by the collector and the depositor of a sound item. Telemeta would benefit from the addition of new and

complementary metadata extracted directly from the audio signal, which could provide information about the global content or specific temporal zone of each audio item when contextual information is missing. The DIADEMS project aims to provide new automatic tools for indexing and analysing the audio content, which will be implemented on the Telemeta web platform.

The structure of this article is as follows. The first section presents the DIADEMS project, the different partners involved and the inter-disciplinary work on the development of computer tools. The second section describes our work on the automatic indexation of the audio content in the ethnomusicological archives. This represents one possible approach to the issue and is currently a work in progress. The final section discusses the new perspectives in ethnomusicology, and beyond, raised by the DIADEMS project.

1. DIADEMS project

The DIADEMS[2] project began in 2013 with the aim of developing computational tools to automatically index the audio content of the ethnomusicological archive of the *CNRS – Musée de l'Homme.* The tools are designed to extract metadata directly from audio signals in order to improve indexing and to provide efficient access to sound items in the archive through the Telemeta web platform (Fillon et al. 2014).

The DIADEMS project was elaborated during a meeting of researchers from different backgrounds at the "Sciences and Voice" Summer School organised by the French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS) in 2010. During this meeting, acousticians and ethnomusicologists recognised that automatic tools developed by computer scientists could facilitate the analysis and storage of their digitised audio archives.

DIADEMS is a multidisciplinary project involving research laboratories from several different disciplines such as the humanities and social sciences, the science and technology of information and communication, and the Parisson company, which is involved in the development of Telemeta. Participants include specialists in speech processing and music information retrieval, IT developers, acousticians, anthropologists, linguists, ethnomusicologists, sound engineers, archivists and experts in multimedia development. To better develop tools to detect analytical categories of interest, we combined the complementary skills of researchers in the four laboratory partners in DIADEMS (IRIT,[3] LABRI,[4] LIMSI[5] and LAM[6]), which specialise in the analysis of audio signals. The development of automatic indexation tools is carried out through collaborations between

computer scientists who develop the computer tools and ethnomusicologists, archivists, ethnologists and linguists (CREM-LESC,[7] EREA-LESC,[8] MNHN[9]), who are both primary users of the platform Telemeta and experts on the recordings' contents.

Ethnomusicologists, acousticians, computer engineers, linguists and archivists analyse sound with different objectives and disciplinary backgrounds with different theories, methodologies, concepts and terminologies. Thus, because interdisciplinary work between specialists from these disciplines requires the sharing of concepts and terminology, we produced a glossary of analytical categories and parameters used during the project to improve communication and comprehension among the DIADEMS partners.

The new technologies developed by computer scientists aim to help ethnomusicologists extract information that is relevant to their research interests from large amounts of archival content. In order to develop tools that would be useful to acousticians and ethnomusicologists, it was important for the computer scientists to become familiar with key issues regarding archiving and retrieval in ethnomusicological databases, and with acoustic characteristics of ethnomusicological recordings that may differ from those of other sound data, such as television and radio recordings. Most of the recordings in the *CNRS – Musée de l'Homme* archives are unpublished recordings of music and oral traditions from around the world, collected during field expeditions by researchers. The ethnomusicological archives include 28,000 recordings spanning a wide variety of cultural contexts worldwide, from the 1900s to the present day, as well as various settings (inside, outside, studio settings) and a wide variety of content (musical practice, speech, dance and so on).

In addition to heterogeneity in sound and production contexts, ethnomusicologists and archivists must consider how the automatic indexation tools will be used in addition to questions about intellectual property rights and the wishes of depositors. Many items in the collection include very little contextual information. The use of automatic indexation tools will help archivists to index such sound items and add new content information. Automatic indexation will also help researchers to better identify the quality and content of the recordings. Thus, ethnomusicologists and archivists must precisely define categories that will both capture the content of audio recordings and facilitate searches and analyses by researchers.

In this highly interdisciplinary context, we organised the development of computer tools in four stages. In the first stage, ethnomusicologists, acousticians and archivists defined the categories (e.g., speech and song) and associated parameters (e.g., fundamental frequency ranges) they

wished to detect automatically, bearing in mind the relevance of these categories for other future users of the Telemeta platform. Then, ethnomusicologists and archivists manually annotated the audio contents of a representative sample of sound items accessible on Telemeta to create a learning dataset. In the second stage, computer scientists used the learning dataset to develop computational tools to automatically index these audio recordings according to the categorisation and parameterisation defined by ethnomusicologists. Third, the computational tools were applied to another set of recordings serving as the test dataset. Validation was conducted by comparing manual annotations made independently by the ethnomusicologists on the test dataset with the automatic segmentation computed by the software. Categorisation parameters provided by ethnomusicologists based on the learning dataset may not always adequately transpose to the test dataset, hence producing automatic annotation errors during the validation procedure. Thus, computer scientists and ethnomusicologists went back and forth to refine the categorisation parameters on the learning dataset to improve the efficiency and accuracy of the automatic annotation software. The fourth and final stage will integrate the newly developed computational tools directly into the Telemeta online platform for automatic indexation of any *CNRS – Musée de l'Homme* audio recording. To do so, ethnomusicologists, archivists and computer scientists jointly designed the front end and user interface of these new tools.

2. Definition and detection of analytical categories

Categories of vocal productions

Computer scientists have previously developed tools to automatically detect analytic categories such as speech, music and song, primarily from French radio and television recordings. While such categories may be efficient in indexing sound recordings from radio and television, they are largely unable to account for the diversity of the sound recordings in the *CNRS – Musée de l'Homme* ethnomusicological archives. Indeed, the archives contain a large variety of musical performances and vocal practices ranging from speech to song. In fact, liminal utterances between speech and song[10] have been characterised by previous ethnomusicological studies. They showed that various modes of utterance can be characterised by specific acoustic features in the Yezidis from Armenia (Amy de la Bretèque 2010) and the Toraja from Indonesia (Rappoport 2009). Nevertheless it is extremely challenging for ethnomusicologists to define

an efficient categorisation of vocal productions based only on acoustic criteria and which would be equally efficient in all cultural practices worldwide. François Picard proposed that differences between recitation, declamation, chanting and singing are not universal but differ between distinct genres and cultures, as exemplified by the comparison of liminal utterances in speech and song in Chinese Buddhist ritual and Beijing Opera (Picard 2008).

The DIADEMS project proposed to formally test this hypothesis by evaluating the efficiency of automatic indexation of a wide variety of vocal productions, ranging from speech to song sampled from different cultures, based only on acoustic parameters. By doing so, we wished to reduce the traditional gap in academic studies between sound and semantics and to develop combined analytical tools for the study of vocal production. Classic ethnomusicological approaches focus on endogenous categorisations of musical practices, thus specific to each culture and never solely based on acoustic criteria. Therefore, ethnomusicologists needed to fundamentally change their usual methodological paradigms, concepts and analysis tools to develop automatic indexation tools based only on acoustic criteria.

We chose to classify vocal productions in two general categories: speech and song. Then, according to the database, we subsequently identified and defined subcategories such as talking, storytelling, recitation, chanting and singing (Fig. 1), not based on style or genre but on acoustics features only.

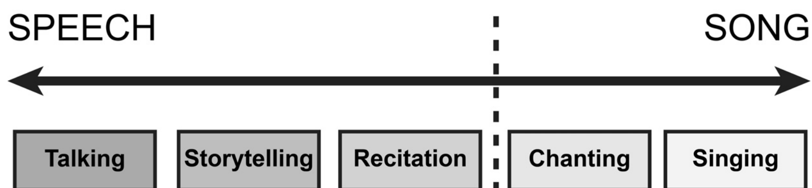

Fig. 9-1 Speech and song categories

We define *speech* as a vocal production with a significant proportion of unvoiced sounds. This feature is relevant for all the subcategories such as *talking*, *recitation* and *storytelling*. We distinguish *talking* from *storytelling* based only on the mode of realisation. *Talking* is characterised by dialogue and *storytelling* by monologue with or without back-channel signals (i.e., an expression or word used by a listener to indicate that he or she is paying attention to the speaker). *Recitation* is characterised by a

more regular breath rate and rhythmic flow than talking, and a monotonous statement with low frequency range variations.

Alternatively, *song* is defined as a vocal production with a significant proportion of lengthened syllables and voiced sounds. *Chanting* is characterised by a very limited vocal range, close to recto-tono. *Singing* is characterised by ordered pitches and the relative stability of fundamental frequencies. Fig. 2 synthesises this categorisation of vocal production and gives some examples from the *CNRS – Musée de l'Homme* database.

Level 1	Level 2	Characterisation	Mode of realisation	Example from the database
SPEECH	Talking	* *Significant proportion of unvoiced sounds* * Syllabic flow is faster than singing * Fundamental frequency shows rapid random variation (short intervals)	Dialogue	CNRSMH_I_2007_001_033_02 (Gabon)
	Storytelling	* *Significant proportion of unvoiced sounds* * Syllabic flow is close to talking	Monologue with / without back-channels	CNRSMH_I_1970_012_007_01 (Mali)
	Recitation	* *Significant proportion of unvoiced sounds* * Breath rate is more structured than talking breath rate * Rhythmic flow is more regular than talking rhythmic flow * Low frequency range variations make the statement monotonous	Monologue with / without back-channels	CNRSMH_I_1965_006_001_21 (Vietnam)
SONG	Chanting	* *Significant proportion of lengthened syllables and voiced sounds* * Words are uttered on a single frequency or a very limited vocal range, close to recto-tono * Fundamental frequency shows some dropouts at regular intervals	Monologue or Singing turns	CNRSMH_I_1959_006_001_01 (South India)
	Singing	* *Significant proportion of lengthened syllables and voiced sounds* * Pitches are ordered * Fundamental frequencies show relative stability	Solo / Choir / Singing turns	CNRSMH_I_1977_006_010_02 (North India)

Table 9-2 Characterisation of vocal categories

These different categories characterised by ethnomusicologists were then evaluated by the acousticians from the DIADEMS project (Feugère et

al. 2015). They tested some pitch features for the characterisation of intermediate vocal productions. They tested recording excerpts totalling 79 utterances from 25 countries around the world. Among the tested features, the note duration distribution proved to be a relevant measure. The results show that the proportion of 100-ms notes and the duration of the longest note are useful for classifying singing, chanting and speech but not for discriminating speech categories. Talking, storytelling and recitation categories cannot be distinguished based only on the acoustic features here tested. Results support the definitions given by ethnomusicologists: talking and storytelling only differ by the mode of realisation (monologue/dialogue), which is not embedded in pitch features. Furthermore, results corroborate the distinction made by ethnomusicologists between speech and song and their respective subcategories (talking, storytelling, recitation concerning speech and singing, chanting concerning song). These first results show that note duration can be a relevant measure to discriminate between speech, singing and chanting.

The other challenges for computer scientists concern the automatic detection of audio contents with overlapping speech from multiple speakers, speech over music, and instrumental music mixed with singing and/or spoken interventions. Further testing and validation will determine whether these computational tools can be successfully applied to other vocal productions from the archives.

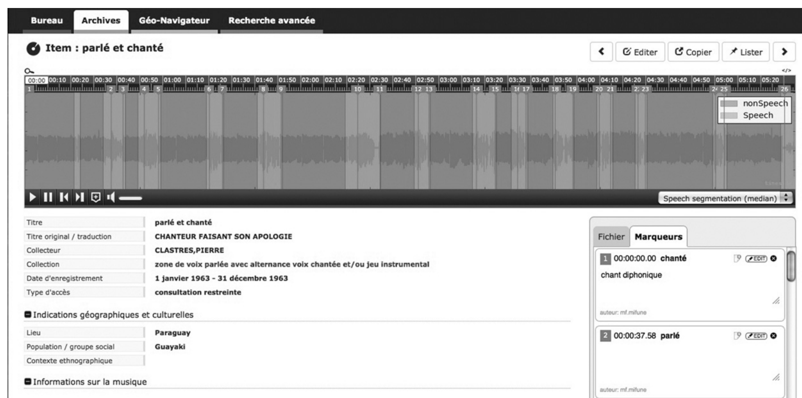

Fig. 9-3 Example of automatic tools to detect speech

The detailed definitions of categories and their criteria are still under development. Nevertheless, these definitions are a first attempt based on the ethnomusicological archives with which researchers[11] in DIADEMS

are most familiar. Ultimately, the goal is to refine these category definitions while expanding the corpus of recordings considered. In particular, we are aware that some of the terminology here used can be inappropriate for some specific practices or can be confusing among ethnomusicologists. These major lexicon issues will be overcome by the discussion and confrontation of our newly developed tools with the broader scientific community.

Finally, we also developed sets of tools for the detection of alternation between groups—such as speakers, soloists and choirs—to identify the structure of the recording. This automatic detection can also help researchers easily access the portions of a recording of specific interest without having to listen to the full recording, hence further improving the efficiency of the analysis.

We have worked extensively on vocal productions since it is the predominant content of the archives and it is also the most challenging task for all the partners. Thus, in this paper we will succinctly present the detection of other types of content such as musical instruments and sounds generated by the recording device that could be useful for indexing and analysing audio content of sound items from the *CNRS – Musée de l'Homme* archives.

Categories of musical instruments

The DIADEMS project also started to develop useful tools for detecting families of musical instruments. For the detection of instrumental music, we chose the four organological categories defined by Hornbostel and Sachs (1914) and Dournon (1981): aerophone, chordophone, membranophone and idiophone. This classification is based on the nature of the material producing sounds: air, string, membrane or the body of the instrument itself. We chose the playing technique (such as plucked, struck and bowing) as a second criterion to characterise a musical instrument.

The computer engineers started to test several audio features for timbre characterisation based on ethnomusicological recording excerpts previously categorised according to different playing techniques within each organological category (Fourer et al. 2014). The computer engineers chose only solo excerpts (where only one monophonic or polyphonic instrument is active) in order to reduce the interference problems, which may occur during audio analysis. This method was found to be accurate and efficient in automatically classifying timbre (Fourer et al. 2014). Thus, within an organological category, the playing technique is relevant for differentiating one instrument from another. The computer engineers are currently

developing tools to further test this line of research. The development of timbre characterisation could transform the previous classification of musical instruments into four organological categories, and could foster the development of a new categorisation of musical instruments in ethnomusicology.

Identification of other types of sound

In addition to speech, song and musical instrument, numerous ethnomusicological recordings contain other types of sounds, categorised as sounds from the environment such as rain, insect or animal sounds, engine noise, sounds generated by the recording device itself such as the wind in the microphone or sounds resulting from a damaged recording medium. These types of sounds are usually identified as noise interfering with the object of the recording. While sometimes disturbing, some of these sounds can be used for the analysis and automatic segmentation of the audio content.

A primary concern when analysing a field recording is to identify the beginning and the end of a recording session. When a collector stops or starts a recording session, there are some specific sounds made by these interruptions (especially on a magnetic-tape recorder) that can be automatically detected and used to segment the recordings. Ethnomusicologists usually record several sessions in the field one after the other, and most of the time announce or otherwise indicate the change of session. However, in some circumstances, recordings of a very long duration (such as recordings of rituals) can present several recording interruptions not explicitly announced by the researcher. Automatically detecting these interruptions is of particular interest to identifying the changes of context, especially when recording cuts are numerous or barely detectable in prolonged recordings. The detection of sounds from recording media is also useful for assessing the quality of the recording prior to listening. The LAM laboratory currently conducts the exhaustive inventory and classification of the various types of sounds generated by the recording processes in the *CNRS – Musée de l'Homme Archive*.

3. New research perspectives in ethnomusicology

The Telemeta web platform provides ethnomusicologists with greater access to the *CNRS – Musée de l'Homme* recording archive, one of the largest archives of ethnomusicology in Europe, and with computational tools for automatic analyses, annotation and diffusion of recorded data. In

particular, the new technologies developed by DIADEMS will allow efficient indexation and analysis of the recordings directly from the audio content. Users will have the option to automatically detect and segment sound recordings using a wide variety of parameters through a dynamic audio player embedding audio streaming and the visualisation of audio signals and their analytical segmentation.

Tools available through Telemeta will also offer new possibilities for diachronic and synchronic comparative studies in the field of musical analysis. Detecting musical similarities based on several parameters (pitch and rhythmic features, for instance) will allow users to identify the structure of a piece as well as the rhythmic or melodic patterns that can be used to highlight the possible relationships between musical pieces within and among collections.

The Telemeta platform offers numerous opportunities for collaboration and data sharing within the scientific community. Users can share content including new computer tools, manual annotations of musical pieces and results of automatic analyses. Furthermore, the aim of the platform is to contribute in a collaborative way to the enrichment of the archives by adding new audio material and metadata. The tools will also be useful for researchers from other fields, such as linguists and anthropologists, interested in audio content such as spoken word recordings related to oral traditions. Most importantly, Telemeta will provide a key online database for musicians and communities worldwide, for listening, enriching and preserving their intangible heritage as well as communicating with researchers interested in their oral traditions.

The Telemeta open-source framework provides a new platform for researchers to efficiently work with sound archives and to share various kinds of metadata. This web platform provides a new way to interact with sound archives by seeing them not only as repositories for storing the results of previous studies but also as primary sources for new ethnomusicological research (Seeger 2004). The new technologies available through Telemeta promote this transformation of how archives are used.

In the DIADEMS project, interdisciplinary work among ethnomusicologists, archivists and computer scientists has allowed us to apply cutting-edge computer science research to facilitate studies in ethnomusicology. The development of these computational tools has helped us to enhance our own analytical tools, concepts and research objectives in ethnomusicology. We hope that this project will foster future development of online collaborative tools and that the resource we have developed will

evolve according to the growing needs of archivists, researchers, teachers and new users of the Telemeta platform.

Notes

[1] This work is supported in part by the ANR (French National Research Agency) grant ANR-12-CORD-0022.
[2] The DIADEMS project started in January 2013. It is to be funded for three years by the French National Agency of Research (ANR). The acronym of the project stands for Description / Indexation / Access to Ethnomusicological Documents and Sounds.
http://www.irit.fr/recherches/SAMOVA/DIADEMS/fr/welcome/
[3] The SAMOVA team from the IRIT laboratory (CNRS / Université Paul Sabatier / INPT, UMR 5505, Toulouse, France) is specialised in the primary analysis of the audio signal to identify the language and the speaker and to detect music, speech, songs and key sounds such as applause.
[4] The LABRI laboratory (CNRS / Université de Bordeaux, UMR 5800, Bordeaux, France) is specialised in building algorithms to estimate the level of similarity of musical pieces as functions of various criteria, such as harmonics and metrics.
[5] The LIMSI laboratory (CNRS / Université Paris Sud, UPR 3251, Orsay, France) is specialised in modelling speech patterns and automatically processing speech recordings.
[6] The LAM team from the Institut Jean Le Rond d'Alembert (CNRS / Université Pierre et Marie Curie / Ministère de la culture et de la communication, Paris, France) is specialised in the study of sound from the point of view of engineering sciences (physics, acoustics) and social sciences (cognitive psychology and linguistics).
[7] The CREM team from the LESC laboratory (CNRS / Université Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense, UMR 7186, Nanterre, France) is specialised in the study of musical practices and knowledge and management of the *CNRS – Musée de l'Homme* Archive.
[8] The EREA team of linguists from the LESC laboratory (CNRS / Université Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense, UMR 7186, Nanterre, France) is specialised in ritual speech from the Maya.
[9] The team of ethnomusicologists from the Eco-anthropologie et Ethnobiologie laboratory (CNRS / MNHN / Université Paris Diderot / Paris Sorbonne Cité/ Sorbonne Universités, UMR 7206, Paris, France) is specialised in African music studies.
[10] A colloquium on liminal utterances between speech and song has been organised by the International Council for Traditional Music in May 2015 and hosted by the Centre of Research in Ethnomusicology (CREM). A round table has been dedicated to the presentation of the main results and findings of the project DIADEMS.
[11] This work on vocal categories has been realised during several meetings between the following researchers of the project: Joséphine Simonnot, Aude

Julien-Da-Cruz-Lima, Jean Lambert, Estelle Amy de la Bretèque (CREM-LESC), Susanne Fürniss, Sylvie Le Bomin, Marie-France Mifune (MNHN), Valentina Vapnarsky, Aurore Monod Becquelin, Marie Chosson (EREA-LESC), Boris Doval (LAM) and David Doukhan (LIMSI).

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PART TWO:

WRITTEN DOCUMENTS AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS AS SOURCES

CHAPTER TEN

REMARKS ON ISRAELI SONG NOTEBOOKS

SHAI BURSTYN

Between roughly 1920 and 1960, many Israeli adolescent girls maintained a personal song notebook in which they recorded the lyrics of the songs they knew and sang. To this day, a few of these rather rare manuscripts surface once in a while in an attic or a flea market, often with other personal items typical of the informal culture of that period, such as diaries and autograph books.[1] Although the phenomenon is well known, and its significance for reconstructing and documenting the informal cultural history of Israel is self-evident, it has not been heretofore studied. An obvious obstacle is the diffuse state of the sources: while some song notebooks found their way to archives, libraries and a few private collections, most extant manuscripts are probably still in private hands, either those of the original owners, now in their late seventies and eighties, or those of their heirs, who in many cases may not be aware of their existence and/or value. In this preliminary study, based on two dozen song notebooks, I aim to portray their salient features as manuscripts produced by an informal "writing from below" process and place them in the socio-cultural context in which they were born and where they thrived.

The basic significance of the song notebooks in the present lies in the songs they contain. Thousands of songs have been sung in Eretz Yisrael (Jewish Palestine) and the young State of Israel in the four decades under discussion. Many of them were published in hundreds of songbooks of myriad shapes, sizes, contents and purposes. Even though most of them are extant, they do not comprise the entire early Israeli song repertory. By and large, editors of the published songbooks were ideologically motivated in one way or another and therefore excluded from their collections those songs they deemed textually unworthy or inappropriate. Conversely, they published many "worthy" songs that were hardly ever learned and sung. In addition, songs considered of a low linguistic register (mainly of the "nonsense", "street" and "foul language" varieties) lived in oral tradition with hardly any trace in the songbooks. However, contrary to the published

songbooks, such materials were welcome in song notebooks, a fact that makes them unique sources for these excluded songs. Without them, the creation of a comprehensive inventory of Israeli folk and popular songs would not be possible.

Most of the songs found in the notebooks are not folksongs even in the loose conventional sense of the term (originating among the "common people", passed by oral transmission, having several versions, of anonymous authorship). Reflecting a true image of the Israeli song repertory at large, most of the songs contain a mixture of traits found in art, folk and popular songs. They may be said to exist in a grey area between these three genres (Bar-Eitan 2013). The creators of both the lyrics and the music were usually known, verbal and musical texts were often printed, and variants, although existing, were relatively limited as far as real folksongs go (Seeger 1966). On the other hand, due to social circumstances, songs were normally taught, sung and disseminated orally, without the mediation of notation. Finally, at the time of entering the notebooks, the songs were relatively new but as typical cultural products of invented tradition, they often feigned old age.

The song notebook as a written record

As noted above, although contemporary songs displayed some oral traits, their preservation involved the mediation of print and sometimes of writing. This compels the investigator to scrutinise the implications the oral and literate spheres had for these documented materials. Specifically, although written by hand, the song notebooks feature several qualities stemming from the world of print, a fact contributing to their status of a distinct category among ethnomusicological documented historical sources.

Fig. 10-1 Two song notebooks from the mid-1940s, (Author's collection)

The written song collections exist in various sizes, from pocket-size (16 x 10 cm) to regular notebook size (20 x 16 cm). Depending on the length of the texts, a typical open song notebook may accommodate three to five songs on each page. Most song notebooks contain the lyrics of some 200–300 songs.

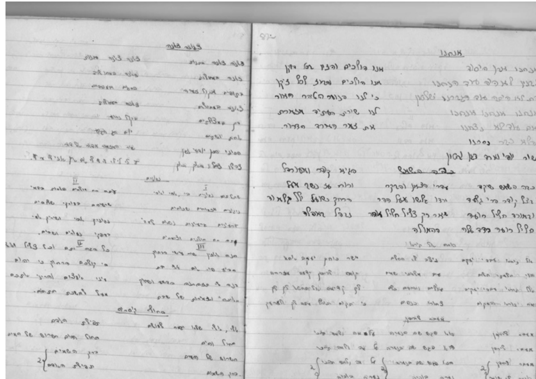

Fig. 10-2 A typical opening of a song notebook, containing seven songs (Author's collection)

Between the poles of hand-written and printed layouts, I came across other formats of song notebooks, now virtually extinct. In those pre-Xerox days, locally produced songbooks were often typewritten and duplicated on a mimeograph machine, then stapled together into makeshift booklets.

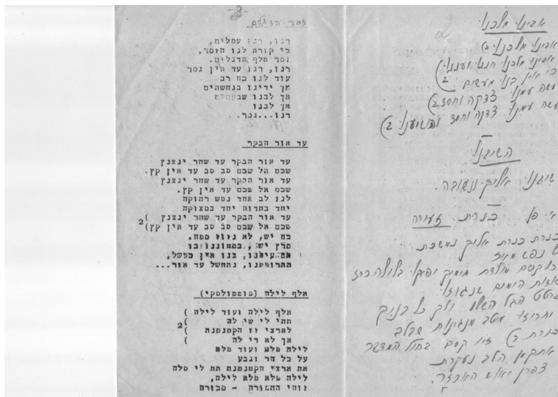

Fig. 10-3 Mimeographed song notebook with additional lyrics entered by hand (Author's collection)

In some of these stencilled booklets, it is not rare to find additional songs, pencilled in by their owners. Such instances are particularly striking as they highlight the grey area between a personal manuscript and a printed and bound book.

Even though the notebooks are private, clearly informal hand-written song collections, it is interesting to observe that most owners sought to organise their compilations after the model of a formal printed songbook. In this sense the notebooks are both "recorded utterances" and information-containing objects (Ong 1982: 126). The two most striking attributes in this regard are tables of contents listing the song titles, arranged by their page numbers, and the names of both the lyricists and the composers. This is hardly surprising as the writers-owners of the notebooks were children of the "Gutenberg galaxy", for whom the printed book was the natural model, the fully internalised literate format (McLuhan 1962). Tables of contents helped bestow a sense of finality and closure upon the personal written notebooks and thus brought them closer to a printed book configuration. These features must have been felt to grant the notebooks added value and prestige without decreasing their intimacy.

From the point of view of their production process, however, the song notebooks are clearly closer to the manuscript world. How were they created? Interviews with writers-owners reveal that the initial bulk of the songs often came from copying another girl's song notebook. Some measure of selection was nevertheless exercised: songs that looked "strange" or were otherwise unappealing or objectionable to the copier were left out. From that point on, the owner added songs as she learned them.[2] Some owners added song texts to their notebooks by writing them down while listening to them being performed on the radio. Additionally, for many years, songs were regularly taught on radio programmes specifically designed to teach, transmit and disseminate Hebrew songs. In these programmes, which were often led by the composers themselves, the song lyrics were slowly dictated so that listeners would be able to write them down.

The notebook was, in effect, a personal collection of songs and as such fulfilled the collector's urge to "own" the collected items. Most Israeli children collected something—stamps, dolls, cards featuring photos of soccer players, chewing gum wrappers and whatnot. Growing up in an era of austerity and modest means, the exclusive "possession" of anything brought a psychological reward, all the more so when the "owned" collection—the song notebook—was made up of items greatly valued by the community. It has been suggested that "collectors are drawn to

collecting as a means to bolstering the self by setting up goals that are tangible and attainable and provide the collector with concrete feedback of progress” (McIntosh and Schmeichel 2004: 85).

Variants

As writing and copying are inherently prone to various inexactitudes, they give rise to diverse kinds of variants between supposedly identical copies of the same piece. These variants come into being in the process of copying, if they are not already present in the exemplar source.

The vast majority of the song lyrics in the notebooks are in Hebrew—the language of the songs and the mother tongue of the copiers-owners. As it is reasonable to assume that most readers of this report do not read Hebrew, it is hardly possible to analyse the textual variants found in the song notebooks, compare different textual versions and consider their causes, or relate to noteworthy variant differences between songs as they appear in the notebooks and in the printed songbooks. Nevertheless, some light can be shed on variants in the notebooks as a few songs in English managed to creep in.[3] However, these variant examples must also be considered in the context of English as a second language.[4]

In a song notebook from the mid-1960s, I found *Green Fields*, a famous pop song that hit the charts in 1960 and brought *The Brothers Four* to fame.[5] With an attractive tune, expressions such as “everlasting love” and lines like “we were the lovers who strolled through green fields”, it is not hard to understand why this song appealed to teenage girls around the world, especially as it was performed in a distinctly mellifluous manner by four handsome young American men.

As it appears in the notebook, *Green Fields* features some revealing distortions. In addition to a few misspellings, some words and phrases are contorted to the extent of rendering the sung lines meaningless:

* Origin: “Once they were part of an everlasting love”
Copy: ***Once there were lovers and were lasting love***
* Origin: “We were the lovers who strolled through green fields”
Copy: “ “ “ “ “ ***trolled to*** “ “ “
* Origin: “Parched by the sun”
Copy: ***Parshed*** “ “ “
* Origin: “Where are the green fields that we used to roam”
Copy: “ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ ***room***

None of these variants should surprise us as their equivalents appear time and again in early musical manuscripts. Italian scribes mangled

French words, and vice versa, and English scribes hardly managed any better. The “S” of “strolled” is very prominent in the recording. Had the owner written down the words while listening to them being sung, she would not have written “trolled”, or “to room” instead of “to roam”.

Another familiar variant results from the unintentional skipping of words or even whole lines. In the copy of this song, these two lines are missing:

> Gone with the lovers
> Who let their dreams depart

Even professional medieval scribes sometimes inadvertently skipped a line or two while copying from an exemplar manuscript. Given that performing the composition from the faultily copied manuscript was impossible, the fact that such omissions frequently went unnoticed and remained uncorrected indicates that copied manuscripts did not always serve as scores to be performed. Similarly, copied song notebooks were not necessarily used for actual singing. Rather, in both cases a central purpose and function was to create a repository, a private archive of the compositions, or songs, of the community.[6]

A few pages later in the same song notebook, I came across the Beatles’ song *It’s Only Love*. Knowing that the song first appeared in 1965 in the album *Help* facilitated dating the song notebook. Its presence indicated that in 1965 the notebook was still in the making, even though most of its songs date from around 1960 and earlier.

The nature of the variants between the copy and the original of *It’s Only Love* suggests that rather than having been copied from another songbook, as *Green Fields* most likely was, in this case the lyrics were probably written down by actually listening to the recording. Here are two examples of the strange distortions found in this song:[7]

* Origin: “When you sigh my inside just flies, (butterflies)”
  Copy: “ “ “ ***mind in side like butterflies***
* Origin: Is it right that you and I should fight”
  Copy: ***Whizz it right get you…***
* Origin: “Just the sight of you makes night-time bright”
  Copy: ***Just beside of you makes night I’m right***

The last two examples are clear cases of a “broken telephone”: In the first, “Is” became “***Whizz***” and “that” became “***get***”; in the second, “Just the sight” became “***Just beside***” while “night-time bright” became “***night I’m right***”.

The song notebooks as products of a literacy social practice

While some pioneering studies of orality and literacy stressed seminal differences between these two essential modes of communication, others were more sensitive to their intimate relationships. Thus, for example, in his *From Memory to Written Record,* medieval historian M.T. Clanchy poured new light on understanding the medieval mind by demonstrating and analysing the central role of oral memory in medieval England and, in that transitory period, its occasionally preferred position over written records (Clanchy 1979). In his 1981 article "Oral, Written, and Literate Process in the Music of the Middle Ages", musicologist Leo Treitler set out "to probe both the differentiations and the continuities that we must recognise within the relationship between the oral and written aspects of the making and transmission of medieval music" (Treitler 1981, Treitler 2003: 230). Furthermore, in a series of studies, Walter Ong has contributed to historical insight by articulating fundamental contrasts between manuscript and print cultures while at the same time highlighting residual orality as ever present in print culture. Mutatis mutandis, many observations in these studies are pertinent to the song notebooks, entities in which songs that were learned and transmitted orally were written down by non-professional literate users. Later inquiries into the nature of literacy (loosely grouped under the umbrella of New Literacy Studies) dubbed earlier studies "autonomous", criticising them for neglecting the socio-cultural contexts in which the examined phenomena took place and advocated an "ideological" approach which "offers a more culturally sensitive view of literacy practices as they vary from one context to another" (Street 1996: 2). In addition, the new view of literacy has developed two key concepts: "literacy events" ("any occasion in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of the participants' interactions and their interpretative processes" [Heath 1982: 93, Barton et al. 2000: 8]) and "literacy practice" ("a broader, more abstract key idea, referring both to people's behaviour and to their understanding of the uses of reading and/or writing" [Hamilton, 9–10]).

Like comparable ethnomusicological topics, the investigation of the Israeli song notebooks stands to gain better insight when approached from the context-centred viewpoint advocated by New Literacy Studies. The writing of song notebooks is an especially interesting literacy event because of its close association with the oral performance of songs, themselves complex cultural entities made up of both musical and verbal texts. The literacy practice sustaining the comprehension of the songs as

discrete, stable and repeatable musical-textual products is what philosophers and historical musicologists call “work concept”.[8] The song notebooks attest to the efforts of their writers to be “true to the work” (*Werktreue*) by writing down as complete and correct texts of the songs as they could, and to make sure their author attributions were accurate. While teaching the songs, notably in music lessons in public schools, music teachers insisted on perfect compliance with the printed versions (or with their idea of the “correct” versions). Deviations from the taught version were considered to be “mistakes” and judged negatively as falsifications of the composer’s intent.

The song notebooks in their socio-cultural setting

The period between 1920 and 1960 covers the three decades preceding the establishment of the State of Israel, as well as the first decade following independence. Though under the rule of the British mandate, the *yishuv* (Hebrew for “settlement”, meaning the pre-independence Jewish population of Palestine) nevertheless succeeded in developing an impressive economic basis and cultivating an autonomous educational system. Regardless of political leaning and affiliation, the entire *yishuv* was unified by a strong, if contentious, national spirit. All formal and informal institutions of self-governance were suffused with fierce national sentiment. Raising and educating the new generation of native “Hebrew” children was considered a national assignment of the highest order, and no effort was spared in instilling it with a strong national sentiment. In what can only be described in hindsight as educational indoctrination and mass emotional conditioning, any subject learned in school—from music to math— was taught through the national prism (Burstyn 2006). New songs promoting, supporting and reflecting national aspirations were regularly created by the dozen, taught during various public gatherings as well as broadcast on the radio. Community singing was much more than a mere social pastime. It often absorbed the participating individuals into what Benedict Anderson has called “unisonality”, forging them into a single national organism (Anderson 1983: 32). Community singing formed a central part in the life of the various youth movements, the important organisations to which the majority of song notebook owners belonged. Songs taught and sung within the varied activities of the youth movements were diligently recorded in the notebooks. Beyond serving as song repositories, the notebooks also enhanced the status of their owners: expert knowledge of the sung repertory and familiarity with the “latest” songs were greatly appreciated, and maintaining a comprehensive hand-written collection of the valued song repertory further bolstered their social prestige.

Nevertheless, several owners attested that the appeal and popularity of the written song notebooks stemmed—in part—from their being an outlet for expressing a measure of personal singularity. Growing up in a society which clearly favoured communality over individuality, the notebooks fulfilled the need of Israeli adolescent girls of the time to expand their individual space. Unlike the formal and impersonal printed songbooks and much like personal diaries, the notebooks had the attraction of being a private collection of a somewhat intimate nature, self-created without external interference and according to the sole wishes of their owners.[9] As the exclusive authority of her notebook, the owner had full control over the choice of songs to be included or excluded. In addition to incorporating a variety of songs which enjoyed a broad consensus, among them quasi-official Hebrew national songs and Russian songs whose words were translated or changed into Hebrew,[10] this privilege often opened the door to other songs, popular among the young but not condoned and sometimes even censored, directly or indirectly, by the cultural leadership of contemporaneous Israeli society. This repertory could extend from frivolous "street" songs and a colourful variety of others generally associated with a lower poetic and/or musical register to songs considered outright decadent and harmful by the rather puritanical and ideologically motivated adult community. Among the chief culprits were pop songs in English heard on the radio, notably those of the Beatles, whose planned 1965 performance tour was prevented by the authorities.[11] The Beatles incident was but one skirmish in the continuous culture war that Israeli cultural leaders of the time conducted against "decadent Western tendencies". One early typical example will suffice: the music critic of the influential socialist newspaper *Davar* wrote in 1929 that

> the Europeanism, or more precisely the Americanism which is slowly taking control over our lives destroys every folk element and lowers everything to its superficial level. The gramophone and the musical "hit" penetrate every corner and push away all original [efforts]. (Rabinowitz 1929)

Viewed against the doctrinaire, prudish, anti-capitalist national-cultural climate of the time, it is not far-fetched to interpret "underground" inclusions such as *It's Only Love* as mild acts of defiance, asserting a measure of independence and individuality; in other words, as meaningful acts of growing up.

Extant private song notebooks provide fascinating historical testimony to the tension between the pressures of the adult community (educators and parents—the immediate representatives of the ideologically motivated

national-cultural hegemony) and the conflicting needs and desires of the adolescent generation. One reason for the great popularity of the song notebooks was the urge “to belong”, to feel part of the community; in this case, not only that of the young generation but of the adult society at large, and to identify with its national aspirations and struggle for independence. As many of the songs had explicit or implicit national content, including them in their songbooks conferred upon many teenagers a feeling of belonging to the tribe. On the other hand, children and adolescents have natural, inherent needs and desires to go their own way and develop their sense of self-determination, at times in defiance of adult authority. Because they were entirely uncensored, the private song notebooks were an effective outlet for expressing these needs and predilections. While analysing the notebooks, I was struck by the fascinating mingling of the individual and the communal, by their dual nature reflecting opposing needs, and not least by the naïve, nonchalant way in which the owners used their notebooks to handle the individual/communal tension.

No one has succeeded in capturing this tension better than Netiva Ben-Yehuda (1928–2011), a colourful author, broadcaster and advocate of the Hebrew folksong. In 1990 she published a book entitled *Autobiography in Song,* in which she wove her life story around her private song notebook created some fifty years earlier.[12]

Fig. 10-4 Front cover of Netiva Ben-Yehuda, *Autobiography in Song* (Keter Publ. 1992). With kind permission of the publisher

The book's immediate success reflected a strong communal nostalgic urge to connect again to days forever gone. Ben-Yehuda's book gives an interesting twist to the song notebook genre: an inherently private document—a hand-written song collection of one particular girl—was transformed here into a public printed book with which many Israeli readers could strongly identify because it represented and reflected a meaningful streak in their early biography. Indeed, the book is a unique representation of a literacy event: a context-rich oral-literate mixture of musical-historical documentation, personal recollection and collective memory.

Conclusion

In the preceding pages, I have endeavoured to show the benefits hand-written song notebooks may have for the study of Israeli song: they are often unique, literally silent informants still guarding songs once alive but now forgotten; they are better indicators than printed songbooks as to which were the popular songs actually sung; they are the best documented testimonies of past local folk and popular musical traditions as well as excellent sources for studying regional folksong variants. Above and beyond enabling these and more research aims, the song notebooks are precious socio-cultural documents written from below, through which cultural historians, folklorists and ethnomusicologists can attempt a historical reconstruction of the musical segment of growing up in Israel in the intense era just before and after attaining national independence.

Notes

[1] The number of song notebooks written in this period, or even of those which survived, is unknown. Information gathered from named items and informants indicate that most notebooks were written by girls. Although they participated in community singing events, Israeli adolescent boys seem to have perceived the writing of song notebooks as befitting girls rather than boys. Young Israeli men were expected by the society at large to be masculine, fierce, ascetic and self-controlled, and above all to avoid public displays of emotion (Almog 1997: 336).

[2] This process is strikingly reminiscent of the way many medieval and early Renaissance musical manuscripts came into being: a monk-scribe with appropriate musical skills would often produce a musical collection for his religious community by copying from an exemplar manuscript that came his way. In the process, he often eliminated and added pieces, voice-parts, embellishments and other musical and textual details with the express intention of tailoring the result to the particular needs, possibilities and preferences of his monastery. For example,

the early 15th-century Italian manuscript *Bologna Universitaria 2216* contains an unusually high number of two-voice compositions, among them pieces known from other concordant manuscripts to have been composed for three voices (Besseler 1952: 52).

[3] The socio-cultural significance of including these songs in the notebooks will be addressed later.

[4] During the period in which the song notebooks were written, English teachers in Israel stressed reading and writing over listening and speaking. Writing the words from listening to a recording was in fact tantamount to taking a dictation, except that sung words, let alone in a foreign language, are more difficult to identify and write down. English instruction in the cities was, as a rule, superior to that in rural areas, where most kibbutzim and moshavim were located. The song notebook including the English songs belonged to a kibbutz girl.

[5] The opening lines are: "Once there were green fields kissed by the sun,
Once there were valleys where rivers used to run"

[6] The fact that both the tunes and the lyrics of the songs were in most cases known by heart by the owner supports this assumption. However, a few owners reported to have used their notebooks as mnemonic aides in community singing situations: leafing through their notebooks helped them decide which song to sing next, and the lyrics helped them to recall the tunes.

[7] Among the causes leading to these distortions, one may surmise the noisy percussive accompaniment and the blurred pronunciation of the lyrics, on top of the particular British accent unfamiliar to the listener-copier.

[8] Lydia Goehr has argued that in the late 18th century, the work concept became the regulative principle of composing, performing and listening in art music (Goehr 1992).

[9] It is no wonder that one occasionally comes across traces of personal touch such as private scribbling unrelated to the songs, a drawing or a score-keeping table of a game.

[10] The socialist ideology of most Israeli pioneer youth movements and the political parties to which they were affiliated was a central component of Israeli culture. The identification with the Red Army during World War II caused many Russian and Soviet songs to be adopted by Israeli singing crowds. As a large segment of Israeli society hailed from Eastern Europe, it was favorably attuned to the Slavic style of these songs.

[11] The details of the incident are somewhat clouded. It is certain, however, that the then vice-minister of culture and education justified the decision in an animated speech in parliament, claiming among the reasons for the refusal the "low artistic level of the young idols" and the "hysterical outbursts necessitating the presence of special police forces". In 2008 (43 years later!), the Israeli ambassador to England offered the surviving Beatles an official apology.

[12] Ben-Yehuda has wisely enriched her *Autobiography* by adding choice items from her father's song notebook. Baruch Ben-Yehuda (1894–1990), one of the founders of Hebrew education in Jewish Palestine, was highly musical and from his early teenage years recorded songs in his notebook. While most notebooks contained only lyrics, as their owners normally lacked musical knowledge

sufficient to notate the songs, Baruch Ben-Yehuda was a notable exception: all the songs in his notebook were notated. In a rare example even for his exceptional notebook, one finds a full four-voice arrangement of a song, plus a klavierauszug, which the thirteen-year-old Ben-Yehuda probably copied from a manuscript of his teacher. See *Autobiography*, 20.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

PERSONAL SONGBOOKS: NEGLECTED BUT INFORMATIVE SOURCES IN ETHNOMUSICOLOGICAL RESEARCH

GUNNAR TERNHAG

Like most ethnomusicologists, I am fascinated by ordinary peoples' music-making. My interest comprises music in everyday life, sung or played by men and women who are not music experts in the common sense. These performers make music because it belongs to an everyday habit, a tradition if you like, although the singers or musicians would never use that word about their activities.

For me, non-educated music-making is the core of my interest as a scholar—singing and playing that is not learned in music conservatories or expensive private lessons. I am fascinated by musicians and singers that have learned how to play or sing on their own, or at least in an informal way—in contrast to formal learning in educational institutions. A great many of these musicians and singers have spent hours and hours with music in settings that in many cases have been rather indifferent, not to say negative, towards music-making. In spite of such conditions, many of them have struggled on their own or together with some like-minded people, and in many cases reached a remarkable level of musicianship.

If, as an ethnomusicologist, you want to study this kind of music-making from a historical perspective, there is a principal problem. The sources available are—with few exceptions—created by other persons, not by the singers and musicians themselves. It is a troublesome fact that our knowledge about the music-making of ordinary persons is based mainly on sources that were created by collectors who lived their lives outside the communities of the singers and musicians, collectors who appreciated the music they heard but did not share the lives of the informants. On the other hand, this cultural distance was the prerequisite for the collectors' discovery of so-called folk music, and therefore unavoidable. It has,

however, provided challenges concerning source criticism for us as scholars.

Personal songbooks

In this short article, I wish to focus upon a source material with another background, a type of source material that has occupied me for some years, and which I gradually find more and more interesting. I am talking about *personal songbooks,* as I will call them here—in want of a more suitable term in English. (Handwritten songbooks could be an alternative).[1] These artefacts consist of rather simple and therefore inexpensive notebooks, previously easily accessible in markets and bookstores. They usually have between 40–60 pages, often with a black semi-hard cover, and were used for annotations of all kinds. One function, among many, was the collection of song texts (or lyrics, as song texts are usually called nowadays).

The writing of personal songbooks has occurred all over Europe, although it is difficult to find support for this statement in the existing literature. The invisibility of this custom and its results in the scholarly literature is mysterious. Writing songbooks was obviously something that was closely connected to singing; perhaps it is too obvious to warrant attention? Alternatively, are personal songbooks too common for scholars usually interested in unique elements of traditional singing? Another reason for the absence is perhaps that most songbooks are too old to be contemporary, and too new to be of relevance in historical investigations. In any case, the writing of songbooks must have been a pan-European habit; it still is, in certain contexts.

This tradition started in Sweden, and in many similar countries, in the 18th century, when noblemen and their peers wrote down song texts and poems as a kind of documentation of their social life. Texts or poems written for special occasions—a birthday, for example, an inauguration or a celebration of some sort—were recorded in notebooks. This habit became widespread during the 19th century, when more and more people learned to read and write. The peak of the tradition occurred just after the turn of the 20th century, when the majority of young men and women seem to have had their own handwritten, personal songbooks. The introduction of the gramophone changed this custom. Listening to recorded popular music then became young peoples' way of meeting music.

Actually, "personal songbook" is not the correct term since these books only contain texts. In some very few books, owned by musically

trained persons, chords are inserted under the text lines, at least under some of the songs. Evidently, a guitar or a chord zither supported singing from these books. In other cases, you can find the line “To be sung as…” and then the title of a well-known song: a melodic reference. However, most songbooks have no indication of what melodies were used. They are merely collections of texts, although referred to as songbooks.

There are a certain number of personal songbooks in the archives, even though it is easy to imagine that many books have been thrown away, either by the original owner when he or she needed more space on the bookshelves or by the relatives of the original owner after the owner’s death. The remaining books are therefore only a small part of all the songbooks that once existed—a tiny stream instead of a powerful river. Books from the 18th century are rare; from the 19th century, they are much more common, whereas most preserved songbooks were created at the beginning of the 20th century. These proportions reflect the actual production of personal songbooks.

These books fascinate me just because they were created and originally used by the singers themselves. The books represent a kind of source material, which gives us, as scholars, direct access to the singers’ world. The personal songbooks are, firstly, not retrospective like many recordings made by folk music collectors. On the contrary, the songbooks are pointing forward because the singers have written song texts that they wanted to learn or keep as personal belongings. Certainly, the songbooks are documents that reflect the singers’ ambitions to extend their repertories.

Furthermore, a songbook is usually written during a limited period of time—a couple of months or so. Therefore, a personal songbook can be regarded as a time document, mirroring a certain period in the owner’s life and a certain societal situation. Recordings made by folk music collectors are indeed created at a certain date, but it is hard to know when a particular singer learned his or her songs. It is even questionable if a singer really used to sing a documented song at the time of the recording. A certain song, documented by a collector, could be part of their passive knowledge.

Thirdly, every songbook is unique, although most singers tried to catch the most popular songs of their time. The books seldom contain older, traditional songs; that is, songs of the kind that interested most folk music collectors. The singers were more eager to write down songs that everyone knew, or that a young man or woman should know. The content, therefore, is mostly stereotypical, but in every case unique. This paradox is fascinating since it gives insights into both the individual and his or her time.

Handwritten and personal songbooks belong to a kind of source material that in German is called *Ego-dokumente* (cf. Schulze 1996). Letters and postcards, calendars with annotations, diaries and similar documents belong to the category of *Ego-dokumente*, mostly used by historians oriented towards the so-called microhistory. They are documents from—and about—the little man or woman, telling about their everyday life, often still kept in private homes because they are part of the family history.

Nevertheless, one crucial problem for an ethnomusicologist who wants to work with these handwritten and indeed personal songbooks is the fact that the books do not indicate whether they have been used for singing or not. We simply do not know if any of these books were more than collections of texts, never used after they were written down. The quite understandable background to this shortcoming is that the owners of the books had no reason to document their own activities as singers.

This unavoidable circumstance has stopped many fellow scholars from using personal songbooks as source material. Since the books are unable to give information about the singing of the original owners, they have been more or less neglected. Of course, the stereotypical contents have also contributed to the poor level of interest in these archival artefacts. Another factor could be the focus on oral singing traditions, which characterises so much folk song research—the handwritten songbooks do not fit into the image of folk singing as a strictly oral tradition.

Fig. 11-1 *Den nya sången* [The new song]. Etching by Anders Zorn (1860–1920), 1903, A 171, Zorn Museum, Mora, Sweden)[2]

Musicking

My mission here is to argue, from a historical perspective, for personal songbooks as useful sources in ethnomusicological research. For that reason, I wish to introduce and discuss two concepts.

The first is Christopher Small's widespread term *musicking*, coined by him in order to widen the perspectives of music-making (Small 1998). According to Small, the verb musicking embraces all kinds of activities connected to music. This means playing music and listening to music, but also talking about music; for example, discussing a concert with a friend. In addition, it might relate to other music-related activities such as checking new CDs at your local music dealer or on the Internet, reading about your favourite artist in the newspaper, etc. "Music is not a thing at all but an activity, something that people do", Small expresses as his point of departure (1998: 2). Writing song texts in a notebook is clearly a kind of musicking, even if the texts have remained silent and have never been sung. The writing activity has nonetheless been closely connected to music—that is, a musicking activity. It is easy to imagine the humming or hardly audible singing when the texts were written down. Likewise, one can imagine how a friend of a book owner sang a song and inspired him or her to document the text in the notebook. Even if there is no evidence for singing or music-making in the songbooks, writing song texts in a notebook must definitely be included in the concept of musicking (cf. Ternhag 2013).

For an ethnomusicologist there is no problem in accepting the concept of musicking. It fits very well into the cultural thinking around music that characterises ethnomusicology. Christopher Small thought like an ethnomusicologist when he invented the term and launched this perspective upon music as a faithful companion in many situations. In any case, by accepting the concept of musicking, we can conclude that personal songbooks are both relevant and useable as sources, even if they cannot say anything substantial about the singing activity itself. They are, however, informative documents, telling about their owners' interest in songs and singing, and their many ways of maintaining and developing this interest.

Literacy

Besides the concept of musicking, I also want to argue for the school of *new literacy* and its perspectives on reading and writing in order to shed more light on personal songbooks. New literacy is a direction within

linguistics and language studies. In short, new literacy as a discipline is oriented towards reading and writing in everyday life, and focuses on all kinds of activities connected to letters and words, not just reading and writing novels, short stories and poems. “Literacy can be best understood as a set of practices”, as the central term is explained in one of the introductory books (Barton & Hamilton 1998: 8). *Literacy practice* is consequently the actual object of study (see Barton & Hamilton 1998: 7–8, Barton et al. 2000: 1, Barton 2007: 36–37). Within new literacy, it is possible to study writing and reading SMSs, telephone directories, posters, shopping lists, picture postcards and so on, but also to study how we orally discuss textual media when we talk about, for example, newspaper articles, CD-covers, e-mails or timetables.

There are obvious similarities between the concept of musicking and new literacy. The concepts strive to broaden the perspectives on music and reading and writing, respectively. Both are inclusive—generous, if you like—and try to put these activities in wider frames, giving insights in the social settings that give meaning to these behaviours.

Literacy practices “can be inferred from events which are mediated by written texts” (Barton op. cit.). An important term in new literacy is consequently a *literacy event*, which catches the specific moment when one is engaged in a written text of any kind, whether you read a text, write something or talk about a text (Barton & Hamilton 1998: 7–8, Barton 2007: 35–36). Reading a shopping list is a literacy event, according to this view, as is writing an announcement for a bulletin board and discussing a book with a friend, just to give a few examples. In fact, a literacy event is taking place at this very moment as you are reading this article. Hence, the term helps us as scholars to identify all the small moments when written text in some way is involved.

A quotation summarises the introduction of the two central terms: “Literacy events are the particular activities where literacy has a role […]. Literacy practices are the general cultural ways of utilising literacy which people draw upon a literacy event” (Barton 2007: 37).

The term literacy event can easily be transformed into a *musicking event*, which in a similar way helps us to discover the many moments connected to music. In addition, musicking events take place within a social practice, although they have their own qualities compared to literacy practice. One differing fundamental is the possibility to base musicking events upon both oral and written music while literacy events are solely connected to written texts. Usually, most musical activities have been based upon oral music-making. Musicking in connection with songbooks

—writing, singing or just reading—then constitutes a contrast to the common way of making music in these settings.

Interpreting the books

Returning to personal songbooks—called *literacy artefacts* according to the terminology of new literacy—it is now evident that they are created from a number of literacy events. The original owners heard a song, or saw or read it in another songbook, probably discussed it with a friend, and then decided to write the text in their own notebook. After writing it, the owner of the book very likely read it, maybe aloud, and afterwards most likely tried to sing it. A single song text in a book is for that reason a document of manifold activities, a mixture of the musical and literary, all of them hidden behind the personal text. The single text, therefore, has much to tell.

Many book owners have put their signature under a song text or a number of texts. In fact, these writers signed the actual literacy event. In addition, many of them wrote the date and place of the event. These signatures make it easy to reconstruct when and where a certain book was created, by identifying all the moments in which the original owner was sitting with a pen in his or her hand. Some of the books were created within a rather short time, while others are the result of a number of musicking and literacy events over a longer period. The most common pattern shows several texts during the same writing sessions at the beginning of the book, and then successively shorter and sparser sessions.

Looking closer at these handwritten songbooks, we may find not only song texts and signatures but also sometimes other kinds of annotations, representing momentary literacy events. Some book owners have documented the weather on the day of writing or the names of friends who attended the event. It is also possible to find recipes for food, addresses, poems, funny stories and so on between or beside the song texts, revealing that the notebook may actually have been a notebook, sometimes close to a diary. There are even drawings beside or between the texts, portraying a mate or representing a flower. Annotations of these sorts give insights to the context of the single literacy events, telling something about what was going on in the book owner's life at a specific moment. These small traces, quite easy to ignore as they can look incidental, are entrances into the life world of the original owner.

Several pasts

"The ethnomusicological past is not one past, but many", Philip V. Bohlman argues (1997: 141). But how can his statement be transferred to perspectives from personal songbooks, helping us to understand them as multifaceted artefacts? First, a personal songbook is usually created during a number of literacy or musicking events, that is, a number of past moments, which existing signatures can verify. Although the same young person has experienced these sessions, often confirmed by the signatures, he or she has matured a little between the events. This development can even be discovered in small changes in the design of the signatures. Nonetheless, a personal songbook is composed of a number of parts—and consequently it contains a number of past moments where the writer has progressively widened his or her horizons and increased his or her references.

Secondly, the song texts in a certain book are not written down during the same year, not even during a certain period, but usually represent a long time horizon—and many layers of time. Every song is linked to a specific past, in some cases in a more obvious way than in others. However, this indisputable fact has probably not been clear to the writer, who may have perceived all the songs as contemporary.

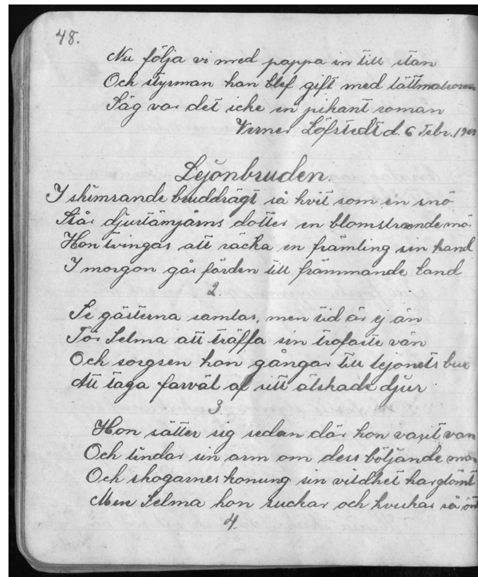
Thirdly, it is unavoidable that we as scholars look at the books through contemporary glasses. We interpret them with methods available in our time, and formulate present-day questions to them, describing these artefacts with our current language. The original owners would most likely be surprised if they saw our discussions. They would not even recognise their books from our descriptions.

Two case studies

I will present shortly the results of two of my own case studies, based upon these just-introduced tools. In 1899, a young Swedish soldier wrote his own personal songbook, probably together with some colleagues, even if the book has nothing to say about the context of his writing sessions (Ternhag 2008). He very consciously wrote his signature after every writing session, or every literacy event, if you like. His signatures do not refer to the place where he wrote, that is, the town of the military regiment or the regiment, but for some reason to his home village. I have studied this songbook in order to understand how this young man experienced his *sense of place*—a concept introduced in human geography and nowadays used in several cultural sciences (see e.g., Tuan 1977, Cresswell 1996:

156). I found out that he, according to the preserved book, related to three different places: his home village, which apparently was very important to him, then the place of the military regiment where he wrote down the song texts and, lastly, the places in the songs. In relation to the places in the song texts, it is striking that he wrote down many texts about Stockholm, the capital of his country, especially about entertainments that certainly could tempt a young man. An overall conclusion would be that the preserved book reveals how this young man, brought up in the countryside, with some months as a soldier in a county seat, expanded his world while writing song texts.

In another case study, I analysed a series of personal songbooks written by a young man at the beginning of the 20th century (Ternhag 2011). He was employed as a farm-worker and apparently used many of his evenings for reading and writing. Obviously, his main interest was to collect song texts, not primarily writing the texts so as to sing them but to keep them in his books in a systematic order. In fact, he must have been equally interested in reading as in writing because his text sources were very varied. Although his copying of the texts seems to have been rather mechanical, I want to describe this farm-worker's efforts as a creative act, or a *productive practice*, according to a term from popular music studies (Laughey 2006: 90). He collected texts of different kinds—love songs, cabaret songs, humorous songs, songs about local events and so on. Every time he wrote a text by a known author (at least known to him), he put the author's name under the text—a custom that reflects the writer's respect for the creation of song texts. His broad search for texts is also worth emphasising as an aspect of his creativity. Because of his collecting, the song texts were placed in new contexts. Songs from different sources form a new unit in his collection, and then "comment" on each other in new ways. In his songbooks, the texts, in a way, got new meanings. Most importantly though, song texts from published sources, for example, from newspapers or broadsides, were transformed into his private sphere—he domesticated the texts and made them his personal belongings.


48.

Nu följa vi med pappa in till stan
Och styrman han blef gift med lättmatrosen
Såg var det icke en pikant roman
Verner Löfstedt d. 6 Febr. 190[illegible]

Lejonbruden.

I skimrande bruddrägt så hvit som en snö
Står djurtämjarns dotter en blomstrande mö
Hon tvingas att räcka en främling sin hand
I morgon går färden till främmande land
2.
Se gästerna samlas, men tid är ej än
För Selma att träffa sin trofasta vän
Och sorgsen hon gångar till lejonets bur
Att taga farväl af sitt älskade djur
3.
Hon sätter sig sedan där hon varit van
Och lindar sin arm om dess böljande man
Och skogarnes konung sin vildhet har glömt
Men Selma hon suckar och hviskar så ömt
4.

Fig. 11-2 A page from a songbook written by Josef Winberg from Gotland (Gotl V 35). Centre for Swedish Folk Music and Jazz Research, Stockholm[3]

Conclusion

To sum up, it is still true that personal songbooks have little, or even nothing, to tell about the singing of the original owners. Nevertheless, they can attest to how the books were once created, often where and when they were written, even what was going on during the writing—or the literacy event, as I have chosen to call these moments. The writing of a personal songbook is definitely a musicking activity since in a way it precedes singing, or is even done while singing. Studying the songbooks from this perspective gives a deeper understanding of how young people were occupied with songs and singing, or which activities were connected to singing.

In closely reading these handwritten and personal songbooks, the concept of the literacy event is central since it helps to identify the number of specific moments that created a certain book. Sometimes it is also possible to recognise when and where these events took place. We can then reconstruct the creation of these very personal documents in detail. With a little imagination, we can hear some gentle humming from the writer and the sound of the pen.

Notes

[1] "Personal songbooks" or "handwritten songbooks"? The term "personal songbooks" implies that they are handwritten. However, in a number of songbooks from the end of the 19th century and onwards, you can find clippings taken from newspapers and journals with printed song texts. Such songbooks are still personal although not handwritten throughout.
[2] This scene, three young girls around a personal songbook, one of them with a guitar, gives a certain insight into singing in everyday life. The songbook is obviously in the centre of the girls' attention. The title of the etching tells us that the trio is singing a new song.
[3] Many personal songbooks resemble each other. The song texts are written in an order that reflects the use of the notebook—and the book owner's life story. Every transcript starts with the title of the song followed by the lyrics. Sometimes the writer has signed the transcript, which reveals when and where the transcription took place. However, the writer has very seldom documented the source of the song.

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CHAPTER TWELVE

EVALUATING DIFFERENT SOURCES FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF AN EXTINCT INSTRUMENT: THE TURKISH *KOPUZ*

M. EMIN SOYDAŞ

This paper is about the early phase of a research project[1] on reconstructing and re-sounding an extinct musical instrument, the Turkish *kopuz*. The aim of this project is to gather all the data related to this historic instrument—and its variant, called the *şeşhâne*—and, based on the findings, to achieve a revival by re-making them and revealing the timbre that currently belongs to the past. The project relies on historical written and visual sources as well as similar instruments that are still used in several regions, or are preserved in collections. The characteristics of the *kopuz* and its situation in the history of Turkish music are not widely known, although some works indicating its existence and also its features—though limited—were published quite a while ago (see Farmer 1936, Picken 1975). Through recent research (Feldman 1996, Aksoy 2003, Soydaş 2007), however, historical data became more evident, and even though detailed work is still necessary, present information proves that it is possible to successfully reconstruct and re-sound the *kopuz*. In order to piece together the information to come up with a proper reconstruction, other than the musicological knowledge regarding the relevant period, the aforementioned sources need to be dealt with by way of historical, linguistic, iconographic and ethnomusicological aspects. In this paper, I will endeavour to discuss the evaluation of these different sources with respect to the aim of the project.

Historical sources have gained more importance in ethnomusicological studies over the past few decades, and different approaches have merged. As a result, in some cases it is not so easy to decide whether a certain work

dealing with historical sources belongs to historical musicology or historical ethnomusicology—though that should not necessarily be an issue (Nettl 2005: 273–74, 284–85). Written or visual sources regarding the history of Asian and Middle Eastern musical traditions, in particular, have a significant part within these studies, and there has recently been an increasing number of works related to Turkish music as well. However, the organological aspect of the history of Turkish music continues to draw less attention, which accordingly brings about less knowledge on the subject and encourages the perpetuation of some inaccurate information. The case of the *kopuz* provides a striking example of this.[2]

When compared to European music, the reconstruction of the *kopuz* bears a resemblance mostly to the case of medieval instruments, on which there has been much experience and literature (see Duffin 2000). As the reconstruction of Middle Eastern and Central Asian instruments, of which the *kopuz* is a member, has not enjoyed much attention, the aforementioned literature not only includes many similar issues that will be referred to in the course of the project but also represents most of the theoretical and practical arguments on dealing with extinct instruments that are more or less known to us. Nevertheless, there have been a number of writings on reconstructing Middle Eastern instruments, such as one discussing the medieval *ûd* (Bouterse 1979). Furthermore, attempts have recently been made to reconstruct some of these instruments (see Franke and Neubauer 2000), especially in Azerbaijan, where such an initiative resulted in a performing ensemble (Patterson 1997). Supposedly relying on historical sources, some of which are also regarded as references for Ottoman Turkish music, a *gopuz* was made within that project (carried out by M. Karimov). Apparently, no visual source was referred to in making this “Azerbaijani” *gopuz*, which diverges significantly from the one with which our project is concerned, although there is a natural resemblance in general (Kerim 2010: 110–15). The pertinent experience in Turkey will be discussed below.

The instrument

The *kopuz*, of which we have no extant example, was among the principal instruments of Turkish music for a certain period, and was in use until the 18th century. The term *kopuz* (with some variants) has been a common generic name used by Turkic peoples for several kinds of instruments, especially lutes (Ögel 2000). The Ottoman Turkish *kopuz*, however, was a specific plucked lute that had a similarity with the *tanbura* (today *bağlama*) regarding the general outlook but was definitely a distinct

instrument. The sources, which include the primary information on which this reconstruction project relies, mostly belong to the 16th and 17th centuries; and according to them, half of the pear-shaped sound-box of the *kopuz* was covered with skin and the other half with wood. It had a relatively long unfretted neck and three double courses of gut strings (plus an occasional short string) (Fig. 1). The improved variant *şeşhâne* had the same form and structure but it was considerably larger in size, with six double courses of strings (Belon Du Mans 1553: 206, Evliyâ Çelebi 1996: 304).

Fig. 12-1 *Kopuz*, 16th century (İntizâmî: 404r)

There are references to a similar instrument bearing the same name in the texts written in the 8th and 9th centuries by the Uighurs of Central Asia (Gazimihal 1975: 24). The *kopuz* has been assumed to be the predecessor of the *bağlama* but it seems to have a rather close relation to the ancient plucked lute that is the ancestor of the *ûd* (Farmer 1931). As a prominent instrument among the Oghuz Turks, it later travelled to many different places where it was mostly called by names that are variants of the term *kopuz* (Sachs 1940: 251–52). The existence of this lute was traced in the sources that belong to the Seljukid period as well (Gazimihal 1975: 51–53). It is apparent that, as a continuity of a Turkic tradition, the *kopuz* was inherited from the pre-Ottoman times, and it is clearly known that, along with the *şeşhâne*, it was used in Turkish music in the Ottoman era until the 18th century, when they both became extinct. The change in

music and also in musical preferences might well be a factor in its disfavour, which was followed by extinction.[3] During the very early part of the era, the *kopuz* seems to be mostly an instrument of bard music, which had been its historical characteristic, but since then it was played mainly in art music (Soydaş 2007: 35–40). The *kopuz* also came to be particularly associated, over the course of time, with certain parts of the Balkans, where it seems to have retained its bardic identity, and it no longer existed in Anatolia—although it was used in İstanbul—in the 17th century (Evliyâ Çelebi 1996: 304). On the other hand, the *tanbura* (*bağlama*) and the *kopuz* were concurrently in use throughout this period, contrary to the false but commonly held assumption that attributes a relationship of succession between the two. Corresponding to the fact that this instrument was not peculiar to Ottoman land or music, today, even if not in Turkey, several instruments that more or less resemble the *kopuz* are still used in some regions of the Middle East and Central Asia, like the Yemeni *qanbus* and the Kirgiz *komuz*.

Reconstruction of the extinct instruments of Turkish music does not have a long history, and it is still not a topic that draws much interest among academics or musicians in Turkey. However, the recently formed ensembles *Bezmârâ*, *Kantemir* and *Cevher-i Musiki*, which have performed a 17th-century repertoire, included a number of reconstructed instruments. The formation of the *Bezmârâ* ensemble, which was a project carried out by F. Karakaya, was the pioneering and most eligible attempt in Turkey in the field of reconstructing and performing some extinct or disused instruments; and a *kopuz* was among them (Karakaya 2000).[4] In that successful and encouraging project, however, the distinction between the *kopuz* and the *şeşhâne* was not taken into consideration, and some essential structural elements of the instrument, such as the ones pertaining to the soundboard and strings, were not applied. Although that does not imply a failure and the result is quite interesting, the reconstruction was not based on an in-depth analysis nor were the process and findings published. Nevertheless, the experience of these attempts will naturally be considered in the development of our project.

Detailed research, which is still required for a thorough reconstruction, will be undertaken in this project, and the *kopuz* will be reconstructed for the first time with a design in accordance with its original. Given the fact that the project also deals with its variant *şeşhâne*, it is obvious that their structural features (and their usage in different genres) will be distinguished accordingly. It would be reasonable at this point to mention that, since there had probably been no single uniform *kopuz*, and since we do not have an extant example, what is meant by “original” here is the

whole of the information that could be gathered about the instrument of the 16th and 17th centuries, and the aim is, in other words, a historically informed reconstruction.

Evaluating the sources

Evaluation of the historical written and visual as well as the present tangible sources for the reconstruction process needs to be carried out by way of different aspects related to some other disciplines: historical, linguistic, iconographic and ethnomusicological. This project is mainly a study in the field of historical musicology, but its scope necessitates a reasonable combination and a coherent interpretation of the scattered information found in different kinds of sources, with the help of the knowledge and approaches from those other disciplines. These aspects will be discussed here with regard to the project's schedule. The first stage includes two basic steps: the setting up of a realistic design and, based on it, the manufacturing of the instrument. Re-sounding the reconstructed instrument will be the second stage, which is directly dependent upon the results of the first.

Determining the true structure of the instrument is the crucial first step, and also the basis of the reconstruction. This includes the construction technique, material, form, size, quantity and other features relating to the sound-box, sound-table, neck, pegs and strings, and the overall positioning of the combination. The plectrum and tuning should also be considered within this step. There are depictions of the *kopuz* in the written and visual sources with varying amounts of information on almost all of the structural elements mentioned above (Soydaş 2007: 35–40). These sources belong mainly to the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, and considering the differences among them regarding the information they give, historical criticism is needed to decide what to accept or ignore. Ignoring a record, however, does not necessarily stem from doubting its reliability; there could have been a natural change in the structure of the instrument throughout these centuries. As mentioned before, the intended reconstruction will mainly represent the 16th and 17th-century Ottoman instrument, so when there happens to be a contradiction, the record belonging to the 15th century will be ignored. On the other hand, there are some facts that we can only find in the 15th-century sources, like the tuning (Bardakçı 1986: 104), and these will be applied to compensate for the missing parts in the later sources. When there is not enough data on a structural element, say the construction technique, it is possible to fill the

gap by borrowing any equivalent information, where possible, from an account of a similar instrument from the same period.

All kinds of information related to the past need to be examined critically through a historical perspective without failing to assess them in their own context and time. In order to set up a sound and realistic design, general historical knowledge on subjects such as musical instrument making, the structural elements of lutes and other facts that are in some way related to the *kopuz* in the given centuries and within the Ottoman realm will be taken into consideration. In fact, the relevant scattered information does not belong to a single uniform instrument; there seem to have been variants with minor differences. This means that, as the result of an analytical assessment, some preferences will naturally be given to some of these different facts to build the new *kopuz*. Accordingly, interpretation will be a basic component of this process both for the available and the insufficient or missing information.

Due to their nature, these two kinds of historical sources need further criticism regarding linguistics and iconography. Other than Turkish, there are written sources in other languages like Persian and French, and all of them should be considered according to the linguistic properties of their time. A careful reading is needed in order not to cause misinterpretation of the words and sentences, which may result in making one part of the reconstruction inaccurate. Some of the related texts will naturally be read after a translation so this task will be accomplished by competent translators. Nevertheless, there may be some problems arising from the language of the texts, and these can be solved by choosing the most appropriate option. In a Persian treatise (Bardakçı 1986: 104), one of the two types of *kopuz* is referred to as a *kopuz-ı rûmî*, which literally means "*kopuz* of the Greek (land)"; but it is well known that, in Ottoman or other Islamic sources, the attribution *rûmî* is used to refer to Anatolia. Another example may be the description of the *şeşhâne*, to which the *kopuz* is compared structurally, in a Turkish source (Evliyâ Çelebi 1996: 304) with the phrase "*bu dahî tel sâzıdur*", which literally means "this is also a string instrument". However, while the word *tel* may simply refer to the fact that the instrument is a chordophone, it may well be also indicating that the strings are metal. How this word is used for the other instrument descriptions in the same source, and also in other contemporaneous texts, will probably help in making a decision.

Visual sources, which are Ottoman miniature paintings depicting musical instruments in several contexts, constitute the primary references on which the design of the reconstruction will rely. At this point, the reliability question comes to the forefront; and to find the best answer,

iconographical knowledge on Ottoman miniature painting, and also on the other Islamic traditions, should be taken into consideration. At least as a general principle, it is possible to speak of realism as the common characteristic of Ottoman miniatures (Mahir 2005), and this fact enables us to make the most of the visual information, and also makes it quite reasonable to take the depictions in these paintings as models. However, all of them will be subject to criticism as well. In order to properly evaluate a specific illustration, general iconographic features of the period and the particular properties of a given source need to be considered as well as the style of the artist. In the visual depictions of the *kopuz*, one can easily notice the excessive number of pegs, which does not conform to the written sources that mention seven strings at most (Fig. 2). By comparing it to the other paintings of similar instruments, a tendency for such exaggeration may be found out. Without prior acceptance or rejection, the unfamiliar aspects of an image will be checked against various paintings, and ones that are not coherent or that contradict other sources will be ignored. Even if a depiction looks accurate enough to rely on, the nature of these historical paintings makes it essential to approach them critically and not take them as an absolute representative.

Fig. 12-2 *Kopuz* pegs (İntizâmî: 404r)

Although historical sources are the primary ones on which the reconstruction will be based, similar instruments that exist in several regions, or that are preserved in collections, constitute the other category of sources. Most of these tangible sources are—to varying degrees—relatives of the *kopuz*, and through ethnomusicological research, they may serve as informative examples for a proper reconstruction. One of those

instruments is the *qanbus*, which is a rare plucked lute from Yemen (Poché 2012) and which most resembles the *kopuz* in many aspects (Fig. 3). Both the name and the structure of this lute certainly indicate a direct relationship with the *kopuz* (Farmer 1936: 35, Sachs 1940: 252) but historical connections are not yet clearly proven. This instrument may help to decide the issues regarding construction technique, size and form that cannot be understood completely from historical sources. In those sources, for example, there is not enough information on the depth of the sound-box of the *kopuz*, and the depth of the *qanbus* may be taken as a reference. There are several plucked lutes related to the *kopuz* throughout the vast area from Central Asia to the Balkans, and some common or invariable structural features of them will necessarily guide the reconstruction process. To what extent these features serve as models depends on their relationship with the *kopuz* and also on the analytical evaluation of them with respect to historical information.

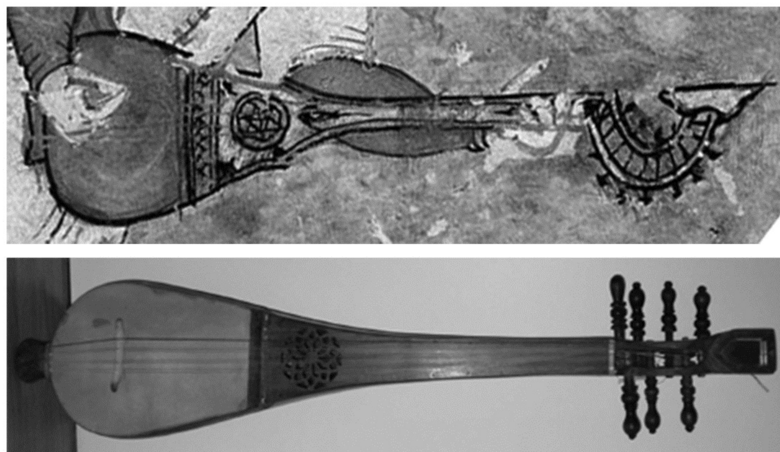

Fig. 12-3 *Kopuz* (İntizâmî: 404r) and *qanbus* (D'Herouville 2012: 9)

The second stage of the project involves performing on the reconstructed instrument. Given that the tuning and plectrum are considered in the first stage, it is unlikely that historical sources include any other useful information on how to play the *kopuz*, namely, regarding style and technique. Their most significant contribution may be the accounts they provide with respect to the genres it mostly played. Indeed, the *kopuz* was used in different genres, namely, art and bard music. Although it was performed as a solo or accompanying lute within the

context of bard music, it was a part of the ensemble in art music (Soydaş 2007: 37). These facts will be taken into consideration when developing parameters for re-sounding the new *kopuz*. However, the perceptible reference point for determining the style and technique of the *kopuz* will be the relevant plucked lutes. Along with some early recordings, this implies the application of the ethnomusicological approach, which may provide much of the information related to this stage of the project. The aforementioned similar instruments as a source of information for structural elements may be more important in determining the performing style of the reconstructed *kopuz*. At this stage, however, the traditions that are directly related to the *kopuz* will be given priority. That is, instead of the Arabic *qanbus*, Turkish plucked lutes, either of folk or art music, could be taken as primary references while other Turkic plucked lutes in various regions may serve as secondary ones. There could also be some specific contributions from other instruments. In the historical sources, it is mentioned that some of the *kopuz*es had a single shorter string with its peg inserted into the neck. A Georgian instrument called the *chonguri*, which is still in use, has the same feature (Chkhikvadze & Jordania 2012), and may help in understanding the attachment as well as the playing technique and context of that “extra” string. Examination of the previously reconstructed similar instruments within other projects would also be helpful in providing an idea of the resulting performance potentiality and timbre. After a critical assessment, again, performing features of all the above-mentioned instruments may be experimented on the reconstructed *kopuz* to conclude with a reasonable preference. With respect to originality, however, this preference will be more questionable than the result of the reconstruction of the instrument.

Discussion

All the above issues related to various disciplines are essential for the proper assessment of different kinds of sources, and will be considered in conjunction with each other; while through an overall comparative analysis, the goal will be to achieve the most accurate reconstruction and performance possible. However, the outcome might not represent the original in all aspects, which should be regarded as acceptable. Even if all the required information is collected and all the problems are solved, the fact that the reconstructed *kopuz* will be a modern production based on research as well as interpretation prevents us from asserting that it will be completely the same as the original. Nevertheless, this is by no means the

hypothesis of the project; the intention is to come up with a sensible reconstruction that is entirely compatible with the historical facts.

As mentioned before, visual sources are the primary references on which the design of the reconstruction will rely. This fact has the potential to cause a tendency to take them as the only or ultimate sources of information, which seems to be the case with some of the previous similar reconstructions. Indeed, even a single good depiction may serve as a model, and it is obvious that a reconstruction that relies solely on an illustration will not require much research. Nevertheless, one cannot argue that the result will not be successful in terms of the outcome being identical to the visual model and also being a performable instrument. Within our project, however, that simplistic approach is not preferred as a method for the reconstruction. Although visual sources are very important, other kinds of sources, which include different details, will also be incorporated into the research in order to achieve a consistent result. In this context, therefore, all the different aspects related to various disciplines come into prominence and will be taken into consideration while evaluating the sources to make sense of all the information on every detail, and so to accomplish the reconstruction without omitting any available information. The purpose is not just to have the instrument reconstructed in one way or another but to combine all the historical evidence with current sources and to base the reconstruction upon this aggregate data. In view of the fact that there is no extant example of the *kopuz*, neglecting those aspects will cause even more of a deficiency of detail in the outcome, and one could not define it as a true reconstruction. In brief, this attempt does not consist of bringing the instrument to life only according to some images, which is not such a sophisticated issue; instead, the result is intended to reflect a wider scholarly knowledge.

There is a possibility, during the research, of encountering some problems arising from the discrepancy in different sources that do not conform to each other on a specific aspect. In this case, priority will be given to the information regarded as relatively more accurate within the given context or which appears to be more appropriate for the period or instrument in question. If we did not have any visual source for the *kopuz*, it is very likely that the actual form would never be recognised. However, some original texts may help us to realise the misleading parts in those pictorial depictions, and this fact affirms that iconographic and linguistic aspects should be considered together. When it comes to the technique and material of the reconstruction, on which visual sources naturally give less information than the written ones, general historical knowledge on these issues will be applied as much as possible. On the other hand, the

ethnomusicological and organological information, expected to be derived from existing similar instruments, will be used as a secondary source—a substitute when there is not sufficient information in historical sources—since these instruments may have been subject to considerable change relating to both structure and performance over the course of time. Thus, priority criteria will be established to evaluate the sources by means of all these different aspects.

Another point to be taken into consideration is related to the actual construction of the *kopuz* as the second step within the first stage of the project. A master luthier will make the instrument under continuous supervision of the researcher according to the design given to him/her and by applying the original techniques and material (even without the original tools) where possible. During this period, he/she will naturally face some problems and try to find the most suitable solutions according to his/her current professional knowledge, which will most probably contribute to the process as well. The construction of the instrument might thus inevitably be executed mostly through a modern technical approach, and some aspects might be subject to a shift from the initial decision; but remaining as faithful as possible to the original, in the sense discussed above, will again be the guiding principal. Rather than implying a disadvantage, however, this fact corresponds to the overall conception underlying the aim of the project.

There will be parameters regarding all steps of the project in order to ensure a successful reconstruction, and these will be entirely shaped by historical (and current) facts. There are no pre-defined parameters to achieve specific results; the available data about the characteristics of the historic instrument will be critically evaluated and a reasonable design will be determined through research, which will allow conclusions for the reconstruction. That is to say, the resulting features of the *kopuz*, such as tone quality and volume, will totally depend upon the structural elements, like material and tuning, applied according to the revealed facts and also informed interpretation where necessary.

Conclusion

As the scope of this research project involves consulting several different sources, namely literary or visual historical evidence and also some existing instruments, using them for a successful result necessitates taking into consideration the historical, linguistic, iconographic and ethnomusicological aspects. Given the nature of the sources, a proper reconstruction by relying merely on musicological or organological

knowledge relating to the past or present would not be possible. The information needed to reconstruct the *kopuz* is dispersed over those various sources, and in order to bring them together to build up a set of reliable data, which will shape the design and performance, a certain amount of knowledge pertaining to other disciplines is essential. The aim of the project is a historically informed reconstruction; that is to say, the setting up of a realistic design, the manufacturing of the instrument and, lastly, the playing, all based on the critical assessment of sources are respectively interdependent as basic steps, which evidently makes the first one even more crucial. While all the steps will be conducted in accordance with this aim by strictly avoiding a superficial treatment and sticking to the historical facts and current observation, a coherent interpretation will no doubt be an indispensable element throughout the whole process.

Notes

[1] The project is funded by The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK 110K228).
[2] Picken's book (1975) is the most comprehensive and detailed publication on Turkish folk music instruments. On the other hand, in the section devoted to the history of the *bağlama* (*saz*), he mostly discusses the history of the *kopuz*, reflecting the common false assumption of a direct relationship between them.
[3] As there was no custom of collecting or preserving, it is not surprising that there are no known surviving examples.
[4] No *kopuz* is included within the other two ensembles, although a *bağlama* under the name *kopuz* features in *Cevher-i Musiki*, following the common misunderstanding which would not be expected to echo in a so-called academic ensemble (see http://www.hakancevher.com/cevherimusiki.html).

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CHAPTER THIRTEEN

CULTURAL MEMORY AND THE EXHIBITION OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS: A TEXTUAL APPROACH

ANDREAS MEYER

Introduction

In a recently published book, David G. Hebert and Jonathan McCollum describe various "locations" in which music-historical sources can be studied. Among others, they mention archives, museums, religious institutions and performance spaces like ancient theatres (2014: 38). Archives and museums are related to the importance of collecting. Both are often divided into a non-public section, only accessible to the staff and selected peers, and a public section. Archives may even be affiliated with museums. The collection of written sources, sound recordings or material culture involves a process of transformation. When ethnographic objects or intangible sources are stored in a depot and described in files, they become artefacts considered suitable to represent cultural heritage. They conduce to transform what Aleida Assmann called "individual memory" into "cultural memory" (2012: 6). At the same time, they can lose their former meaning. Musical instruments stored in museums, for instance, are normally not played. In many cases they are not even playable. Curators follow internationally accepted standards[1] for documentation according to which instruments should be conserved rather than restored (which involves significant technical interventions).

The selection of artefacts always implies a valuation. Some objects may be considered suitable to represent heritage while others may not. In this context, Aleida Assmann points out that the transposition from living memory to cultural memory is embedded in a "deliberate policy of remembering or forgetting" and brings together "temporal extension with the threat of distortion, reduction, and manipulation that can only be

averted through continuous public criticism, reflection, and discussion" (ibid.).

This paper deals with the exhibition of culture at museums; the last step of what Gunnar Ternhag (2006: 3) called "museumization" (collecting, describing, storing, presenting). The exhibition leads to further shifts in the meaning of the artefacts. An exhibited musical instrument, for example, might become a sign of an era, an ethnic group or a family of instruments, and it can become part of a comprehensive story when combined with other objects, photographs, sounds and explanatory notes. In the following, I will present some museum analyses based on terms and methods of semiotics and narratology. I will illustrate the meaning of displayed musical instruments, depending on exhibition concepts and their implementation, and discuss consequences for museum displays as media of cultural memory. The analyses offer some initial findings from a research project at the Folkwang University of the Arts in Essen, Germany.[2]

Analytical Terms

In 2011 and 2012, I conducted lectures on "Music and Museum Display" at the Goethe University (Frankfurt am Main) and the Folkwang University of the Arts. We formed study groups and visited several German music museums in order to try out and discuss analytical techniques suggested by various scholars.[3] Initially we referred to Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, who generally distinguishes between two kinds of exhibitions, one she calls "in context" and the other "in situ." An exhibition *in context* is characterised by artefacts that relate to other artefacts, explanatory notes, illustrations and so on. An object is placed *in situ* if it is presented in relation to—as Kirshenblatt-Gimblett calls it—"an absent whole"; for instance, a specific environment that may be recreated around the object, a scenic construction of which the object becomes a part (cf. 1998: 19ff.).

Secondly, we referred to a semiotic model suggested by German museologist Michael Parmentier (2001: 40ff.). He identifies various signs important for museum displays: "Examples", "models", "metaphors" and "indices". Artefacts, he notes, may belong to more than one of these categories. *Examples* are members of a class that can represent each other; *models* are measurably similar to what they represent; and *metaphors* refer to perceptions, feelings, imaginations, memories, etc. *Indices* are—as Parmentier states—"remainders of a past event, the intended or unintended imprints of things that happened". For our analyses, we found it helpful to

expand this term, using it in a sense that is more common in semiotic discourses (see, e.g., Lyons 1996: 99ff.). *Indices* in our understanding refer to something to which they have a causal relationship, whether in the past or the present. Smoke, for instance, is an *index* of fire.

Thirdly, we referred to German philologist Heike Buschmann, who describes the way a narrative can be developed in a museum room and uses narratology terms as they were introduced by E. M. Foster: "event", "story" and "plot". A *story* in Foster's model is a "narrative of events arranged in their time-sequence" while a *plot* is a "narrative of events, the emphasis falling on causality". Foster illustrates the difference with an oft-cited example: "The king died and then the queen died" is a story; "the king died and then the queen died of grief" is a plot (1990: 87). In the context of a display, the artefacts can be considered *events* and the succession of viewing them can lead to a *story*. According to Buschmann, the *plot* often has to be made by the visitor him- or herself by drawing conclusions (2010: 154f.).

Moreover, adopting Gérard Genette's ideas, Buschmann describes various forms of texts that are used in museum displays: "main texts", "paratexts", "metatexts" and "hypertexts". The main texts consist of the exhibits and their spatial order or scenic construction. Paratexts—as Buschmann notes—are, for example, remarks, titles, illustrations and numerations. They offer clues for how the "museum narrative" should be received. There is no direct thematic connection between a paratext and a main text. Metatexts comment on the exhibits. They can provide information about an exhibit's age, technical function, former use, etc. Hypertexts are transformations of other texts. They "are either derived from the spatial narrative or integrated into it and reproduce its content in a different way" (Buschmann 2010: 166). While we found it useful to distinguish between various forms of textuality for our analyses, Buschmann's distinctions seemed to be insufficiently selective. According to our experiences, titles and illustrations (like images placed next to the artefacts) usually contribute to the understanding of the museum narratives; hence, there is a direct thematic connection between these kinds of texts and the main texts. Furthermore, we hardly found hypertexts in the sense of a transformation.[4] We did find texts that did not directly comment on the artefacts but derived from them, like a board with (non-musical) historical notes about an era where an exhibited musical instrument comes from. The artefacts in this case offer the occasion to tell a narrative. These kinds of texts, however, do not coincide with the term "hypertext" introduced by Genette. He understands "derivation" as, for

instance, James Joyce's *Ullysses* derives from *The Odyssey* (1997: 5). I will therefore use other terms for my analyses and differentiate between:

a. *main texts* (exhibits, arrangements of exhibits and scenic constructions)
b. *orientation texts* (texts which explicitly serve as guidance without commenting on the artefacts, e.g., numerations or arrows)
c. *commenting texts* (notes on the artefacts, illustrations)
d. *derived texts* (notes that do not comment on the artefacts but derive from them)

Case Studies

The following analyses were carried out in 2013 and 2014 at the Ethnological Museum in Hamburg, Germany, the National Museum in Accra, Ghana, and the "rock'n'popmuseum" in the small German town of Gronau. These museums differ greatly in terms of their exhibition concepts. All three of them display African musical instruments yet they do so in their own unique ways and for distinct purposes.

1. A cabinet of African musical instruments at the Museum of Ethnology, Hamburg

The Museum of Ethnology (Museum für Völkerkunde) in Hamburg is part of a foundation under public law. It is intended to be "a forum for people of different nations and cultures to come together, as well as an information centre to offer introductory insight into foreign cultures and to facilitate further contact."[5] The museum houses a permanent exhibition on sub-Saharan African cultures, the general concept of which apparently deals with the contrast between modern life and traditions handed down from pre-colonial times. There are glass cabinets displaying school supplies and homemade toys, photographs of skyscrapers and posters of anti-HIV campaigns as well as a scenic construction of telephone cabins as a symbol for African people living in the diaspora and trying to keep in touch with their homelands. In addition, there are displays with masks, royal symbols of dignity (e.g., regalia from the Benin Empire) and wooden figures traditionally used for various religious purposes. Musical instruments presented in a glass cabinet also form a part of this rather traditional section of the display (both spatially and in terms of content). An arched harp assigned to the ethnic group of the Mangbetu (Democratic Republic of Congo) and a xylophone, the origin of which is unknown, hang in the centre of the cabinet. Various instruments, like lamellophones,

drums, rattles, bells, slit gongs and some wind instruments from different areas, are draped around them. Most of these instruments came to the museum before 1950. The visitors get short texts to read, providing only a few details. *Commenting texts* offer some, if any, notes on the provenance and rather general and arbitrary information on the usage and the contexts in which the instruments were traditionally played. An enclosed information sheet contains a *derived text* on "Traditional Music and Musical Instruments". One can interpret the display in several ways. It can be considered a demonstration of musical diversity presented by a range of different instruments. The high number of percussion instruments and the miscellaneous types of drums refer to the importance of percussion music in sub-Saharan cultures. The uniqueness of each instrument might also lead to exotic associations with African forms of expression, an interpretation supported by the concept of the exhibition with its modern and traditional spheres and also backed by the enclosed *derived text,* which refers to supposed differences between European and African music. In all three cases, the arrangement of instruments becomes an *index* of musical quality.

Fig. 13-1 African musical instruments. Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg. Photo by Andreas Meyer, 2014

2. Ghanaian instruments at the National Museum of Ghana

The National Museum in Accra was founded in 1957 on the eve of Ghana's independence. It is divided into three "galleries", which, according to the website of the Ghana Museums & Monuments Board, deal "respectively with Ghana's past; her traditions; and with the country's arts culture".[6] Similar to the exhibition in Hamburg, the traditional section is devoted to handcrafts (e.g., woodcarvings, textiles, pottery), religious rites and musical forms of expression from pre-colonial times. Some musical instruments are displayed on a big stage. A xylophone is placed in the centre with a set of nine drums of various sizes behind it. Further instruments—trumpets and other types of drums—hang on the walls surrounding the stage. Again, visitors might read the exhibition as a presentation of variety. The arrangement is accompanied by an elaborate *derived text* reflecting the wellspring of music and the meaning of music for mankind. The text concludes

> It is therefore clearly identifiable that music created with musical instruments is an important tool for bridge-building, bringing people either of one common cultural identity or from various diverse cultural fronts together.

At the end, the text turns into a *commenting text*

> The museum plays a unique role by housing the various types of musical instruments from different cultures. In this exhibition an attempt is being made to highlight some of the musical instruments from various cultures in an attempt to build bridges across cultures.

Someone who is familiar with Ghanaian music and history would probably understand the display in a different way after reading these lines. He or she would know that national borders in Ghana were once drawn arbitrarily and the people in the northern parts of the country are culturally related to the people in southern Burkina Faso, northern Togo and northern Cote d'Ivoire, whereas the people in the south are more closely related to people in southern Togo and southern Cote d'Ivoire. He or she would also know that the presented xylophone comes from the northern regions of the country and that the drum set[7] belongs to an ethnic group living in the southern half. Finally, he or she might know that, since Ghana became independent in 1957, a cultural policy has been adopted, which became prominent under the slogan "unity in diversity".[8] Its aim is to support nation building while preserving diverse ethnic features. With

this knowledge one can read the exhibition as a political message: Different musical instruments from different areas can come and play together, and so can people from different regions with their respective cultural backgrounds. If the display is first seen as an arrangement *in context*, it might now turn into a scenic construction, an exhibition *in situ*. The stage becomes a real stage and the instruments are placed on stage for a music ensemble to play. Various professional and semi-professional ensembles in Ghana (and Ghanaian ensembles abroad) perform using a similar trans-ethnic instrumentation.

Fig. 13-2 Ghanaian musical instruments. National Museum of Ghana. Photo by Andreas Meyer, 2014

3. Ghanaian drums at the rock'n'popmuseum in Gronau, Germany

Gronau is a small town in northwest Germany, known by insiders as the birthplace of German rock star Udo Lindenberg. The rock'n'popmuseum is a non-profit cooperation. Its permanent exhibition is devoted to the history of pop music in Europe and the United States, and focuses on developments in Germany. The entry area of the main room is equipped with monitors showing films of African-American dancers and musicians, and also of the Black Power movement in the 1960s. They are accompanied by pictures, *commenting texts* and a *deriving text* on "Black Music". Passing the monitors and going along the wall, one reaches two

Fig. 13-3 Ghanaian drums, rock'n'popmuseum, Gronau, Germany. Photo by Andreas Meyer, 2014

glass cabinets, one containing a saxophone and a trombone and the other one Ghanaian drums (an hourglass drum from the northern part of Ghana and a barrel drum from southern Ghana). They are followed by pictures, accessories and audio-recordings of German musicians from the 1920s (and earlier). Some of these musicians were influenced by jazz. Continuing on, the visitor sees a portrait of Adolf Hitler, a monitor showing an excerpt of Leni Riefenstahl's film about the Olympic Games from 1936, a so-called Volksempfänger ("people's radio"), which was an important medium for Nazi propaganda, and next to it, the poster of the notorious "Entartete Musik" ("Degenerate Music") exhibition organised in 1938 by NS-official Hans Severus Ziegler in Düsseldorf. The aim of this exhibition was to ridicule and defame jazz and modern art music. Furthermore, there is an image of Benny Goodman and his swing band. The caption reads, "Jewish bandleader Goodman's music is banned as 'Juden Jazz' by the

National Socialists in 1937". Historical-culturally educated visitors will recognise that some of the German musicians, the exhibits of whom were presented previously, were also Jews. It is then easy to draw conclusions: African-American styles of music were popular in Germany in the 1920s. German pop musicians were influenced by these styles, which contain elements of African music. Accordingly, the music was combated by the racist regime and associated with Jewishness and otherness. In this narrative, the exhibited African drums do not represent a class of instruments and they are not *indices* for certain cultural regions or forms of musical expression. They have a *metaphorical* meaning referring to the alleged African elements in jazz and music influenced by jazz.[9] This is supported by some lines of the *derived text* on Black Music mentioned before: "The crossing of African and European tonalities generates the 'blue notes'. The 'off beat' and 'swing' forms of jazz have their roots in African poly rhythmic".

Conclusion

The analyses illustrate not only a significant change in the meaning of the objects when presented in a museum but, in some cases, also a variety of meanings. A comparable simple arrangement *in context* like the cabinet of African musical instruments in the ethnographic exhibition in Hamburg contains different potential *plots*. They can be considered *indices* of stylistic features, musical variety and strangeness. The display in Accra also represents variety. The presented *commenting text,* however, illustrates the curator's political intentions. After reading it, the arrangement can become a *metaphor* of national unity. The African drums shown at the museum in Gronau are completely decoupled from their former meanings. They *metaphorically* represent notions of African musical elements in jazz and pop music. Curators (and perhaps other persons in charge) thus have a wide range of possibilities to create cultural heritage, and museumization proves to be a very individual act. It starts with the selection of artefacts and continues with the conception and erection of a museum display. However, it takes two to communicate messages by exhibiting artefacts. The museum staff need the visitors as teammates. As Heike Buschmann notes, one often has to draw one's own conclusions to get the *plot* of a museum narrative (see above). The German museologist Gottfried Korff in this context speaks about "a-ha moments" and "choques" (sudden insights) arising from the spatial order of things (2007: 172). Each conclusion, each "choque", requires previous knowledge and maybe also a considerable amount of imagination. The individual way the visitors access the

exhibition, e.g., the order of viewing the artefacts, is also important here. It is necessary to follow a certain route to get the *plot* at the museum in Gronau. The direction is predetermined by the architecture since the exhibits are arranged along a wall next to the entrance of the hall (*orientation texts* like numerations would have assigned the route more precisely). Visitors are nevertheless free to refuse the given order and draw their personal conclusions using different constellations of artefacts. The making of cultural memory in a museum is a rather unpredictable process of encoding and decoding. Hence, textual analyses are only the first step in investigating the various meanings of museum displays. In a second step, it would be useful to try to come closer to the perspectives of curators and visitors by using ethnographic methods (cf. Mason 2006: 28).

Notes

[1] See, e.g., Robert L. Barcley (ed.): *The Care of Historic Musical Instruments* published on the website of the Comité international pour les musées et collections d'instruments de musique (CIMCIM). See also Koster 1996.

[2] *Music Exhibitions – Studies on Presentation and Reception of Musical Topics in Museums*. Project funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research Foundation). The case studies presented in this paper belong to a larger sample of studies carried out in the context of the project; the investigations have hitherto focussed on fifteen music-related exhibitions from various countries.

[3] I would like to thank my students, who helped me a great deal; in particular, Elisabeth Brendel, Luzian Dreher, Charis Landes, Annika Loges, Maria Kuhn, Elisabeth Treydte and Andrea Werner.

[4] Buschmann mentions accompanying books and audio guides as potential examples for hypertexts. According to our experiences, these sources tend to comment on the artefacts and contribute to the understanding of the museum narrative or specify it.

[5] "Wir sind: ein Forum der Begegnung von Menschen verschiedener Völker und Kulturen dazu ein Informationszentrum zur Vermittlung des ersten Einstiegs in fremde Kulturen und der weiterführenden Kontakte." Quoted from the website of the Museum für Völkerkunde Hamburg:
http://www.voelkerkundemuseum.com/42-0-Geschichte.html. Accessed January 3, 2015.

[6] See website of Ghana Museums & Monuments Board:
http://www.ghanamuseums.org/national-museum.php. Accessed January 3, 2015.

[7] A Fontomfrom set as it is played in the Asante Region in Southern Ghana. Cf. Bareis and Meyer 2012.

[8] Cf. "The Cultural Policy of Ghana" published by the National Commission on Culture in 2004: http://www.artsinafrica.com/uploads/2011/04/Ghana.pdf.
Accessed January 3, 2015. See also Klein 2007: 88ff.

[9] The barrel drum from Southern Ghana (called a “Kpanlogo drum”) is a rather new instrument. It is played for a dance significantly invented in the mid-twentieth century, long after jazz and African-American-oriented pop music became popular in Germany. Cf. Collins 1996: 109.

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Part Three:

Individual Memory, Musical Practice and Heritage

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

FROM ARCHIVAL RECORDING TO AESTHETIC IDEAL: HOW INDIVIDUAL PERFORMERS HAVE INFLUENCED STYLE

INGRID ÅKESSON

Introduction

The established image of oral transmission of traditional music denotes communication from person to person and from generation to generation, as well as within generations, by ear and by direct and analogue listening, repeating and learning. It denotes a long, slow, extensive process of learning by living in a musical milieu. This process is undeniably a nuclear of the traditional. However, the oral elements of singing have very often merged with written and printed texts, such as hand-written songbooks, broadsheets and chapbooks (cf. Atkinson 2002). Instrumental music has chiefly been transmitted aurally, but sheet music plays a certain role as well. Also, and especially relevant for my work, in the revival and post-revival[1] use of musical traditions during recent decades, the elements of orality—or aurality—take on new guises in the process of creating, or recreating, a musical heritage which can draw attention to itself among other types of music cultures milling about in an expanding soundscape.

The general issues that create the starting point of this article are how transmission functions, and what kinds of ideals and models are constructed. The problematized issue is how aesthetic and performative ideals are created and recreated when there are no longer any old live sources to learn from, when archival recordings turn out to be the main source of knowledge of narrative and musical styles, etc., and when traditional music has become a "genre" among others. I focus on how the selection of certain recorded individual performers in sound collections, and certain musical style elements, which are represented by these

performers, have participated in creating role models and pedagogical tools for younger generations of singers.

From a wider perspective, the case study problematizes an aspect of the relationship between individual memory and collective history as a process in which traces of selected individual performers, and archived memories of the music-making of individuals, are moulded into a representation of our common history or common tradition. Within the field of Swedish traditional music during the latest decades, this phenomenon is prominent, especially concerning the vocal traditions. In general, the recreation or reconstruction of traditional styles, as well as selection of models, is characteristic of the whole revival phenomenon in Europe and beyond; here I focus on what this process might look like when the strand of living tradition is very narrow and you must lean on archival material.[2] A process similar to and partly preceding the one in Sweden was carried out in parts of the Finnish folk music milieus, centred around the Sibelius Academy of Helsinki (cf. Ramnarine 2003, Hill 2005). The obvious frame of reference for this discussion is the continuous and many-layered recreation of traditions, and more or less imaginary pasts, which characterises cultural heritage as a phenomenon (cf. Giddens 1990, Glassie 1995, Lowenthal 1998, Åkesson 2007: 37). I discuss this issue in detail in Åkesson 2007 but, due to restricted space, here I omit the wider discussion to concentrate on the empirical facts.

I will discuss a couple of aspects of this issue of representation and its consequences. Which musical styles and elements have been selected as representatives of traditional music? Why have they been selected, and by whom? What kind of aesthetics do they represent? And, to add a reflective perspective, to what extent have my colleagues and myself, working in the tradition archives, contributed to this kind of selection?

Domestic tradition and the generation gap

The sound collections of the Centre for Swedish Folk Music Research (Svenskt visarkiv) contain documentation of numerous individual singers and musicians, recorded in their home milieu, mainly from the 1940s onward.[3] The absolute majority of the recordings consists of solo music-making—on the vocal side, there are no examples of multipart singing and only a few of two-part singing; two-part fiddle playing is found more frequently. Among the recorded performers, however, a smaller number have become icons or models for present-day performers. Sound recordings of traditional music played a great part in the 1960s–70s revival

as well as in the more professionalised later period in Sweden for both instrumental and vocal music. Nevertheless, there are certain differences.

Over the centuries, instrumental music has been performed at weddings and other festivities, in, or on, the borders of the public sphere of society. The performers have been mainly men, as in most music cultures. During the 20th century, a number of fiddlers' associations were founded; instrumental music and dance became comparatively well-known and visible outside the inner circles via festivals and radio. Instrumental music and dance were also given priority by, for example, festival organisers and award-giving societies. Several fiddlers and other instrumentalists of the generation born in the early 20th century (all of them men) successively became well-known bearers of tradition, and they have also been the tutors of many younger musicians. Direct person-to-person transmission of tunes and playing styles has accordingly played an important part in the transmission of instrumental traditions beside the use of transcriptions, published sheet music and field recordings (cf. Ling 1980, Ramsten 1991).

However, vocal music in Swedish-speaking areas has traditionally been a mainly domestic activity, performed mostly in people's homes and thus to a great degree in the private sphere (cf. Jersild & Ramsten 1993). This concerns more or less the whole long period before the beginning of the folk music revival of the 1960s; singing has most likely been performed, for example, in taverns and in connection with festivities, but all recordings, including the earliest ones registered with pen and paper in the 17th century, refer to solo singing in the performers' homes. One important related fact is that several types of songs were functional and tied to everyday chores, songs such as lullabies, working songs and, in a spiritual respect, hymns; a fact which means that they have never—before the revival—been performed as presentational pieces of music with the intent of performing for listeners. As for other types of repertoire, people have surely listened to singers and taken turns at singing narrative or lyrical songs in a family or neighbourhood context. This context is, however, still within, or close to, the private sphere. Thus, we may conjecture that vocal traditions have been less visible than instrumental music outside of the circles of performers.

Both men and women in Sweden have taken part in vocal traditions, and repertoires have often overlapped, without any prescribed gendered distinctions (distinctions have rather been functional or connected to certain gendered milieus, such as the military service). In the archival documentation, however, a number of women singers stand out, individuals with extensive repertoires including a great number of ballads.

Vocal performers stepped on to the stage or became tutors to a much smaller degree than was the case for instrumentalists during the latter part of the 20th century. There is a generation gap between, on the one hand, the singers born in the first decades of the 20th century and recorded in the 1950s to the 1970s and on the other hand, the new generations of singers who took part in what I have called "the vocal wave" of the 1980s onwards (Åkesson 2007).

Sound recordings and the emergence of a "collective memory"

Simultaneous to the revival of the 1960s and '70s, an ideological and methodical change took place among many performers and tutors of instrumental as well as vocal traditional music, which gave priority to music-making by ear and did not rely as much on notated documentation as had been common (cf. Ramsten 1992). Traditional style elements, or elements that were perceived as traditional, as well as the method of teaching and learning by ear were brought to the foreground instead of learning the tunes from sheet music. In addition, over the years, performers searched the archival collections of tape recordings, looking for representatives of local traditions and styles from their own geographic area, new repertoire or examples of older layers of tonality and performance styles. These qualities are, of course, difficult to distinguish from transcriptions and other kinds of notation. Thus, besides direct person-to-person transmission, sound recordings began to play an increasingly central role in the transmission of repertoire and even more so in the transmission and dissemination of playing and singing styles, phrasing, ornamentation, sound production, etc. One aspect of this shift of focus from transcriptions and sheet music towards sound recordings was an increasing focus among performers on sound-related elements such as bowing, double stopping, sound production, intonation, etc.

For many vocal performers of the folk music revival, the archival recordings constituted the main aural learning possibility available, as few older traditional singers were still active, and their families—in most cases—had not carried on the tradition. In this way, singers who were no longer alive became models. Some of the revival singers listened very closely to selected sound recordings, trying to pin down style elements, ways of singing, in short, characteristics of traditional singing, different from, for example, classical or choral singing and pop or jazz styles. Simultaneously, ethnomusicologists and archivists made selections of recorded singers for the production of LPs and CDs. They also analysed

and described elements typical of traditional singing in lectures and publications. The focus on sound-related elements is very much present in both these contexts.

This process might be described as one facet of the creation of collective—but also local—musical identities based on selected individual musical expressions. Using a somewhat incisive wording, you might call it a “construction of collective memory”—or perhaps it is more to the point to talk of an “emergence of a collective memory”. I want to point out that it is not a question of a wholly conscious or ideological construction, or a process managed by any central authority; the process is chiefly associated with scholarly analysis on the one hand and aesthetics and cultural policy on the other. The crystallisation of a set of style markers is closely connected to the professionalisation and institutionalisation of traditional music, processes that have been initiated partly by performers and performers’ organisations in an effort to enhance the status of traditional music in Sweden.

Actors in the field—knowers, makers and doers

Several different actors have contributed to this development, and several selective processes have been combined into a many-layered structure. Using the terminology created by Lundberg et al. (2003), I will speak of the roles played by “knowers”, that is, scholars, collectors, archivists, etc.; “makers”, for example, radio producers and other promoters of traditional music; and “doers”—singers, musicians and tutors. As the creators of this model themselves point out, several actors belong to more than one of these categories. A number of persons in the sometimes overlapping categories of knowers and makers were the first to place a number of selected individual musicians from the collections in the limelight; this was done via lectures, radio programmes, scholarly and popular articles, and via LP issues. The process started while most of these older singers were still alive. One crucial actor was the pioneer sound collector (“knower”) and radio producer (“maker”) Matts Arnberg. With a few colleagues, he initiated and carried out the main part of the Swedish broadcasting company’s field recordings of traditional singers and instrumentalists (*spelmän*), starting in the late 1940s, and some years later broadcasted a series of programmes where many of these collections were presented.[4]

His younger colleague, Märta Ramsten, continued this work at the radio and later established sound collecting as an important part of the activity of the Centre for Swedish Folk Music Research. She is primarily a

"knower" and has in a number of books and articles analysed and commented on the repertoire, style and social context of several individual singers and musicians (Ramsten 1987, 1990, 1992, Jersild & Ramsten 1988). Arnberg and Ramsten were both (as "makers") involved in the production of a series of LP issues of selected singers and instrumentalists from the collections of both institutions during the 1960s, '70s and '80s. Most of the LPs were later re-issued as CDs. In this way, these recordings have represented a kind of "folk music canon" for quite a long time, and many younger musicians have listened to them and used them as source material besides learning from traditional musicians directly. In this context, we should remember that archival material in general, and in most countries, was less accessible before digitisation started in the early 21st century, a fact that gave the selected recordings an even more central position in folk music milieus.

These individual performers and tradition bearers, selected from the collections, may have been chosen for different reasons: musical skill and excellence; a strongly individual performance style, in many cases characterised by a distinct dialect of language and/or music; a style of performance that is thought to represent older layers of style and tonality; a large, old or local repertoire of songs or tunes; or an especially interesting role and position among their peers from an aesthetic, ethnographic and social point of view. In most cases, several factors coincide. One common aim of knowers and makers has been to present traditional music, performed by traditional performers, to a greater public; another to broaden, supplement and problematize the general image of classical or popular music as the norms for musical sound, intonation, ways of singing, sound production, etc. The singers selected by Matts Arnberg had large repertoires, including ballads and other old songs; were regarded as representative of a performance-related and local authenticity; and often had a strongly individual style and expression. Among other features, Märta Ramsten and her colleague Margareta Jersild focused on individual heart rate/pulse as a basis for singing style, voice register, techniques of variation and the singers' own comments on their performance and aesthetics.

To continue with the "doers" or performers: during the revival of the 1960s and '70s, some singers were already methodically seeking not only repertoire but also role models for singing style among recorded traditional performers. Later on, in the late 1980s, when traditional singing had become an expanding area within music education in Sweden, the need for pedagogical models became even more acute. Some important "doers" have had a great impact in this field. Two of these are Marie

Selander and Susanne Rosenberg, who have been active for a long time as folk singers and song teachers as well as composers and arrangers of music. They also both perform outside the genre of Swedish traditional music, a fact that tends to enhance the urge to focus on and analyse stylistic features in different musical traditions. Selander was already active during the 1960s revival. She worked at the Swedish Radio for a number of years, where she co-operated with Matts Arnberg and was influenced by him. Besides, she is an experimental musician and a jazz and blues singer, working in a wide musical field. Rosenberg has been responsible for the teaching of traditional songs at the Royal Conservatory of Stockholm since the 1990s; she has initiated and conducted several song ensembles and created music for the theatre. These two singers listened separately to and analysed field recordings of singers whose performance included, for example, ornamentation and grace notes as well as an older, modal tonality. They both acted from an artistic perspective, inquisitively and, especially for Rosenberg, according to a pedagogical need to exemplify and explain to students.

At the same time, several other active singers chose their "models" based on other priorities more connected to emotional and personal qualities and were not very interested in style elements (Åkesson 2007: 168 ff.). What I describe here is the process of the more professionalised part of the folk music milieu.

Examples of selected singers and their styles

In this section I present just a small number of the individuals who have become role models—there are several more.

Lena Larsson (1882–1967) from Bohuslän, on the west coast of Sweden, was recorded by Swedish Radio on several occasions in the 1950s and 1960s, rather late in her life. She came from a musical family, whose home had been a meeting-place for friends and neighbours during her youth. Her repertoire was large and contained a great number of old songs, such as lullabies and medieval ballads, but also many sea songs and the occasional operetta melodies. On the recordings, her voice is dark and low, her tempo slow and seems to refer to her heart rate; she uses very few ornaments but occasional grace notes. The most characteristic trait is her introvert style; she seems to be listening inwards to the lyrics and tune, reflecting on the content. Her performance is meditative rather than extrovert, even when she sings to an audience. During her later years, she sometimes sang on stage during radio programmes. A solo LP (later on CD) was issued in 1978,[5] and she is included on several other records.

Several younger singers have taken up songs from her repertoire and the slow tempo and meditative style have had a certain impact.

Dansar Edvard Jonsson (1893–1976) is one of the rather few male singers who have become role models. He lived in western Dalecarlia, and his repertoire has a strong local character. His father and grandmother were both singers, and he learned a great part of his repertoire from them. In the area an old dialect was spoken, which is also noticeable in the singing of Dansar Edvard and some of his peers. His singing style and performance are strongly individual and are thought to have a special and archaic quality. Dansar Edvard's performance is characterised by an older modal type of tonality, including microtones, and by a free-metric pulse. He sings in a narrative or *parlando* kind of way, often with a prolonged ending of the stanza or even of the phrase. He uses ornaments freely, especially on sounding consonants, and likewise he uses grace notes. His voice register is rather high (which is common for many Swedish male traditional singers). These individualistic traits have made Dansar Edvard one of the most prominent models for younger singers looking for an old way of singing—a role similar to that of certain fiddlers whose performance is also characterised by modal scales, uneven pulse and tempo, and strong individuality. Like that of Lena Larsson, his performance gives an introvert impression. However, singers could listen to him only on occasional tracks on different LPs or CDs until Svenskt visarkiv issued a solo CD in 2009.[6] His impact has been channelled chiefly via Marie Selander and other singers, who had access to the recordings of Dansar Edvard, made by Swedish Radio and others, and who in turn recommended other singers to listen to him.

Elin Lisslass (1908–1986) and *Karin Edvardsson Johansson* (1909–1997) from Transtrand in the northwest of Dalecarlia were both recorded by Swedish Radio around 1950 and by Svenskt visarkiv in the 1960s and 1970s. They became famous for long, equilibristic, melodic herding calls at a high pitch and richly ornamented. As carriers of these characteristics, they have become representatives of the vocal herding music that in several contexts has been considered typically Scandinavian, archaic and exotic. Apart from the aesthetic qualities that are always more or less present in all music, the function of herding calls is as a working implement to keep the grazing cattle together in the woods, and to call the cows, sheep and goats home for milking. It can also be used as a means of communication between herders in neighbouring summer pastures.

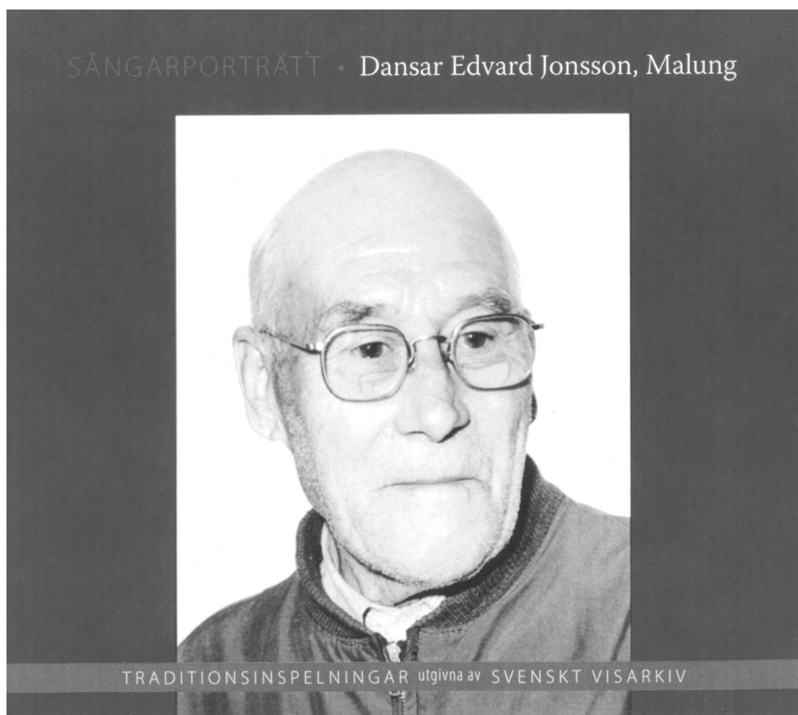

Fig. 14-1 Dansar Edvard Johnson on CD cover from Svenskt visarkiv. Photo in Svenskt visarkiv

Although this kind of rural economy gradually ceased to exist from the 1960s, musicologists have drawn attention to the calls and their nature of improvisation over a modal scale. Together with similar music on cow horns and goat horns, these calls are the most prominent kind of improvisational music within the Swedish tradition (cf. Johnson 1984, 1986). Other recordings contain more of the different sounds and noises that were used in communication with the animals, and these have aroused more interest in recent years. The calls from Transtrand are, however, still the most well-known and have become an ideal for the demanding and aesthetically advanced type of calling that is used in concerts nowadays. The calls from Transtrand were included on the first LP issue of herding music in 1966[7] but prior to this were issued on a 78 rpm record. The Swedish musicologist Gunnar Ternhag has analysed their impact (2006).

Fig. 14-2 A portrait of Elin Lisslass by Swedish artist Siri Derkert. Detail of *Ristningar i betong* 1961–65, reproduced with special permission on the CD appendix to the author's dissertation. Photo: Peter Ahlbom

Martin Martinsson (1913–1998) from Bohuslän on the west coast had a deep knowledge of local history and lore as well as of songs and music. His repertoire, mostly acquired from his family and others during his youth, contained ballads and other narrative songs, working songs, short ditties and many instrumental tunes performed as mouth music. Martinsson became known in the folk music milieu as a fine singer and storyteller, skilful at diddling dance tunes. He performed in concerts and festivals in the 1970s and 1980s, and several young singers wanted to learn from him. His recordings later became popular with many singers. His voice is light and flexible and his rendering often characterised by a steady but dynamic pulse, his marked dialect and a high level of energy. He is one of the main models for the diddling of dance tunes. This kind of diddling is characterised by the use of nonsense syllables with marked sounding consonants, and the tongue, lips and voice cavity function as an instrument.[8] There are similarities to the lilting, diddling or mouth music performed in the British Isles, Ireland, Brittany, etc., but within the area of mouth music, several styles can be distinguished. Diddling as well as herding calls became very popular in folk song circles from the 1980s as an alternative to songs with lyrics and as a possibility for expanding the field of voice usage.

In addition to the impact of field recordings, knowledge of traditional song styles has—to some extent—been extricated from collectors' transcriptions without recorded or archived sound. This is important especially concerning the tradition of popular hymn singing, which was recorded mainly with pen and paper. However, some collectors are known for accuracy in noting down irregularities and modal tonality; they preferably recorded more than one stanza, registered variations between the stanzas, and generally kept close to the performance of the singers. One example is Olof Andersson's transcriptions of the hymn singing of *Katarina Utas* from a Swedish-speaking diaspora of Estonians, recorded in 1929 (Andersson 1945). Another example comprises the transcriptions of traditional hymns sung by *Pers Karin Andersdotter* from Mora, Dalecarlia, transcribed by two different collectors in 1912 and later published (*Svenska Låtar*, Dalarna I, 1938). In accordance with the very few older sound recordings, these transcriptions are regarded as being representative of the more elaborate style ideals in traditional, often free-metrical, hymn singing. Scholars (including myself) have analysed them (cf. Jersild & Åkesson 2000, Boström et al. 2004), and from the 1980s, they have been attractive to singers who wanted to enhance the visibility and status of traditional song as they take a certain amount of skill to perform. The richly ornamented phrase-by-phrase performance has been applied to other kinds of traditional songs as well, especially lyrical love songs.

226. PSALM

Sv. Psalmboken n:r 138

Kom, Hel - ge An - de, till mig in, Upp - lys min

själ, upp - tänd mitt sinn', Att jag i dig må

bli - va! Låt ly - sa li - vets ljus för mig Och led mig

på den rät - ta stig! Dig vill jag helt mig gi - va.

Fig 14-3 The hymn "Kom Helge Ande till mig in" (Come, Holy Spirit to Me), as sung by Pers Karin Andersdotter, recorded by Nils Andersson, early 20th century. From *Svenska Låtar*, Dalarna 1 (1922–1924). ("Psalm" in Swedish means "hymn" in general)

The representative, the archaic and the exotic

Some of the most prominent stylistic elements that have been emphasised by both scholars and singers are chest voice; relatively low women's voices and high men's voices; no "classical" vibrato; placing of sound in the front part of the oral cavity; approaching the pitch from below or above; the use of sounding and even ornamented consonants; grace notes placed individually, with a blurred boundary to ornaments; and ornamentation ruled by sound and phoneme qualities, not semantic ones.[9] Most of these features are certainly not typical only of traditional singing in Sweden or Scandinavia but are characteristics of several types of traditional song. As for song or voice genres, herding music and lilting have been given prominence and, likewise, for example, ballads, folk hymns and love songs.

Not all recorded singers performed in an older way, however; many sang in a simple, straightforward manner, not markedly "traditional"; they were probably influenced by school singing and choir singing, and by listening to the radio and gramophone. Older practices have lingered longer in certain regions. Thus, the characteristic style elements that make traditional singing stand out from other song styles have been extracted from some of those singers, whose performance was regarded as outstanding or unusual and perceived as especially authentic as regards sound and style.

I have described how scholars as well as singers and educators have endeavoured to analyse and pin down a number of characteristic elements in traditional singing. The impact of knowers, represented by ethnomusicologists and traditional archives staff, should today be regarded in a reflective manner: for some decades several of us, including myself, have analysed and described stylistic elements and characteristics of traditional singing in publications and lectures. Naturally, there is a certain focus on the "unusual" features of singing, which can be expected not to be well known by the public in general as nearly everybody is influenced by classical and/or popular music ideals, harmonically based music and, nowadays, music that is technically processed. Through analysing and drawing attention to characteristics of traditional singing, and using recordings of certain singers as sound examples in lectures and for CD issues, etc., we have, to some extent, contributed to the creation of a "traditional" aesthetic with a certain focus on features such as free-metric and ornamented singing. From different starting points, we have all pointed out such features as are typical for unaccompanied, everyday solo singing, characterised by an oral tradition with little influence from radio

and commercial recordings (cf. Ramsten 1992). This emphasis is, however, also a part of a European or international phenomenon.

However, the descriptive analysis made by scholars tends to become more prescriptive in the hands of educators and some present-day singers. When there are few possibilities to learn singing from "tradition bearers" in a person-to-person process, it is logical that certain style markers are crystallised into a kind of toolbox. The purpose of the conscious and intentional use of these style markers in your singing is to sound "traditional" and signal to listeners and other musicians that what you perform is traditional vocal music. The urge to enhance the status of vocal traditional music is related to the fact that since the 1990s, traditional song has been in the process of becoming a professionalised genre, competing with classical, pop and jazz songs, etc. In this context, not only were the generally representative elements emphasised but the focus was sometimes on the "archaic" and the "exotic".

Elements such as ornamented song, modal tunes and a sharp/pregnant voice quality were greatly admired in other music cultures; for example, expressions of Karelian, Ingrian, Bulgarian, and Corsican traditional multipart singing, genres that became very popular in Sweden from the 1980s onward. This strengthened the search for similar elements in the Swedish or Scandinavian traditions (cf. Åkesson 2006, 2007) and merged with the influence of Dansar Edvard Jonsson's style in particular, and with the aesthetics of ornamented choral singing as well as of the herding calls. Some song students absorbed all the equilibristic possibilities inherent in traditional song styles and, at times, their performances showed more "archaic" elements than the performance of the source singers, with, for example, added blue notes and a slower tempo. One explanation is that most music students have grown up with art and popular music so the encounter with these alternative sounds, idioms, styles and ideals was something new. As I perceive this process, there were two reasons why some singers, in an early period, applied the most "archaic" and "exotic" elements, especially blue notes and ornaments, to nearly every song they sang. On the one hand, they were trying to create a profile for traditional singing as an advanced and demanding kind of music, to create a space and build a market for themselves. On the other hand, the process was partly spontaneous, a result of their own fascination with features that most of them had not known were present in Swedish singing traditions.[10] An even more pointed aesthetic ideal, characterised by the "exotic" sounds consciously drawn to their extremes, was also created by musicians and composers in the cross-genre fields between traditional music, jazz, modern art music and electronic music.[11] With all this said, I want to point

out that the focus on style, sound and presentative[12] performance does not permeate all folk music circles; it has its chief base in the professionalised part of the milieu.

Concluding remarks

In the different ways that I have described, a small selection of individuals representing some prominent and easily discernible style elements have, to a high degree, become role models for younger Swedish folk singers of the late 20th and early 21st centuries. These style elements have been crystallised into a kind of toolbox for pedagogical use and, in addition, they have functioned as style markers for traditional song as a sub-genre in the curriculum of the conservatories and in the music market. I have shown that what is perceived as a kind of collective heritage is a number of aspects and qualities, which certainly are inherent in the archival documentation but which to some extent are the fruits of several selective processes. These selective processes are based on a mixture of scholarly/analytical, aesthetic and pedagogical considerations as well as on cultural policy within parts of the folk music milieu.

By degrees, music students and others have become aware of the process of selection, and it has become an issue for discussion. Some performers have drawn attention to other style elements and characteristics, and to other singers who might also be regarded as representative. Besides, repertoires and idioms that reflect later traditions (such as revivalist religious songs or vaudeville songs), which, until recently, many performers have considered uninteresting, have been reconsidered and performed by some of the younger singers. If traditional music was once performed by concert singers and classic violinists, and sound and idiom were adapted to a drawing-room aesthetic, the opposite can be said to have happened in recent years: a strengthening of rough and unfamiliar sounds and idioms. In parts of the folk music milieu, this ideal has been replaced in turn by a kind of “folk chamber music” aesthetic. Several aesthetic ideals and tendencies seem to exist simultaneously. The representation—and presentation—of the collective heritage or collective history in our archives is perpetually changing.

Notes

[1] The term "post-revival" refers to the period after the revival of the 1960s and 1970s (common to many countries) when structures and ideals changed in accordance with the parallel processes of institutionalisation, professionalisation, and formalisation of the folk music milieus. Cf. Bithell 2007.
[2] For a presentation of my model for creativity and re-creativity, see Åkesson 2006.
[3] Swedish collectors were late in using sound recordings as a method, as some centrally placed individuals in the early 20th century expressed scepticism towards the new technique and strongly recommended the method of writing down songs and tunes on the spot. This practice dominated until the 1940s. Cf. Boström et al. (ed.) 2010.
[4] This process was contemporary with similar initiatives in a number of other European countries, such as Britain, Italy and Norway. See also Ramsten 1992.
[5] *Lena Larsson sjunger visor från Bohuslän*. Caprice, 1978. Re-issued on CD *Lena, Ulrika och Svea/Three Traditional Folk Singers*. Caprice 1996, CAP 22043.
[6] *Sångarporträtt: Dansar Edvard Jonsson, Malung*. Svenskt visarkiv 2009, SMSCD 002.
[7] *Locklåtar och musik på horn och pipa/Ancient Swedish Pastoral Music*. Sveriges Radio, 1966. Re-issued on CD as *Ancient Swedish Pastoral Music*. Caprice 1995, CAP 21483.
[8] The interested reader might listen to, for example, *Sångarporträtt: Martin Martinsson, Orust*. Svenskt visarkiv 2006, SVCD 11 and *Celtic Mouth Music*. Ellipsis Art, 1997.
[9] This very short conclusion is based on Jersild and Ramsten 1988; Rosenberg 1993; Jersild and Åkesson 2000, chapters 8 and 9; Åkesson 2012.
[10] The instrumental tradition presents a similar phenomenon: Märta Ramsten used the term "enhanced tradition" (my translation) in her analysis of revival fiddlers' partiality for the use of double-stopping, drones and a rough touch with the bow (1991).
[11] For example: Marie Selander: *Voicings* (Twin music 1994); Karin Rehnqvist: *Puksånger och lockrop* (Phono Suecia 1996); Lena Willemark: *Windogur* (Amigo 2000).
[12] See Thomas Turino (2008) on presentative vs participatory music making.

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CHAPTER FIFTEEN

TEXTUAL STRATEGIES FOR COLLECTING AND PUBLISHING FINNISH FOLK MELODIES IN THE 19TH CENTURY

OLLI HEIKKINEN

At the beginning of the 19th century, the geopolitical position of Finland changed drastically. After having been the eastern part of the Kingdom of Sweden for six centuries, in 1809 Finland became a grand duchy within the Russian Empire. Although the cultural ties with Sweden remained strong, the Finnish educated class found itself in a completely new situation. It had to build a new central administration and—because Russification was not an option for the intelligentsia—construct a new national identity.

Like every other national movement in the multinational and multi-ethnic Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman and Russian empires (e.g., the Bulgarian, Romanian, Hungarian, Czech, Slovak, Polish, Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian movements) in its first phase, language became the main vehicle in the construction of a Finnish identity (Hroch 2015: 204). In 1831, the national linguistic aspirations were channelled through the establishment of an organisation dedicated to the matter: the Finnish Literature Society (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura). Besides publishing foreign literature in Finnish translation and encouraging the writing of new plays and novels in Finnish, the society financed extensive trips to collect folk poems, as well as folk melodies, to be subsequently published as books and sheet music.

The focus of this article is on the examination of the collecting and publishing activities of folk melodies by the Finnish Literature Society. My main argument is that in the 19th century, notated music was considered a genre of literature and therefore the concepts and theories used to describe the textual strategies in collecting and publishing folk

poems are adaptable, to a certain degree, to the description of the textual strategies in collecting and publishing folk melodies.

In this article, I will apply two conceptual and theoretical points of view. The first, by Richard Bauman and Charles Briggs (1990), uses the concepts of entextualisation, decontextualisation and recontextualisation to describe the process in which a stretch of linguistic performance is first rendered into a unit, a text, detached from its original situational context, and then embedded into another social context. The second, by Sheldon Pollock, uses the concepts of vernacularisation, literisation and literarisation to describe a process in which

> local languages are first admitted to literacy […], then accommodated to 'literature' as defined by preexisting cosmopolitan models […], and thereby unified and homogenised (1998: 41).

I will treat the collecting and publishing of folk melodies side by side with the collecting and publishing of folk poems. The research is mainly based on the reinterpretation of previous research as the activities described here are well documented.

National literature

The main purpose of the Finnish Literature Society (henceforth FLS) was clearly indicated in the name of the society. It strove for the advancement of the Finnish language by subsidising authors writing in Finnish and by publishing books. "Language is the precondition for nationality, and only native language makes native literature possible" it was boldly stated in the original rules of the society.[1] All of the founders were members of the Swedish-speaking upper class and, therefore, despite the fact that the first head of the society, C.N. Keckman, held a position as a lecturer in the Finnish language at the Imperial Alexander University in Helsinki, the minutes of the society meetings were written in Swedish (Sulkunen 2004: 17–26). The FLS was not the only operator in national linguistic matters but in the 19th century it was by far the most important.

The foundation of the FLS shows both aspects of the process that Sheldon Pollock calls vernacularisation. In the 1830s, literisation, or the standardisation and codification of the Finnish language in its written form, was still in its infancy and under heated discussion (Sulkunen 2004: 68). The best means to effect standardisation was literarisation, or publishing books in Finnish in various cosmopolitan genres. Through the literised and literarised Finnish language, the Swedish-speaking upper class could ground their national identity in the spirit of the nation

(*Volksgeist*). As Pollock persuasively argues, not all the processes of vernacularisation were connected to nationalism, but in Finland at the beginning of the 19th century they certainly were.

The first publication of the society was *Kultala* in 1834, a translation of the Swiss original *Das Goldmacherdorf*, a moral story about the profitability of the proper conduct of life. The publication for which the society is perhaps the most famous, *The Kalevala*, saw the light of day the following year. Elias Lönnrot, former secretary of the society, had collected folk poems (runo-songs) for years and had compiled them into an epic. The content and the language were Finnish but the genre was cosmopolitan. Epics had been compiled and published before, from the *Odyssey* and the *Edda* to *Ossian*, of which Lönnrot was well aware. At the time of preparing *The Kalevala* for publication, Lönnrot even tried to translate Homer into Finnish (Sulkunen 2004: 54).

Lönnrot's textual strategies make a good case for the process described by Bauman and Briggs. He entextualised the verbal performances of his informants into written poems; these were decontextualised from all the other aspects of the performance. He was not interested in how the poems were executed—he was only interested in poems in their literary appearance. In most cases, he left the name of the singer unmentioned. "Poems were the main target of interest for Lönnrot, not the people", as Lauri Honko commented (1987: 135). After having acquired a sufficiently large collection, he recontextualised the poems into an epic.

The FLS supported Lönnrot generously. It subsidised his field trips and in addition to *The Kalevala* published many other collections of Finnish folk poetry he compiled. Although some collections of Finnish folk poems had been published previously, in *The Kalevala* society found a jewel. At the annual general meeting in 1836, the head of the society, J. G. Linsén, praised the epic as "a treasury of Finnish ancient poetry" and continued, "through it, our domestic literature has not only become tremendously enriched but has risen to the European level" (Sulkunen 2004: 58). In Finland, as well as in the Baltics and the Ukraine, where the history of printed language was short and scarce, collecting and imitating folk poetry became the main means by which national literature was created (Hroch 2015: 210).

National music literature

Lönnrot was only interested in poems but there was another aspect to vocal performances, which, according to him, also deserved to be collected: the melodies—the poems were performed in song. Lönnrot's

conception of the double-sided nature of the singer's performance is clearly manifested in his foreword to *Kanteletar* (1840), another volume of folk poems. According to him, only words had been collected so far, leading to a situation in which “the word and the melody, sisters by birth, now long for each other and weep in their loneliness”. In his opinion, “in a proper song, neither one nor the other, word or melody, should dominate one-sidedly”. Both should be collected because “as far as we know, among the people in Finland, there are lots of original, beautiful and authentic melodies, which should not be left uncollected” (Lönnrot 1864). According to this view, a song had two elements: words, or the literary representation of the spoken language, and melody, or the literary representation of music.

The first collectors (Karl Collan, Johan Filip von Schantz and Wilhelm Poppius) funded by the FLS were sent into the field in 1854 (Väisänen 1917: 16). Just as Lönnrot before them, they had a national and a literary mission. However, their recording medium was not written language but written music notation. Those elements of the performance that could be recorded with the medium in hand—pen, paper and notes—were entextualised as melodies. It is worth noting that the form of the text (melody) was not determined by the performance but by the recording medium: pen, paper and notes. The aspects of the performance that could not be recorded (for example, timbre, slight pitch variations, etc.) were left out.

In the second phase, the texts were decontextualised. The melodies were separated from the actual performances during which they had been recorded. Collectors returned home with the melodies, and the context, or the special way of singing and playing, was left in the field. Performances were turned into melodies playable on the piano, the flute or any well-tempered instrument. In the third phase, the texts were recontextualised. The melodies were given a piano accompaniment and sent to the FLS in order to be published.

Before publishing, the melodies were assessed by an inspection committee. There were two evaluation criteria, one nationalistic and the other aesthetic. The collection by Collan, with many songs and dance tunes as well as melodies played on a *kantele* and a goat horn, was greeted as a “great victory for domestic music literature”, echoing Linsén's praises of *The Kalevala*. Schantz's collection contained melodies “old and new, Finnish and foreign, many of which of high value” (Väisänen 1917: 17). In Poppius' collection, most of the melodies were “authentically Finnish, previously unknown and very beautiful” (ibid.).

As can be deduced from the committee's statement, in the 19th century, following Pan-European patterns, the words “kirjallisuus” (in Finnish) and “litteratur” (in Swedish) had a much wider meaning compared to the parlance of today. Almost anything that was printed could be called literature (Lehtinen 1999: 197). The Finnish word “kirjallisuus”, a neologism invented by Elias Lönnrot in 1831, comes from the word “kirja”, which means a book. Even music was comprehended as literature as long as it was published as books and sheets using music notation. For example, Martin Wegelius, the leading figure in music education in Helsinki at the end of the 19th century, complained about the selection of sheet music in local music stores. He was especially concerned about the lack of “Nordic music literature”, the only Nordic composer whose “musical literature” was available being Niels Gade (Helsingfors Dagblad, September 3, 1875). In another newspaper issue, an announcement was entitled “New domestic literature” (Helsingfors Dagblad, December 9, 1875). Four items were listed: *The Kalevala*, translated into Swedish and adapted for young readers, Greek myths in Finnish, a guide to childcare in Finnish and a songbook for children, which among other things contained arrangements of Finnish and Swedish folk songs. Examples of the same kind are very easy to find.

At present, the words “music literature” refer mainly to books and articles, which, for the most part, contain writings about music, not musical writing—the notation of music. For example, Ostinato,[2] a sheet music shop in Helsinki, advertises sheet music under the rubrics “piano”, “strings”, “woodwinds”, etc., whereas books about music are categorised under “music literature”. On the Internet pages of RILM Abstracts of Music Literature,[3] the publications covered are collections of essays, conference proceedings, journal articles, monographs, etc., not sheet music or songbooks. The original meaning of the term “music literature” is still alive only when attached to a genre. For example, by “string quartet literature”, sheet music is implied.

The special way people sang and played was left in the field but there are some references to it in the notes of the folklore collectors. It is remarkable how reluctant the members of the 19th century intelligentsia were to listen to the common people singing. In 1893, Oskar Relander, a folklore scholar, wrote a word of warning about the disappointment that follows hearing “a stooped old man with a trembling voice singing fragmented poetry snippets” (Relander 1893: 49). Martti Haavio, professor in folklore studies at the University of Helsinki in the 1950s, confessed how disappointed he was hearing for the first time a real runo singer, Iivana Onoila, perform live (Haavio 1948: 210). According to Seppo

Knuuttila, professor emeritus in folklore studies, “to the Finnish intelligentsia, the language of the folk poems has always been a foreign language and folk music foreign music” (Knuuttila 1989: 222).

In addition to trembling voices, the song collectors seem to have been bothered by the ear-piercing shrillness of female voices. On one of his trips to Karelia, Elias Lönnrot arrived at a house where a child was about to die. When the child finally passed away at night, her mother burst into “a shrilling, moving and ear-piercing song of grief”. Lönnrot could not even think about sleeping—only about “how to save his eardrums”. The situation got even worse when another woman from the neighbourhood, whose “voice was seven times shriller than the mother’s”, was brought in (Lönnrot 1980: 193). Half a century later, A. F. Andberg used quite similar expressions when commenting on the singing of young girls in a ring dance (Andberg 1989: 45–46). Thus, it is no wonder entextualisation with pen and paper was favoured.

National literature and Bildung

At first, the activities of the FLS had an academic tinge. For example, C.N. Keckman, at that time the secretary of the society, was keenly waiting for the publication of Lönnrot's *The Kalevala* in order to use it in teaching the Finnish language at the university. Although the academic interests did not vanish, a growing emphasis was put on popular enlightenment. Plans were made to publish original Finnish as well as foreign literature but as a consequence of the European revolutionary movements in 1848, the project was abandoned under tsarist censure (Sulkunen 2004: 57, 102). However, the ban on publication did not apply to folklore and so, after the inspection, the best of the melodies collected by Collan, Schantz and Poppius were published in four volumes (*Valituita Suomalaisia Kansan-Lauluja* 1–4, Selected Finnish Folk Songs, 1854–55).

Collecting and publishing continued. The FSL subsidised the trips and the inspection committee gave instructions on what kind of material should be collected and where. The principles of popular enlightenment guided the publication activity. For example, in the preface to his *Suomalaisia Kansan-Lauluja ja Soitelmia* (Finnish Folk Songs and Music) in 1867, F. V. Illberg informs that “he has equipped the melodies with a piano-accompaniment so easy that even children and beginners can play them”. Besides piano in *Valituita Suomalaisia Kansan-Lauluja* 1–4, some of the melodies were arranged for male and mixed choir. Choral singing was an important and wide-ranging tool in popular enlightenment in the mid-19th century, and its importance had grown tremendously by the end

of the century (Rantanen 2013). In the name of popular enlightenment, folk melodies were literarised; in other words, accommodated to cosmopolitan musical genres (*Lied*, choir).

An even more effective means of popular enlightenment was the establishment of the elementary school system, "the Finnish adaptation of the Western tradition of Bildung" (Syväoja 2004: 13). Although teaching in the national language was forbidden in many parts of the Russian Empire (e.g., Lithuania, Belorussia and the Ukraine), the same did not apply to Finland. For Finnish nationalism, this was of great importance because "if the standard language was to fulfil its social and communication functions, it needed to be learned and adopted by as many citizens as possible—ideally, all of them" (Hroch 2015: 212). In schools, children learned the literary form of their mother tongue. The FLS supported the activity by publishing textbooks, for example, on history and geography, in Finnish (Sulkunen 2004: 129–30).

One of the school subjects was singing. Singing was explicitly based on the doctrines of the Swiss pedagogue Hans Rudolf Rüegg, who was strongly inspired by another Swiss pedagogue Hans Georg Nägeli. According to Rüegg, singing instruction in schools should begin by exercising the sound-producing and sound-hearing organs: the throat and the ears. Therefore, singing by heart, by rote, should be the first stage of learning how to sing (Rüegg 1871: 318). However, that was not enough. The object was not singing per se but conscious singing, being aware of what you sing. Rüegg draws a parallel between language and music: in language, we make our thoughts visible; in music, it is the feelings that are made visible. Just as we make language the object of the eye by looking at the written version of it, conscious singing requires that we make music the object of the eye. Thus, in addition to singing and hearing the music, you have to be able to look at the music in order to be conscious of what you are singing (Rüegg 1871: 317). Moreover, the music you look at is music in its literised and literarised form.

In summary, children were still allowed to sing folk songs but only in their literised and literarised forms. The use of folk songs in school singing became more common in Finland in the 1860s when Heinrich Wächter, pedagogue and organist in Wiborg, published two songbooks for schools, which contained, among other things, folk songs arranged for the piano and one or two voices. Three of the ten most popular school songs in the period 1869–1881 were arrangements of Finnish folk melodies (Pajamo 1976: 133, 153, 156–64).

It is interesting to note the similarities in the manner in which Lönnrot edited *The Kalevala* and the way folk melodies were being used in

elementary schools. Unlike many previous editors of folk poetry, who kept dialectal differences intact, Lönnrot modelled the linguistic form of his epic to suit standard language: "The technique gave birth to a general Finnish epic that did not originate in any specific poem district or province" (Honko 1987: 145). In a similar way, entextualisation of the melodies left personal and regional differences in the field. The process was completed by the elementary schools, in which the melodies collected from different parts of Finland were sung with trained, homogenised voices as specified by the Swiss pedagogues. Folk songs became the property of the whole nation.

National musical language

The use of folk melodies was also involved in another process of vernacularisation of great national importance: the construction of a Finnish musical language. Folk melodies had been adapted to "minor genres" (*Lied*, choir) but in order to compete in high art with other nations, success in more valued genres was needed. In his 1847 symphony, A. G. Ingelius had already used a 5/4 time signature, which is very common in Kalevalaic melody transcriptions, and Fredrik Pacius used a folk melody in one of his Singspiele. Robert Kajanus composed two "Finnish rhapsodies" (1881, 1886) based on Finnish folk melodies. Despite all of these efforts, the music critics of the early 1890s still had doubts about the very existence of a Finnish musical language. The problem with most of the compositions, according to the critics, was that they bore too many references to the German masters. Kajanus, in particular, was often criticised for his Wagnerian influences.

At the same time, academic interest in folk melodies was awakened anew. In 1886, the FSL decided to publish a large collection of melodies intended for scientific research. In a newspaper announcement, people were called to send in "folk songs, dance or runo-song melodies carefully written down from people (in other words, notated music)." The literary character of the project was obvious. There was no instruction to mention even the singer or the player, only the place of recording. The collection brought in approximately 1,400 melodies, which formed the basis for the publication series *Suomen Kansan Sävelmiä* 1–5 (Melodies of the Finnish People, 1898–1933), eventually containing approximately 9,000 melodies. Contrary to the previous practice, melodies were published plain, without any kind of accompaniment (Väisänen 1917: 40–42).

However, folk melodies were still published in different arrangements for educational and nationalistic purposes. One of the songbooks, which

gained a curious status in the quest for a Finnish musical language, was *Mäntyharjun Kansan-Lauluja* (Folk songs from Mäntyharju) by Emil Sivori, published in 1887. In 1889, Jean Sibelius adapted one of the melodies, “Tuomen juurella”, for his composition for brass septet, which he sent to a competition announced by Kansanvalistusseura (The Finnish Lifelong Learning Foundation), an organisation dedicated to popular education. Later, he used the melody in the first movement of *Kullervo*, a symphonic poem for vocal soloists, male chorus and orchestra, Op. 7, albeit after extensive reworking (Goss 2005).

The first performance of *Kullervo* on April 28, 1892 was a runaway success. Oskar Merikanto, a composer and critic, wrote unambiguously in a newspaper: “We recognise these melodies as our own, although we have never heard them quite like this before” (Päivälehti, April 28, 1892) and continued: “Here we have the first innately Finnish musical work” (op.cit.). Despite the very remote allusion to a folk melody in the first movement, the textual strategy Sibelius chose was not to use folk melodies at all. Instead, he developed his own musical language in a more original direction. Above all, he strived to distance himself from the Wagnerian influences of his predecessors. This originality was recognised by the critics and deemed to originate from the same source as the Finnish national spirit. Music historians have since continued to emphasise the meaning of this event in relation to the vernacularisation of high-art music in Finland.

Conclusion

Collecting was permeated with literary ethos from beginning to end. Folk music, as well as folk poetry, was destined to be preserved as texts and books, not as living music culture. The main goal was “to record melodies, not singing and playing (…) only melodies were sought after, not performances, only reproducers of 'tradition', not living musicians” (Laitinen 2003a: 326, 328).

Collectors went into the field with pen and paper in hand and a publication in mind. The nationalist-minded intelligentsia collected folk tradition and used the products (texts, objects, architecture) in nation-building, but did not want to replace its own culture with folk culture or keep folk tradition alive (Anttonen 2003: 53). The textual strategies in collecting were not much affected by the dissemination of new recording media at the turn of the 20th century. Even musicologist A. O. Väisänen, who recorded folk singing and playing with a parlograph from the 1910s onwards, considered field recordings only as an aid in transcription.

According to his assistant Heikki Laitinen, “After a proper transcription, the survival of the recordings was of no concern to him” (Laitinen 2003b: 260).

After having been collected, the melodies were used in popular enlightenment and education: “Material was collected from the people, edited into a suitable form and disseminated back to the people as a kind of a mirror for the nation” (Alasuutari 1996: 231). Strong measures were taken to eradicate the individual, local and regional ways in which the songs were being sung and performed. In elementary schools, the object was to have everyone begin and stop singing at the same time and have them sing the same melody without embellishing it with ornaments of their own (Laitinen 1982: 126–27). At least this was the goal of the intelligentsia. However, in all probability, the musical language of the folk song arrangements was foreign to the people of the 19th century. Only after having been educated for a long time did the Finnish people adopt the music as theirs (Kurkela 1989: 166).

In this article, I have concentrated on the case of Finland but I believe similar processes could be found within other national movements, at least among the nations that strived for a national identity under the rule of multi-ethnic Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman and Russian empires in the 19th century. There must be differences, due to the differences in geopolitical, ethnic, religious and linguistic conditions, but as far as I know, melodies were entextualised, decontextualised, recontextualised, literised and literarised in quite a similar manner in every country.

Notes

[1] All the translations from Finnish and Swedish are done by the author.
[2] http://ostinato.fi
[3] http://www.rilm.org

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CHAPTER SIXTEEN

"WE SING OUR HISTORY": SONGS AND THE POLITICS OF IDENTITY AND REMEMBRANCE AMONG RUSSIAN-GERMAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES[1]

INGRID BERTLEFF

In 1975, Lawrence A. Weigel (1916–2005) from Hays, Kansas, started to write a regular column about the songs of German immigrants in the USA who had come from Russia. Weigel, whose grandparents had migrated to the USA from the Volga region, was a song aficionado and was active both as a collector and as a performer. For his series of articles, which was published in the periodical of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia (AHSGR), an association founded only a few years earlier, in September 1968, he chose the programmatic title "We Sing our History" (Giesinger 1980: 18, Miller 1980: 50). Weigel's texts are brief, usually only two pages long, and showcase particular songs, presented against the background of the cultural context in which they used to be sung back in Russia, from his collection. His column was published approximately once a year and appeared for almost 15 years, until 1989. In total, 17 issues of "We Sing our History" were published.[2]

At first glance, one would think that Weigel's activities were the outcome of the purely individual commitment of a local history researcher with a particular interest in songs. Such an understanding would, however, be insufficient. A closer look at their context of origin shows that his articles are to be located and understood as part of a general discourse about ethnicity within the United States, which gained momentum at the end of the 1960s. This discourse had also shaped the social framework for

the foundation of the AHSGR, which in turn began to position the Germans from Russia as an ethnic group. Weigel's "We Sing our History" series provided the ostinato, so to speak, to the discussion within the AHSGR about the meanings and functions of songs, which began to unfold in the early 1970s. In this paper, it will be argued that within this dialogue, songs were considered as media that could greatly contribute to the formation of a Russian-German ethnic community in the USA. Within this context, songs were regarded as a kind of interface between past and present—as links to a shared past and as tools and vehicles for the creation and transmission of a collective memory.[3] Remembrance thus became a means of creating or transforming identity in the present. The following pages attempt to examine and illustrate this song-related discourse, its conditions and effects. For a deeper understanding, however, it is useful to first outline the history of the German colonists in Russia and their further migration to America.

German immigration to Russia and Russian-German immigration to the United States

In 1762, the Russian empress Catherine II initiated the settlement of thousands of German peasants, merchants and craftsmen in the Russian Empire. As a means of finding potential settlers, she issued a manifesto, which was translated into several European languages and disseminated in the respective countries. A second, revised, version of the manifesto, with more detailed information concerning the conditions of settlement, was issued the following year (Bartlett 1979: 35–56). In order to persuade potential colonists to undertake the long and hazardous journey into an unpredictable future in Russia, she ensured them a range of privileges such as religious freedom, exemption from military service, administrative autonomy and a temporary tax exemption. The empress's strategy was both economic and political: the new settlers were supposed to cultivate fallow land, thereby helping to increase the prosperity of Russia, and would also help protect the fringes of an expanding empire. Several thousand people from the German states of Wurttemberg, Swabia, Baden, Palatinate, Hesse and the Alsace, and also from the Danzig region, followed the call to Russia, hoping to escape the hardships they faced in their homelands—particularly the economic misery after the Seven Years' War, a lack of religious freedom and a long period of military service. There were three principal waves of migration to Russia:

1. Between 1764 and 1773, some 8,000 families settled in three different regions of the empire: along the Volga, mainly in the area of Saratov and Samara; along the Neva, in the surroundings of St. Petersburg; and in the Black Sea region.
2. After 1804, now at the invitation of Emperor Alexander I, more German settlers came to the Black Sea region and to the Caucasus.
3. A final wave of German immigration, to Volhynia, occurred between 1816 and 1861.

In the following decades, the German population in Russia grew steadily; a development that led to the establishment of so-called daughter colonies—newly founded settlements, either in proximity to the mother colonies or further afield, in the Ural, Turkestan and Western Siberia.

Gradually, the colonists from different areas of origin developed new regional identities, such as, for example, Volga Germans or Black Sea Germans. Important factors in the development of a new sense of belonging and a distinction from other population groups were religion and language, aspects that are mirrored, for instance, in the layout of the colonies, which were Protestant or Catholic or Mennonite and exclusively inhabited by German-speaking settlers. The colonists retained their German language and many other elements of everyday life from their regions of origin. However, influences from their new environments also gradually became part of their way of life and the German colonists began to see themselves as Russian citizens.[4]

About a century after the dissemination of Catherine II's manifesto, in the 1870s, the political climate in Tsarist Russia had changed significantly, as a result of which many colonists considered a further migration. This was brought about by a number of reasons. Under his reform policy, Alexander II had gradually discontinued the privileges of the German settlers. There was also a rise of nationalism and the development of the concept of Pan-Slavism, which led to a growing hostility towards non-Slavic segments of the Russian population. An additional factor was the steady growth of the Russian-German population, paralleled by an increasing scarcity of land, and consequently fewer possibilities for establishing new colonies. Also (and in contrast to the more prosperous Black Sea Germans), many Volga Germans wanted to escape the poverty caused by frequent crop failures and a massive shortage of land. Last but not least, migration agents and their promotion of America had reached the Russian-German colonies and many regarded emigration to America as an attractive option.[5] Between 1872 and 1914, approximately 300,000 German settlers left Russia for a new home in America. Most of them emigrated to

the United States and Canada, but other destinations included Brazil, Argentina and Paraguay. About 116,000 people, mostly from the Volga and Black Sea regions, left for the United States (Bade & Oltmer 1999: 11), mainly to the Great Plains. As a general rule, the new settlements were separated by region of origin and denomination. For example, most of the Volga Germans settled in Colorado, Kansas and Nebraska while the Black Sea Germans settled primarily in Dakota and Canada (Sallet 1931: 9–54, 106–07).

Germans from Russia in the United States

Weigel's column "We Sing our History", was first published in the mid-1970s—a century after the first Russian-German colonists had left for America. From the very beginning, the immigrants organised their communal activities at a local level. They established schools, built churches, launched newspapers and founded mutual aid associations, as well as maintained their regional and religious identities as former Volga or Black Sea Germans, as Protestants, Catholics or Mennonites (Sallet 1931: 83–94). During the two World Wars, however, the everyday lives of German-speaking settlers in the United States changed remarkably. In the course of both wars, a Germanophobic climate unfolded, and several states restricted the use of the German language, which was now regarded as the language of the enemy. There was a growing mistrust towards anything German. As a consequence, the German language lost its importance as the language of instruction and the language of the church, the number of German-language publications decreased significantly (Tolzmann 1998: x, Schmid 2001: 35–37, Bridenthal 2005: 203f., 206) and the number of native German speakers declined more sharply than in comparable immigrant groups (Waggoner 1981: 508, 513).

By the late 1960s, however, the attitude towards German-speaking immigrants had become more positive. Several immigrant groups intensely discussed issues of ethnic identity and expressed their views in an increasingly open and confident manner, and by the following decade, it had even become fashionable to emphasise one's cultural roots; in the words of Dinnerstein and Reimers (1999: xi) "ethnicity had become chic". The discourse in the early 1970s on the meanings and functions of songs led by Americans of Russian-German descent has to be located and understood within this context. With his phrase "We Sing our History", Lawrence Weigel captured the essence of this discourse.

In the late 1960s, Russian-German immigrants—like other immigrant communities in the United States—started to define and organise

themselves as ethnic groups.[6] Within a few months—from the initial idea to its foundation—an association of Germans from Russia, the *American Historical Society of Germans from Russia*, was formed. The impetus to set up such an organisation sprang from the meeting in 1967 of several Americans with Russian-German backgrounds who shared an interest in exploring their cultural roots. In September 1968, the constitutive meeting of the AHSGR was held (Giesinger 1980, Miller 1980), with the fundamental aim of the society being "to exploit and preserve the history of the Russian-Germans and their achievements" (Giesinger 1980: 12).

Although there had been an earlier initiative, in the 1950s, to found an association of Germans from Russia, this had not come to fruition. David Miller, the first president of the AHSGR, stated that at that time "there was interest but no action" (Miller 1980: 49). Eventually, by the end of the 1960s, American society was ready to embrace the emergence of associations whose purpose was to represent and maintain the culture of specific ethnic groups. For the Germans from Russia, organising themselves in such a way at a supra-regional level was a novelty, as, unlike the AHSGR, German immigrant associations of the earlier 20th century had operated only on a regional basis. These associations had been founded in order to address a specific need and were meant to provide mutual aid but, on the whole, they were not of any great importance for most Russian-German settlers in the United States (Sallet 1931: 83–94).[7] A Russian-German association focusing on the investigation and preservation of a shared past was therefore a new phenomenon. The majority of the 107 founding members of the AHSGR were from Colorado and Nebraska, with the remainder from 12 other US states and from Canada.[8]

In 1972, a Folklore Committee was formed within the AHSGR. Its creation was primarily triggered by an awareness of the loss of cultural knowledge, an issue that was frequently addressed in AHSGR publications. The first chairperson of this committee, Ruth Stoll, expressed her concerns with the following words.

> One of the problems with folklore that I'm most concerned about is that every year and every time I get a hometown paper and find somebody has died, I realize that there has gone another excellent source of folklore. [...] As our old people begin to disappear from the scene, we are losing those sources. [...] We need to capture these immediately. (1972)

Timothy Kloberdanz (born 1948)—a social anthropologist with Volga German ancestors and Stoll's successor as chair of the Folklore Committee—supported this view. He saw a need to document and preserve "our ethnic legacy", with Russian-German folklore becoming

part of the annual meetings of the AHSGR (Kloberdanz 1977), and defined the preservation of "the fragile folklore of our people" as the mission of the Folklore Committee, inviting all its members to participate in the collection of cultural treasures (Kloberdanz 1976).

The American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, the collection of folk songs and cultural maintenance

Initially, the Folklore Committee devoted itself to the whole range of Russian-German folklore, without specific issues or priorities. From 1973 onwards, special attention was given to songs, which soon became the subject of an emerging debate on Russian-German identity. A speech held by the pastor Fred W. Gross in 1973 was, in this regard, a key event. His talk, entitled "The Songs our Forefathers Sang", was given at a symposium on the folklore of Germans from Russia, which accompanied the fourth annual assembly of the AHSGR in Portland, Oregon. Claiming that "the folklore of our Russian-German ancestors has as yet not been sufficiently explored" (Gross 1973: 49), he urged the AHSGR members to collect and extensively document the whole range of Russian-German folklore and oral traditions, and in particular Russian-German songs, or, in his own words, the "songs our forefathers sang". As a point of departure for his speech, he took Thomas Kopp's *Rußlanddeutsches Liederbuch*, which was compiled and published in 1937 during Kopp's work as a teacher in a Russian-German colony in Argentina. Gross's choice was no coincidence. Born in 1896 in the village of Johannestal in the Black Sea area, the 18-year-old Gross immigrated via Canada to North Dakota in 1914. Living as a retiree in Sacramento (California) in 1973, he recalled that he used to live and work in Argentina in the 1930s, just as Kopp had done, and it is possible that they had met.[9] In his speech, Gross emphasised the topical structure of Kopp's songbook:

1. Das Lied der Auslanddeutschen (The song of the foreign Germans)
2. Lieder, welche die Welt durchwanderten (Songs that wandered throughout the world)
3. Wir singen unsere Geschichte (We sing our history)
4. Wir singen von unserem Schicksal (We sing of our destiny)
5. Liebe (Love)
6. Tanzlieder (Dance songs)
7. Ein Sträusslein lustiger Lieder (A wreath of merry songs), and
8. Von der Wiege bis zum Grabe (From the cradle to the grave).

(Gross 1973: 49; English translation of chapter headings: Gross).

It is in Gross's English translation of Kopp's third chapter heading that the phrase "we sing our history" first appears in this context. Gross portrayed the Germans in Russia as people who always had a song on their lips and for whom singing had always been a natural activity: "To sing was for our forefathers as natural as it was for the lark to sing" (Gross 1973: 50). Following Stoll's remarks about the tasks of the Folklore Committee, Gross drew attention to the urgency of documenting song repertories, which he supported by declaring, "With the passing of every one of our forefathers, it must be said, also dies a number of their cherished songs. Somehow, the joy of spontaneous singing is slowly becoming just an echo" (Gross 1973: 51).

He pointed out that the American descendants of the "forefathers" were about to lose the tradition of collective singing—a tradition that he perceived as intrinsically Russian-German.[10] He therefore proposed not only the collection of songs but also the inclusion of collective singing into the annual meetings of the AHSGR—to make singing a central and integral part of the meetings and thus "to revive the art of singing that was so characteristic of our forefathers" (Gross 1973: 51).

He made it clear however that his idea was not simply to copy the ancestor's singing practice but rather to encourage a revival that built on the singing tradition of the Germans in Russia but with a different attitude and outlook. For instance, he pointed out that although the melodies and texts of colonist songs frequently had different versions, in his view these music-related details were of minor importance within the context of the AHSGR and that attention should rather be given to the content of the lyrics and their spirit and message (Gross 1973: 51).

Gross's aim was therefore to resurrect a historical aspect of Russian-German culture and give it another meaning, other objectives and functions. This becomes particularly obvious in his conclusion, which leads his audience not only to incorporate the singing of songs at AHSGR meetings but also to embrace this practice as a prominent feature of the annual assemblies and adopt it as a facet of their ethnic identity.

> A people that sings is a happy people; it will have found the secret of life and will always be able to overcome any deprivation, hardship, or persecution. Our forefathers knew how to sing and when to sing; they knew how to live and how to keep the faith. They were the agricultural giants of the Russian steppes on the Volga and the Black Sea. [...] We, the sons and daughters, are gathered here for a few days to recount their deeds, their sacrifices, and to become inspired to carry on and to emulate their deeds, their sacrifices, and to become inspired in the spirit that has made

them great. This heritage of our people can only become ours as we labour hard to possess it (Gross 1973: 51).

By invoking, so to speak, the spirit of the ancestors, Gross suggests that singing was a means of connecting to an assumed essence of Russian-Germanness and, by doing so, appropriating it. Attitudes and characteristics ascribed to the "forefathers" could therefore be taken up again in order to benefit people's present lives. Gross also utilises his emotional sentences as a vehicle to transmit his notion of the meaning and function of songs and singing—namely, as a typically Russian-German activity that gave meaning to people's lives in the past and guided them through difficult times. Also noteworthy in this context is the self-concept of the Russian-German immigrants in the United States as descendants of the "agricultural giants of the Russian steppes". This self-image is far more positive than that of a "Volk auf dem Weg" ("people on the move") by the "Landsmannschaft der Deutschen aus Russland" ("Territorial Association of Germans from Russia") in the Federal Republic of Germany.[11] Apparently, Gross struck a chord with his ideas, and his powerful motivational speech had the potential to touch and activate his audience. His talk became the initial spark for, and provided the fundamental ideas of, a subsequent discourse on Russian-German songs.

The AHSGR discourse on songs

In the following years, activities relating to songs and singing were intensified in and around the AHSGR. The *AHSGR Journal* and several other publications issued a considerable number of articles dealing with songs of Russian-German origin:

Weigel, Lawrence A. (1975–1989). "We Sing our History." *AHSGR Work Paper* resp. *Journal* (17 issues of this column in total).

Kloberdanz, Timothy J. 1975. "Treasured Traditions of 'Our People': From the Cradle to the Grave." *AHSGR Work Paper* 18: 12–18.

Weigel, Lawrence A. 1975. "The History of the Germans from Russia expressed in Song." *AHSGR Work Paper* 18: 21–26.

Weigel, Lawrence A. 1975. "The Songs our Forefathers Sang." *AHSGR Work Paper* 18: 3–5.

Kloberdanz, Timothy J. 1978. "'We Sing our History'. Oral Tradition and the Germans from Russia." *Germans from Russia in Colorado*. Edited by Sidney Heitman. Fort Collins: Western Social Science Association: 145–59.

Hoffmann, Klaus D. 1982. "Songs of the Germans from Russia. Mirror of an Ethnic Minority." *AHSGR Journal* 5(2): 38–44.

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Reeves-Marquardt, Dona and Marquardt, Lewis R. 2005. "Notes in their Baggage. Music from Three Countries." *AHSGR Journal* 28(3): 24–32.

Reprint of Gross, 1973, in: *AHSGR Journal*, 2008, 31(4): 14–15.

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In addition, Gross's request for the introduction of communal singing at annual meetings of the AHSGR was taken up and members of the association and its regional chapters produced several songbooks for this purpose.

North Dakota Historical Society of Germans from Russia (ed.). 1977. *Songs We Love to Sing*. Bismarck, ND.

Joseph S. Height (ed.). 1978. *Folksongs of our Forefathers in Russia, America and Canada. Lieder der Schwarzmeerdeutschen*. Bismarck, ND: North Dakota Historical Society of Germans from Russia.

AHSGR, Golden Gate Chapter (ed.). 1982. *Lieblings-Lieder unserer Vorväter*. [Menlo Park, CA].

Germans from Russia Heritage Society (ed.). 1985. *Songs We Love to Sing II*. Bismarck, ND.
Weigel, Lawrence A. 1985. *German Folk Songs from the Volga. 100 Favorites with Music*. Hays, KS [self-published].
Germans from Russia Heritage Society, Die Deutsche Stammhalter Chapter (ed.) [n.d.; presumably 1980s]. *Unser Deutsches Liederbuch*. [n.p.].

Lawrence Weigel and Timothy Kloberdanz became the key protagonists of this new development, with both of them sharing Gross's idea that songs were a link to the past for an ethnic group and a reflection of its identity and mentality.

The activities of Weigel and Kloberdanz complemented each other well. Weigel acted primarily as a collector, singer and author, with the aim of spreading knowledge of Russian-German songs. His articles are dedicated to the description of the historical contexts and former functions of these songs. He drew on examples from a collection of songs that he and Nick Pfannenstiel started to compile in the 1950s, and which was constantly expanded on by Weigel.[12] At AHSGR events, Weigel acted as a singer and storyteller, and his entertaining performances contributed to the popularisation of these songs among AHSGR members of the younger generation (Kloberdanz & Kloberdanz 2005: 8f.). Kloberdanz, 32 years Weigel's junior, specialised in the history and everyday culture of Germans from Russia in the United States,[13] and, as a social scientist, he was able to bring an academic rigour to factors such as the validity of the data and to contextual information concerning the history of the songs.

It is noteworthy that all of the authors of these song-related books and articles that were published subsequent to Gross's speech share some basic assumptions, and that certain motifs and wordings are taken up again and again. Key rhetorical elements include the community of Germans from Russia ("our people" resp. "unsre Lait" where the authors also want to stress the linguistic origin)—which is perceived here in a new way as an international global community of Germans from Russia[14]—its history ("our history"), songs mirroring that history, and the recourse to the "forefathers". Thus, the title of Gross's speech ("The Songs our Forefathers Sang", 1973) is re-used by Weigel as a heading for an article (1975a) and by Joseph Height as the title of a Russian-German songbook (1978). The chapter heading "We Sing our History" from Kopp's *Rußlanddeutschem Liederbuch*, quoted and translated into English by Gross, was chosen by Weigel as the title of his article series (1975–1989); this, in turn, was cited by Kloberdanz in the title of one of his articles

("'We Sing our History': Oral Tradition and the Germans from Russia", 1978). Likewise, the phrase "our people" appears in the title of another article by Kloberdanz ("Treasured Traditions of 'Our People': From the Cradle to the Grave", 1975) and in many more publications of the AHSGR. Another binding element is the new conception of the collective of Germans from Russia as an ethnic group and the assumption that songs importantly reflect its history. This fundamental position can be found in all of the aforementioned publications—most strikingly in Weigel and Kloberdanz's articles ("We Sing our History", "The History of the Germans from Russia Expressed in Song", Weigel 1975b, 1975–1989, Kloberdanz 1978) and in Hoffmann's contributions ("Germans from Russia Tell their Story in Songs", 1986). What become apparent are a kind of call-and-response pattern and the consolidation of wordings, ideas and concepts through repetition. Discussing the role and importance of songs contributes to a newly emerging self-perception of the Germans from Russia in the United States. Another important aspect of this development constitutes the changes in the ways in which songs are used and interpreted. Songs which were originally sung only for entertainment or those designed to accompany secular or religious events or festivities during the course of the year or the course of life were now assigned the additional function of serving as a kind of musical narration of *the* history of *the* Germans from Russia. Consequently, songs about historic events now take on an important role; within this discourse there is a consensus that songs provide an objective picture of historical events.

> In the collection of folk songs none are of greater interest and value than those that tell the history of a people. We are fortunate that the history of "Unser Lait", the Germans from Russia, has been recorded in our songs. (Weigel 1980: 34)

Such a reading, however, excludes processes of re-working and re-interpretation of songs or song variants, which offer a divergent view of the same event.[15] Instead, certain aspects of history are singled out and highlighted while ambiguities or polyvocalities are neglected. In this regard, quotations from songs help to support and illustrate a particular already established conception of history; factual accuracy and the possibility of verifying historical information to which reference is made, or the possibility of an alternative interpretation of historical events, are of lesser importance. Therefore, this way of using the songs aims to create a single narrative of history and foster a sense of identity and togetherness among Russian-German immigrants, who, in the 1960s and '70s, had only recently begun to perceive themselves as an ethnic group.

A change in the way of using songs is also indicated by the fact that it was now primarily "old" songs that were of interest and which became the object of collecting, singing and discussion. Compared to the German colonies in Russia, where new songs were continually composed—as demonstrated, for example, by Viktor Schirmunski's collection of Russian-German songs (Schirmunski 1927/28: 186–87, 210, John 2003: 108–09)—the activity of writing new German-language songs about current events and topics was obviously of lesser importance among Germans from Russia in the United States. In other words, the songs were being dealt with in a retrospective and nostalgic way, focusing on the treasury of songs of the "forefathers" and disregarding the traditional aspect of creating new songs. This different approach to the songs and their meanings and functions also reflects changes in the concept of identity of the Germans from Russia. In the colonies in Russia, identity was primarily created through affiliation to a village or a region and, above all, through religious confession, while in the United States, identity concepts shifted towards affiliation through ethnicity. Although local and religious identities are still an issue today, they are generally regarded as sub-domains of the more comprehensive identity concept of "Germans from Russia", something that was not the case in the late 1800s and early 1900s, when the Volga German and Black Sea German immigrants with their exclusively regional and religious identity concepts arrived in America. In this process, songs became identity markers and repositories of memory in a new way. This development is clearly shown in the case of songs about historic events. In the colonies, these songs reminded people of important events in the life of specific villages whereas now, in the United States, they were contributing to the moulding, consolidation and representation of the overall community of Germans from Russia. In this way, the songs became a vital expression of, and vital tools for, cultural change.

In the early 1970s, the process outlined above gained momentum. Gross's speech from 1973 provided nourishment for the newly founded AHSGR. His ideas laid the foundations for a new approach to songs and gave direction to the emerging discourse; views and wordings which first appeared in his speech merged in a common train of thought. Non-existent until the 1960s, song-related publications focusing especially on cultural memory and identity politics among Russian-Germans in the United States flourished in the 1970s and 1980s. Although Gross made no further public appearances within the AHSGR after 1973, his speech served an important catalysing function. The significance of his talk is also shown by the re-issue of his text in the *AHSGR Journal* from 2008 by Timothy

Kloberdanz—which can also be interpreted as a means of paying tribute to Gross.

From singing history to dancing history

Gross's speech, Weigel's song-related articles and Kloberdanz's academic perspectives framed a topic, put forth an assertion and expressed and successively consolidated an attitude. They played a formative role in the discourse on the songs, cultural memory and ethnic identity of the Germans from Russia in the United States in the 1970s and 1980s, but this is not the end of the story. The aforementioned songbooks and all the other books and articles published on songs during that time clearly show that German-language skills—being a pre-requisite for both understanding and performing the songs—were already an exception. In 1975, German was one of the immigrant languages in the United States with the greatest decline.[16] All the aforementioned songbooks include English translations of the lyrics, and the more recent the published work, the greater the tendency to omit the German texts and publish only the translations. The decline in German-language skills was clearly the main reason for no more Russian-German songbooks being published in the United States after 1988. Instead, the focus shifted to dances and dance tunes associated with Russian-German origins—the so-called *Dutch Hop*.

Dutch Hop is basically polka music and its related dances, and is considered by the Germans from Russia in the United States to be part of their cultural heritage. The term *Dutch Hop* originates from the first part of the 20th century, when re-labelling oneself as "Dutch" was a strategy to hide German descent during the Germanophobic atmosphere of the two World Wars.

Dancing is an art form, which, like songs, can touch people's emotions and can therefore be used as an identity marker and a repository of cultural memory. At the turn of the millennium, *Dutch Hop* appeared to take over the role that songs had in the early phase of identity formation of the Germans from Russia in the United States. Current music-related publications and activities in the context of the AHSGR clearly show this shift of emphasis. The book *Colorado Dutch Hop Music* by Kurt Edward Goldenstein (2000) includes, for instance, a section about the singing tradition of the Germans from Russia, which is only a few pages long and the passages in German show an obvious lack of language knowledge; the major part of the book is devoted to dance tunes and portrays the main protagonists in the development of *Dutch Hop*. German songs make up only a small part of the book, with the German language mainly serving

the purpose of adding atmosphere. Another example is the invitation to the 2010 annual meeting of the AHSGR, whereby Timothy Kloberdanz and his wife Rosalinda announced an accompanying *Dutch Hop* symposium with the words "Dutch hop music is close to the heart and soul of Germans from Russia and one of the great symbols of the German Russian culture"[17]—i.e., properties attributed to Russian-German songs in the 1970s and 1980s. In the last 20 years or so, songs have therefore faded into the background of the discourse on cultural identity of the Germans from Russia in the United States.

Conclusion

The historian Valentin Groebner construes history as a wishing machine (Groebner 2008: 9): history is created and made meaningful in retrospect—in order to help shape the present. This means that while in the present moment a certain event is experienced in reality, in hindsight it can be transformed into a projection screen that might show whatever we wish to see. This change of perspective in looking back also involves a change of interpretation: things are seen differently, and in order to serve current needs, it might become less relevant how exactly an event occurred.

The discourse and activities that centred on Russian-German songs and a cultural identity as "American Germans from Russia" in the 1970s and 1980s are good examples of such a process of re-interpretation. Viewed in this light, the discourse on songs was rather a discourse concerning the present than a discourse about the past—as the phrase "we sing our history" would suggest at first glance.

The process of shaping an ethnic group within the United States is a clear sign of the cultural arrival of this immigrant group in its new environment and of becoming part of the ethnic patchwork of America—as Americans with Russian-German roots. There is a photograph of Lawrence Weigel that illustrates this aspect, which was used as a cover illustration for the CD *Volga German Customs and Traditions 1763–1976*:[18] it shows Weigel sitting in his music room in front of his Hammond organ—the instrument he used to record many of the songs he had collected to have them filed at the *German Folk Song Archive* (*Deutsches Volksliedarchiv*) in Freiburg (Germany).[19] A large part of the wall behind the organ is covered by the American flag and the title of the CD is placed beneath the photograph; here, the customs and traditions of the Volga Germans and the Stars and Stripes are walking hand in hand.

Fig. 16-1 Cover illustration of CD, Lawrence A. Weigel: *Volga German Customs and Traditions 1763–1976*

Within this social and cultural process of transformation, songs were used as media and as symbols of a newly created group identity. Serving as an interface between past and present, songs helped create a new narrative of a shared history and also helped conceptualise the Germans from Russia as an internationally located ethnic group. Used in this way, songs functioned as a resource and as a tool for creating a sense of belonging and strengthening social cohesion. Weigel, with the title of his column "We Sing our History" (borrowed from Gross, who had borrowed it from Kopp, and was thereby inserting himself into an imaginary lineage of Russian-German ancestry), had coined a poignant phrase, which is also a fitting illustration of part of the overall process of self-identification of Russian-German immigrants in the United States.

Notes

[1] The following text is a revised English version of "'We Sing our History' – Lieder russlanddeutscher Immigranten in Amerika als Medien des Erinnerns", an article originally written in German and published in: Lied und populäre Kultur/Song and Popular Culture 59 (2014): 21–37.

[2] Weigel, Lawrence A. "We Sing our History." AHSGR Work Paper 19 (December 1975): 46–48; AHSGR Work Paper 20 (Spring 1976): 63–64; AHSGR Work Paper 23 (Spring 1977): 65–66; AHSGR Journal 2(3) (1979): 25; AHSGR Journal 3(3) (1980): 34–35, AHSGR Journal 4(1) (1981): 24–25 and 4(3): 40–41; AHSGR Journal 6(1) (1983): 47–48 and 6(3): 41–42; AHSGR Journal 7(3) (1984): 24–25; AHSGR Journal 9(1) (1986): 18–19; AHSGR Journal 10(2) (1987): 13–15; AHSGR Journal 11(1) (1988): 22–23, 11(2): 35–37 and 11(40: 49–50; AHSGR Journal 12(1) (1989): 31–32 and 12(2): 40–41. Until 1977 the title of the periodical was *Work Paper*; from 1978 onwards, it was *Journal*.

[3] Here I am referring to the concept of collective memory developed by Maurice Halbwachs and further elaborated by Jan and Aleida Assmann (cultural memory). See particularly Halbwachs 1950, Assmann 2010.

[4] This development is, among others, reflected in colonist songs, particularly the songs on the numerous Russian wars, from the Crimean War (1853–1856, i.e., before the introduction of military service for German settlers) to World War I, which indicates that a majority of the German settlers regarded themselves as loyal Russian subjects. See Bertleff 2009, 2010a, 2010b.

[5] On the role of migration agents, see Bretting and Bickelmann 1991.

[6] A different development is that of the Russian German Mennonites, who constituted themselves as a separate ethnoreligious group in Northern America; see e.g., Klassen 1989: 302.

[7] A comparable situation is described by Edmund Heier (1955: 178–81) for Russian-German immigrants in Canada: before World War I, there were several German associations for mutual aid but none of them was explicitly Russian-German. Those associations were organised on a regional level only. During World War I they discontinued their activities but in the interwar period they were active again. After World War II, there was a caesura and the situation did not change until the mid-1950s: "a revival of the organisations is not noticeable."

[8] Colorado: 26 persons; Nebraska: 14 persons; Arizona, North-Dakota, South-Dakota, Idaho, Indiana, Kansas, Montana, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, Washington and Canada: 1–2 persons each; California: 5 persons; see *AHSGR Work Paper* 1 (January 1969): 10–12a.

[9] From 1934 until 1940, Gross worked in Argentina as a missionary of the German Congregational Church (Gross 1973: 64–79), but he does not mention Kopp in his autobiography.

[10] In Gross's opinion, the decline of singing was caused by the rise of modern media: "In its [the joy of spontaneous singing] place has come the discs, the records, and professional singing" (Gross 1973: 51).

[11] See also Retterath 2006.

[12] Partly published in Pfannenstiel and Weigel 1956 and in Weigel's column "We Sing our History". On the history of Weigel's collection, see also Weigel 1975b: 21.
[13] See http://cvgs.cu-portland.edu/history/biographies/bio.cfm?id=400. Accessed August 23, 2014.
[14] In contrast to the former region- and denomination-bound identity concepts. From the very beginning, the annual meetings of the AHSGR were announced as "international meeting"; see *AHSGR Work Paper* 3 (1970), index.
[15] For an analysis of related processes of re-working and re-interpretation, see Bertleff and John 2013.
[16] 71% of the families with a German background spoke solely English; in 26% of the families German was spoken, with English being the main language; in 3% of the families only German was spoken; 90% of the interviewed persons were bilingual and spoke primarily English, 7% were bilingual and spoke primarily German, 2% did not speak English (Waggoner 1981: 508, 513).
[17] See http://ahsgrlincolnnebraska.blogspot.de. Accessed May 10, 2014.
[18] The CD was made from a sound recording of a performance Lawrence A. Weigel gave in 1976 on the occasion of the centenary of the arrival of Volga German settlers in Ellis and Rush County (Kansas). It was produced posthumously in 2005 by his son Larry Weigel and is distributed by the Sunflower Chapter of the AHSGR in Hays, Kansas (Weigel's birthplace and place of residence) and by the Ellis County Historical Society Museum.
[19] On the archiving of Weigel's collection at the German Folk Song Archive, see Weigel 1975b: 21, 23.

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CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

THE RUSSIAN *GUSLI* SINGER ALEKSANDR KOTOMKIN: THREE DIMENSIONS OF MEMORY

CHRISTIANE GESIERICH

Memory has become a research subject that is targeted by many different fields of study and is defined very differently by each of them. For example, sociologists are interested in the social contexts of memory-and-narrative communities as these contexts arise in groups with a similar background experience. Literary scholars and scientists of the arts examine the "cultural memory", which in the long run has built itself up as cultural heritage in texts, images, ideas and practices (cf. Assmann 2011: 181). The gusli singer Aleksandr Kotomkin is, in many different ways, a medium of the cultural memory of a harmonious Russia that was full of helpfulness, hospitality, a set of beliefs and traditions. He kept these memories of his childhood deep in his heart and even after emigrating lived his life in accordance with them.

Every culture has developed something called connective structure that acts in association with the social dimension and the dimension of time. It also binds the past to the present by shaping formative experiences and memories by including pictures and stories of past times into a progressive ken, thereby creating hope and remembrance (cf. Assmann 1992/2013: 16). Memory culture is largely based on forms of reference to the past, which is reconstructed by recollection (cf. Assmann 1992/2013: 31). Aleksandr Kotomkin reconstructed his life in Russia when he was living in Germany and thus became a medium of remembrance of days gone by in his home country.

The French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs defined a term of collective memory that includes the social frame of reference of the individual memory. From his perspective, the human memory is something that grows in the trial of socialisation (cf. Assmann 1992/2013:

35) and ensures the uniqueness and continuity of a group, widely masking changes (cf. Assmann 1999/2010: 131).

Memory-spaces arise by a partial focus on the past, which an individual or group needs for the construction of sense, the foundation of their identity, the orientation of their lives and the motivation for their actions. Memories, which are bound to an individual or collective medium, are always created in perspective to a focused part of the past, in order to uncover a future ken (cf. Assmann 1999/2010: 408). Aleksandr Kotomkin focused on a special part of his childhood in Russia to find his new identity at a time of deep desperation after he fled to Europe. This was the turning point of his life and the impulse for his alteration from a military officer to a gusli singer.

The following article is about the Russian gusli singer Aleksandr Kotomkin, who lived from 1885 to 1964. He is considered to be the last musician to cultivate the tradition of the Russian delta-shaped psaltery *gusli shlemovidnye*. Kotomkin is also the only known Russian epic singer who accompanied *byliny* and spiritual verses with a musical instrument—a practice probably common in the Middle Ages in Russia.

Through my PhD research, I intend to answer—amongst others—the following research questions: Who was the gusli singer Aleksandr Kotomkin? In what musical tradition did he grow up? What kind of music did he play and represent in public? What role does his epic and religious repertoire play in the cultural/collective memory, especially with regard to the historical places of memory? How did his musical career and identity develop? What historical evidence is there for his musical work?

Since the life and work of Aleksandr Kotomkin are the central themes of my research, my primary focus is biographical. Until now, I have had access to many different sources such as correspondence, photos and concert invitations from the Georg-August-University Göttingen Archive in Germany, which I digitised in July 2013[1] and which are currently being processed. Gerd Steinbrinker, who is living in Hamburg, knew Aleksandr Kotomkin personally and is an essential source for me in terms of individual experiences and impressions of the gusli singer. I have been in contact with him for some time and he has sent me letters with reports of his personal memories about his experiences with Aleksandr Kotomkin. Fortunately, there are still obtainable recordings of Aleksandr Kotomkin archived in several institutes in Europe. The Internet is, of course, another important source for my work, with pages about a statue of the gusli singer (cf. Dorozhkina 2013), for example, or chronicles of his concerts (cf. http://russkij-berlin.org/Chronik-1940.html). So far, I have focused my

research primarily on western European sources as my knowledge of the Russian language is—unfortunately—still at a beginner level.

In this article, I will outline three dimensions of memory related to the figure of Kotomkin—his commitment to collective memory and his personal memory and narratives of Kotomkin in Germany and in contemporary Russia. The word "memory" opens up a range of concepts: remembrance, recall, recollection, reminiscence, souvenir, commemoration and memorisation. (cf. Assmann 2011: 182). Aleksandr Kotomkin, the person, is surrounded by various types of memories. His social identity changed due to the different virtues of being a soldier in Russia and a musician in Germany. He chose his identity in connection with his personal experiences as a child. In this way, he resurrected the past and it may have been how he coped with his memories of being a soldier during World War I.

Aleksandr Kotomkin felt the necessity to share his memories of the Russian people before World War I in the first part of his autobiography.

> In a time in which everywhere, to my joy, but especially in Germany, a strong interest for the great Russian people is beginning to rise, I'm pleased to make a contribution, even if only in a modest part by my memories, to acquaint the German populace with the fundamental traits and the ideology of the ordinary Russian people as they were before the revolution and, without doubt, as they are deep down inside despite their experiences of the last 40 years. (cf. Kotomkin: 11)[2]

Biographical notes

Aleksandr Kotomkin was born on October 11, 1885, and grew up as the son of a free farmer in the Trans-Volga area, in contemporary Mari El, a self-governed republic in the eastern part of European Russia. Here, in his early years, he accompanied blind itinerant gusli singers performing heroic epics and religious chants. When he was already grown up, he opted for a life as a musician and singer in the service of the orthodox religion and learned to play the gusli after his emigration.

Whilst he was still living in Russia, he was, amongst other professions, a military officer. During his education at the military school of Moscow, the Grand Duke and poet Konstantin Konstantinovich Romanov (also known as K.R.) spotted his talent for writing poems and supported him as a lyric poet, an epicist and a spectacle writer. In 1910, K.R. published—among other works—the second collection of Kotomkin's poems at his own cost and composed its preface. Konstantin Konstantinovich Romanov

and Aleksandr Kotomkin became friends. Their friendship lasted until the Grand Duke's death (cf. Kotomkin, 10) in 1915.

After being a military officer in the Russian Voluntary Army in Siberia during the October Revolution, Aleksandr Kotomkin fled to Czechoslovakia. His stay there might have been the reason for a performance of his historic drama *Jan Hus* on July 6, 1922, on an open-air stage in the Divoká Šárka, a nature reserve on the north-western outskirts of Prague. The play was performed by a Russian theatre group which had fled from Russia in 1917 (cf. Schneibergová 2007).

Aleksandr Kotomkin then moved to Paris, where he was reminded of the gusli singers of his childhood in a "mysterious way" and became a gusli singer himself. Her Highness, Princess Golitsin, commissioned an Italian instrument maker to make him a gusli, which became his first instrument (cf. Kotomkin, 62). Aleksandr Kotomkin changed his habit from a soldier to that of a gusli singer.

Fig. 17-1 Aleksandr Kotomkin as a gusli singer, probably 1955. © permission by Gerd Steinbrinker

After his journey through France and Belgium, where he frequently gave concerts, Aleksandr Kotomkin lived in a village called Langballigholz, near the North German city of Flensburg. Later he moved into a small flat, which had one-and-a-half rooms, in Hamburg-Lurup, Germany. After a serious illness, most probably pneumonia, Aleksandr Kotomkin died on November 23, 1964, at 79 years of age.

Kotomkin's musical repertoire and its contribution to collective memory

Aleksandr Kotomkin performed the Russian epic songs called byliny that he became familiar with in his childhood. As he strongly identified with the blind gusli singers he met when he was still a child, he emulated them by playing the gusli with his eyes closed. This is proof of his changed mind-set after emigration. Interestingly, Aleksandr Kotomkin always referred to the gusli as a "Byzantine harp". The term "harp" is not correct in terms of organology but it points to the gusli singer's strong identification with Byzantium as the centre of the orthodox world in former times.

The spread of the heroic epic songs in Russia, as well as in other regions of Europe, represents a medium of collective memory (cf. Trautmann 1935: 1). Reinhold Trautmann describes this kind of song as follows.

> The bylina is a songlike narration of the Great Russia people have memorised for centuries that demonstrates an event or a happening of striking importance, which creates an illusion of real events in the listener himself. (cf. Trautmann 1935: 1)

In this context, Aleksandr Kotomkin was a medium of collective memory, as represented in Russian epics.

James Bailey and Tatyana Ivanova wrote in their *Anthology of Russian Folk Epics* that most of these epics probably originated from the 10th through to the 14th century in an area called Kievan Rus, which extended from near the Baltic Sea to the steppe bordering the Black Sea, and from the Carpathian Mountains to the Volga River. Even though Kiev is the capital of the Ukraine, Russian culture is considered to have its origins there (cf. Bailey & Ivanova 1998: xvii). In addition to Kiev, Novgorod is the other city associated with epic songs. It is located in the northwest on the Volkhov River, with access to the Baltic Sea, the Volga and the Caspian Sea through lakes and rivers (cf. Bailey & Ivanova 1998: xix). Furthermore, Bailey and Ivanova explain

> Russian epics are customarily divided into three general groups: *Mythological epics*, the *Kievan* or *Vladimir cycle*, and the *Novgorod cycle*. […] The Kievan or Vladimir cycle consists of songs that comprise the largest group, relate events taking place in or near Kiev, and concern heroes and other people gathered around Prince Vladimir. The Novgorod cycle is devoted to Sadko, the *gusli* player and merchant, and to Vasiliy

> Buslayev, who rebelled against his native city. (Bailey & Ivanova 1998: xxf.)

In this context, Novgorod is of special interest since Kotomkin believed that the ancestors of the Russian population of the Trans-Volga region originated from there, the place where he grew up as a child. By way of example, one of the byliny in his repertoire is about the Novgorod tradesman and gusli player Sadko. Vladimir Jakovlevich Propp analysed this famous bylina and came to the following conclusion.

> The character of Sadko, the poor gusli player of the people, who triumphed over the mercantile community and the temptations of the Sea King, is rescued because his hometown of Novgorod is of the highest meaning in the world for him, has profound national and historical roots. It is undisputedly one of the masterpieces of Russian folk poetry. The comparison with other byliny shows us that the Sadko-bylina is reflecting one of the main ideas of the early Russian epics, namely in form and interpretation, which is typical for the old Novgorod. (cf. Propp 1967: 81)

Aleksandr Kotomkin is the only known traditional gusli singer who made sound records of the Russian epic songs accompanied by the Russian psaltery gusli. Until now, I have collected some of these recordings from several archives in Germany and France. The recordings have never been published or analysed; which is what I am planning to do in the context of my doctoral research. The sound recordings are very important for learning about the long, old tradition of the gusli singers, which died with the last gusli singer Aleksandr Kotomkin in 1964.

Kotomkin's individual memory of the past in the Trans-Volga region

For Aleksandr Kotomkin, the conservation of memory was his life's task. This includes his personal memories of pre-revolutionary Russia, especially those of the Trans-Volga region, as well as the collective memory linked with Russian history. During his time in Germany, he wrote an autobiography, which was published in a German translation. The book, whose original script, which—as almost all of his estate—is missing, was published with the title *From the Old Holy Russia—Memories of the Trans-Volga-Area*. It is only the first part of his autobiography; the second part either got lost or was probably never written.

Most importantly, Aleksandr Kotomkin described his everyday life during his childhood, including ethnographical notes. On the whole,

Kotomkin depicted a social life full of harmony where a revolution was unthinkable.

> Real hardship was unknown to us since the village community helped the poor. For example, when the head of a family was ill or had died, the people of the village got together and did, without demanding compensation, the field work for the family affected by the disaster. A poor widow with many children never remained without any help. (cf. Kotomkin, 14)

The autobiography of Aleksandr Kotomkin starts out with an acknowledgement to his parents, relatives, people from the village he used to live in in the Trans-Volga area as well as to the whole Russian populace, and is also dedicated to the people he met in the countries he had travelled through before he settled in Langballigholz in 1945, including all the people he had met in Germany. He wished them all the best and asked for God's blessing for all of them. This dedication is one of many examples that show Aleksandr Kotomkin was a deeply religious person who felt a deep empathy for all the people he encountered during his life after his emigration (cf. Kotomkin, 5).

In his autobiography, Alexandr Kotomkin tells the reader about the most common traditions and habits of his people, how they celebrated religious festivities like Easter and, most importantly, about the gusli singers, who left a deep impression on the young Aleksandr.

> The oldest gusli singer intones. He sings with a full, yet a little hazy, bass due to inside excitement, whose entirely extraordinary sound touches the heart. One after the other of the two gusli singers join in, one with a strong, the other with a tender, voice. They sing without intermission, aiding one another in joining the chant. The bright childlike voice of Wassjutkas, the blind's guide, rings with the other voices of the gusli singers, which ultimately I follow too and, to my astonishment, I feel something big and beautiful developing out of the chant. I let it appeal to me more and more, let myself be carried away and enter the magic circle of the chant deeper and deeper, in which I repeat the touching sounds of the songs filled with sorrow, which the gusli singers coax out of their throats, with my weak childlike voice. (cf. Kotomkin, 17)

That encounter and the times he accompanied the blind gusli singers were engraved in Aleksandr Kotomkin's mind so he was able to memorise their chants for many decades. Through writing his autobiography, Aleksandr Kotomkin linked his past life in Russia to his presence in Germany.

The Russian Delta-zither gusli

The Russian word gusli is used for three different instruments: the wing-shaped gusli, the delta-shaped gusli and the desk gusli. As far as the gusli singer Aleksandr Kotomkin is concerned, the term gusli is only used for the delta-shaped gusli.

In his book about the nomenclature of stringed instruments, Tobias Norlind wrote the following.

> The Russian national instrument gusli was developed from a delta-zither. Russian pictures [...] clearly describe its development. […] The size changes according to the number of the strings […]. At medium size, we could speak of an instrument with 20 strings with the basic size of 81 x 40 x 9 cm […]. The oldest instruments seem to have had strings of horsehair. The ordinary folk-instruments have strings made of gut and, only in exceptional cases, metal (cf. Norlind 1936: 183f.).

The delta-shaped gusli was also called the helmet-shaped gusli (*gusli shlemovidnye*) by Vertkov, and he describes it as an instrument with 11 to 36 strings that are diatonically tuned by degrees of the major scale and are fingered with both hands (cf. Vertkov et al. 1975: 202).

Ernst Emsheimer once wrote an article in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* in which he explained that the origins of the instrument may have spread from Byzantium to Russia by 1000 AD. Miniatures in the Novgorod style dating from the 14th century are the earliest iconographical reference for the gusli (cf. Emsheimer 1980: 855). He later remarked

> As a folk instrument, the *gusli* is still known by various names to the Tatars (*késlja*) and to the Finno-Ugric peoples of the Volga Basin, such as the Mari (*küsle, kärš*), the Votyaks (*krés, krödž*), the Chuvash (*kesle*) and the Mordvin (*kájga*), who played it sometimes as a solo instrument, sometimes to accompany folksongs or dances, or in ensemble with other instruments such as the bagpipes, drum, fiddler or accordion. (1980: 855)

In the archives of the Georg-August-University Göttingen (Germany) there is a copy of one of Aleksandr Kotomkin's three guslis. The copy was built by Hermann Moeck in Celle, Germany, who also built the musician's original instrument. Thus far, I have been unable to ascertain what happened to Aleksandr Kotomkin's instruments, including his other two guslis that were built in Paris and Leipzig.

Hermann Moeck made a copy of the original gusli because he wanted to have Aleksandr Kotomkin's delta-shaped zither for his personal

collection. The construction material used for the gusli's base and top is maple and the rib is made of spruce. The instrument has 29 metal strings. The base of the gusli has a length of 82,5 cm and a width of 44 cm. The rib height of the instrument is 10 cm and the top of the gusli is 97,5 cm wide while the width measures 51 cm. In the middle of the top section is a round sound-hole (cf. archive inventory no. 619 "No. 619 Z" of the Georg-August-University Göttingen, Germany).

Fig. 17-2 Delta-shaped gusli; copy of the original gusli made by Hermann Moeck. Photo: Christiane Gesierich. © permission by Dr. Klaus-Peter Brenner, Georg-August-University Göttingen

An in-depth analysis of the instrument is not yet completed.

Memories of Aleksandr Kotomkin in Germany and Russia

To get a picture of Aleksandr Kotomkin, his autobiography, personal memories of people who met him, like Gerd Steinbrinker, as well as newspaper articles are of the utmost importance. But photographs, several types of correspondence, concert invitations and sound recordings, all of which are widespread in different archives, also help us understand the gusli singer's life.

The archives of the Georg-August-University Göttingen in Germany contain several items of correspondence—letters, postcards and concert invitations with additional handwritten texts between Aleksandr Kotomkin, his German translator Gertrud von Poehl and the instrument maker Hermann Moeck. They are mainly about his gusli and his concerts. Among other items, there is a letter dated May 21, 1953, by Hermann Moeck to Aleksandr Kotomkin, which he wrote after studying a newspaper article with the headline "Russia's Last Troubadour" [commented on later in this article].

> Dear Father Kotomkin! In a newspaper I read a long article about your musical activity as a gusli player. […] Kind regards, yours HM [Hermann Moeck]. (cf. archive inventory no. 619 of the Georg-August-University Göttingen, Germany)

Hermann Moeck was interested in meeting the gusli singer and learning about his instrument and his music. Hence, this letter is the first proof of contact between them. Only a few months later, Aleksandr Kotomkin sent his gusli to the instrument maker in order for him to make a replica, as a letter written by Gertrud von Poehl to Hermann Moeck on October 6, 1953 shows.

> Dear Mr. Moeck,
>
> Thank you so much for your friendly postcard! It is good to hear that the instrument has arrived safely and a new one will be made soon! Your question to how the instrument is tuned has caused me quite a headache because Mr. Kotomkin has—like a real gusliar—never given any thought to it, and he always sings and plays to his heart's content and inspiration. He doesn't know sheet music and scales and the great Schaljapin himself warned him to never learn sheet music, and that he should stay authentic, folk-like and untroubled by all theory. After long consideration, Mr. Kotomkin said that his guslis were tuned "like the white keyboards without the black ones". I can't tell you more, I am afraid to say. He believes that the lowest string is a Do [solmization] but I'm not sure if he is right. He says you shouldn't think about it; he will tune the gusli himself. He is very grateful to you that you are going to make a new instrument for him! I hope this information will have served to answer all your questions and I wish you and your wife kind regards, G. Poehl. [handwritten:] Kind regards and many thanks. I'll pray for you. Yours sincerely, Alexander Kotomkin. (cf. archive inventory no. 619 of the Georg-August-University Göttingen, Germany)

Over the years, Hermann Moeck and Aleksandr Kotomkin became friends, a fact that was documented by letters and postcards.

The instrument maker was not the only one interested in the Russian gusli singer—German journalists were also fascinated by his habits, as three newspaper articles from the archive of the Georg-August-University Göttingen show.

One dates from April 23, 1953; entitled "Russia's Last Troubadour", it was written by Heinz Schewe. Unfortunately, thus far I have been unable to find out which newspaper published the article as only a cut out of the article is available in the archive. It is about one of Aleksandr Kotomkin's

concerts in Hamburg, which was attended by approximately 200 people. The author wrote

> During his tremolo you can hear the swooshing of the Volga. And when his parched hands grab the 29 strings of his gusli, you can feel a whole millennium gushing through the sandglass of history…. (cf. archive inventory no. 619 of the Georg-August-University Göttingen, Germany)

The article states that the performance of the gusli singer was very special and unfamiliar to the German people, thus they were fascinated by Aleksandr Kotomkin. Further evidence is an article in the journal *Pro Musica. Journal for Music from People to People*, dating from March/April 1958. It is the second periodical of the year and the article describes an evening with the gusli singer over two pages in the journal, continued by a short biography with a photograph, and a transcribed and translated short song from his programme. The following is a short excerpt of the description of the concert that documents the amazement of the public due to Aleksandr Kotomkin's looks, demeanour and music.

> An old bearded man, almost in a way you imagine Santa Claus, enters smiling and friendly. His faithful attendant follows him, carrying a big instrument in a case. […] The Russian man seems to be out of a hokum movie. […] At a leisurely pace, the old man took off his fur coat, flattened his Russian shirt, caressed his hair and beard with a calm gesture and, in a stream, smilingly expressed his gratitude for his invitation. […] As the seventy-year-old man tuned his instrument, candles were lit and arranged right before him so that the scene became more surreal. His attendant, a Russian lector, rose to speak. She said that after a long odyssey and a life full of adventures, Aleksandr Kotomkin had found his new place of residence in Flensburg in Germany. And then the old man lilted the history of the gusli singers. […] Aleksandr Kotomkin crossed himself and grabbed the strings. […] Now a fragile aged voice is intoning over the accompaniment. Foreign words—in which you occasionally recognise Jesus Christ—float, almost whispered, through the room. The present is engrossing. Time is standing still. (cf. Graffius 1958: 41f.)

Both authors describe the gusli singer Aleksandr Kotomkin in a kind of romantic way, which is a reference for the German people's perception of Russia in the 1950s.

Apart from the newspaper articles, there are four concert invitations in the archives of the Georg-August-University Göttingen in Germany. The following invitation is the earliest date I have been able to collect. It is

dated from April 18, 1953 and revolves around an invitation to a concert by Aleksandr Kotomkin in Hamburg on April 25, 1953.

> Invitation to the performance in the church hall of the St. Johannes church Hamburg–Harvestehude Heimhunderstraße 92 on Monday, the 25th April 1953 at 8 p.m.; closed gusli evening starring Western Europe's unique gusli singer and folk-composer Alexander Kotomkin—spiritual songs, epic songs and old Russian folksongs, sung to the gusli, an old Byzantine harp.
>
> Service charge: one German Mark.
>
> For students, unemployed and retired people: a half German Mark.

Three of these four invitations are addressed to Hermann Moeck and on two of them Aleksandr Kotomkin added personal texts, like short letters. This is also proof of their friendship, which had grown over the years. One invitation is without any address or additional texts.

After Aleksandr Kotomkin earned the German public's attention and appreciation, in the autumn of 1952, he met Gerd Steinbrinker (who was born in 1935) in Hamburg, Germany. The singer invited him to one of his recitals that took place some days later. Shortly after that concert, Aleksandr Kotomkin started calling him his "blessed son".

Gerd Steinbrinker's memories of the gusli singer have not yet been collected but I have been able to obtain some letters full of memories and some photographs (see Fig. 17-1).

Aleksandr Kotomkin's legacy is not only present in several archives and the personal memories of the people he impressed by his demeanour as a gusli singer in Europe but also in Russia, where he was a poet and a member of the White Army. For example, in the autonomous republic of Mari El in the eastern part of European Russia, there is an award for literature, art and architecture called the "Award of Aleksandr Kotomkin-Savinskiy" (cf. Novosti literatury 2013), granted in his honour. In 2012, the Russian historian Sergey Starikov published a biography about Aleksandr Kotomkin and gave interviews about his book on Russian television (cf. Valerevich 2012). Finally, in the year 2013, a monument was built to honour "the folklorist, gusli musician and World War I veteran Alexander Kotomkin-Savinsky" (Dorozhkina 2013) in Mari El, which is about 4 metres tall. It shows Aleksandr Kotomkin as a military officer.

Conclusion

Aleksandr Kotomkin was the last gusli singer to transfer the epic songs of Old Russia to our present time. He was a musician and a poet who conserved the Russia of his childhood in his heart, even after emigrating,

and delighted the lives of not only other emigrants from Russia but also of many other people. Through writing his autobiography, Aleksandr Kotomkin linked his past life in pre-revolutionary Russia to his presence in Germany.

He presented byliny to a wide audience and thus remained in the memories of many people. Above all, he recorded some of his songs as he saw the preservation of the heroic epics of Old Russia and the tradition of the gusli singers as his greatest goal. His contribution regarding the tradition of the gusli singers and the Russian heroic epic songs transmitted orally is very important for musicology as these sound recordings are the only ones showcasing byliny accompanied by the Russian psaltery gusli. In fact, they provide the only possibility for musicologists to analyse his repertoire and the style of accompanying epics with the delta-shaped gusli. It will be very important to compare Aleksandr Kotomkin's legacy with the sources available on North-Russian purely vocal epics.

Whether Aleksandr Kotomkin's style and repertoire represent the musical practice of his ancestors from medieval Novgorod or not is for future musicological and text analysis research to prove. In any event, this question deserves in-depth analysis and interdisciplinary approaches.

Notes

[1] I would like to thank Dr. Klaus-Peter Brenner of the Georg-August-University Göttingen for his time and the opportunity to scan the archive's materials of Aleksandr Kotomkin in the university. I also wish to thank Dr. Ulrich Morgenstern from the University of Music and Performing Arts, Vienna, for his support with my PhD research project and for establishing the first contact with Dr. Brenner.
[2] The translations into English were made by the author.

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Correspondence with Gerd Steinbrinker.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

SAFEGUARDING TRADITION AND THE AUTHORITY OF REPRESENTATION

TALA JARJOUR

In the spring of 2015, the University of Notre Dame published an announcement under the heading "Safeguarding Eastern Christian Music." The University's Sacred Music website describes the "special event" as an "International Conference on 'Safeguarding the Musical Traditions of Eastern Christianity.'" Emphasising the word "safeguarding" in multiple iterations of the title, the webpage announces the date and location: Rome, 24–26 May, 2015. The conference came in the wake of nearly two decades of intensifying conflict in the Eastern Mediterranean region and as unprecedented levels of violence spread throughout Iraq and Syria, terrorising hundreds of thousands of Christians out of their homes. The ongoing conflict, which continues to affect tens of millions of people, is particularly keenly felt by the region's indigenous Christian population. As a result, the threat of communities disappearing is now very real, due, in particular, to the intolerant radicalism exacerbated by the self-declared Islamic State (IS/ISIS–Iraq, July 2014). The announced conference had been in planning stages for years, but as fighting spread across Syria and global news outlets showed more Christians attempting to flee to safety every day, the topic seemed particularly timely in 2015.[1]

This international conference is by no means the only initiative to evidence the ongoing decline of a Christian presence in the Middle East. Many public events, discussion platforms and documentary films are emerging all over the world in response to these tragic developments, and are warning of dire prospects for minorities in the region.[2] The forms of action such events advocate are typically legitimised as rescue efforts, and are invariably rationalised according to their respective creators' conception of value: humanitarian, political, religious, cultural and so on. Some of these efforts result in projects; some are local, some international. Those with a cultural focus voice the need to protect valuable cultural

assets; a few issue calls to “safeguard” tradition and “preserve” it for future generations. This same objective was evident from the announcement for the Rome conference, which cited text from the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ratified in 2003).[3] At the end of the conference, participants were informed of the university’s intention to create an archive of musical traditions for all the denominations and regions that fall under the umbrella of “Eastern Christianity”.[4] Exemplifying the pursuit of legitimacy and source authority that preservation projects typically emphasise through local connections, the conference closed with an oral invitation for the audience (which was comprised of representatives of some of these churches) to contribute to the American academic institution’s collection of Eastern Christian music by sending recordings. The conference closed with a rich discussion about the value of musical preservation and its possible forms. However, besides expressing a desire to collect as many recordings as possible—which reflects the diversity of living East-Christian musical practices—in order to preserve them for future generations, consensus for future action could not be reached. Listening to the discussion, I could not help but reflect on the people whose music was under discussion. There were mentions of conflict as disruptive to musical practice, and Iraq and Syria were named, but little was said about the people, and there was hardly any mention of their feelings in the face of death. I thought about fieldwork teachers, cantors, deacons, and friends, even family members in Aleppo, Mosul, Homs, Baghdad and Damascus—people whose news often includes near-death experiences, loss of loved ones, reports of shells falling on churches and homes, and the destruction of entire neighbourhoods. That the emphasis was on recordings seemed beside the point.

Collecting the music of suffering others

Taking a critical stance in this theoretically inclined article, I interrogate the underlying subtexts of creating record collections of living musics by questioning the assumption of authority inherent in preservationist undertakings that attempt to preserve for future generations (as they claim or imply) what are frequently perceived as the last glimpses of East Christian music.[5] My argument focuses on Christian examples from the contemporary Middle East but my proposition extends to all musical traditions endangered by violence.[6] Thinking about the authority to represent involves reflection upon who represents whom, what is being represented, why, how, where, when, by which means and to what ends. With such questions in mind, this article issues an invitation to reflect on

projects that collect endangered musics with more nuanced attention to the authority of representation, particularly in relation to agency and pain. Being mindful that the continued existence of living musical traditions is contingent on the peoples who maintain them, this article problematises collecting the musics of suffering others. In so doing, it suggests close affinities between pain, agency and the authority to represent, and poses critical questions (in this case for the west) about collecting music (from the east) and about the kinds and levels of contextual awareness that inform such representational engagement.

Motivating this article is concern about processes by which, and contexts in which, eastern musical traditions (especially those from the Christian east) have been, and are being, collected, documented, archived and, as many would have it, preserved when the lives of their communities of practice are in danger. Such collection is guided by a claim to posterity, specifically the acquisition of recorded objects created with the express intention of documenting living musical traditions in order to preserve them for future generations. This article is thus concerned with how value is understood in these actions of "safekeeping" or "protecting" insofar as such objects might represent a living Christianity whose communities of practice are struggling for survival in the 21st century.[7] But most importantly, what this article takes issue with are claims over the authority to represent such traditions. At stake here are the priorities of the communities of practice whose music collectors are so concerned to preserve: their ability to be active agents in the maintenance of their own musical practices through their very survival and ongoing recognition. This desire for agency summarises the forms of value that communities perceive most acutely under threat. It articulates their fears regarding continued existence, and expresses their pain for the loss of safety, livelihood and life itself in both individual and collective terms.

The article's rationale stems, firstly, from thinking about collection efforts which have preservationist purposes in terms of individual memory and collective history and, secondly, from adding to the mix historical sources as "an interface and a meeting point" (which were the themes of the 2014 annual meeting of the ICTM Study Group on Historical Sources of Traditional Music).[8] As collections of recorded religious musics from the east are (or will inevitably become) historical sources, they not only share much with sound archives, they are intended as repositories or sources for musical tradition. Furthermore, when they are created by European and North-American institutions, they form—and operate as—a meeting point between historically and geographically distinct forms of interest in religious music.[9] Those connections make the archive,

understood here in the widest conceptual sense, a particularly useful concept to engage with in this article. The archive, then, serves as a meeting point of various forms of documentation, expression and representation because it has a unique way of conjoining the individual and the collective and the private and the public as well as the object and the process. It may, therefore, be appropriately said to operate at the "interface" of these forms of representation and their many layers.[10] In particular, I use the concept of the archive as a tool for thinking about authority, especially in terms of representing and preserving endangered musics.[11]

Collection as a thing and process

Like their objects, archives outlive their creators and the time of their creation. Most archives are created for a deliberate purpose; they may fulfil that purpose but they also have an afterlife. They are also used selectively in the process of their creation as well as after. While selected aspects of their materials may be included or left out according to particular contingencies, others may simply be overlooked. Design and posterity work together in this process; I will return to the former at a later stage, and at this point will underline the latter. Take the personal archive of Walter Benjamin, for instance, which the philosopher and theorist created himself. According to Benjamin, the action of archiving involves a keen awareness of "strategic calculation" and the "ethos of an archivist" (quoted in Marx 2007: 1), both of which comprise intentional components of a constructed posterity (Jampol 2012: 204). Archives can also play a significant part in the construction of individual and collective histories.[12] Not only are the materials in such archives reflections of the directions in which the scholarship they inspire may progress but they are frequently part and parcel of the construction of official narratives as well as the contemporary understanding of complex issues of the past (Jampol 2012). This role of the archive is particularly relevant to endangered cultural traditions because it has a significant impact on how the archive memorialises those traditions.

At stake in the process of creating any collection, such as collections of religious musics in Aleppo, for instance, is how the process is undertaken, with whom and to what extent communities of practice are given agency. But most critical is the documentation ethos which inspires the collecting. The influence these matters have on the narratives that result from collections may be more significant than the actual recording process. Accordingly, the authority exercised in documenting chant traditions from

contemporary Aleppo, for instance, would shape narratives of the city's religious communities and how their histories might be perceived after the war has ended. Members of the devastated city's active religious communities have a stake in such undertakings, which should not be sidelined.[13] But before discussing people and their pain, I offer a few thoughts about the archive.

One cannot think about archives without including Jacques Derrida, whose own engagement with the archive did not prevent his unpublished work from being at the centre of a controversy relating to his personal archive after his death.[14] Death here, or the prospect of it, has more than a tangential connection with Eastern Christianity. "I leave a piece of paper behind, I go away, I die," he reportedly said. The philosopher, who was keenly concerned with how what outlived people was treated and preserved, wondered: "Who is going to inherit, and how? Will there be any heirs?" (Bartlett 2007: 1) The implied anxiety in his wonderings about continuation, about the memory of a living person and its preservation, is both legitimate and justified, and it transcends the individual. The story of Derrida and archiving is also a story of intimacy that is not devoid of pain, but in his book on the subject, archiving is a *mal*, a thing with which people struggle. *Mal* also means pain, an illness, or a combination of sinful behaviour and physical malaise; besides representing a restless urge—a craze of sorts, the archive evokes painful discomfort.[15]

Derrida's discussion of the archive, or even what preceded the archive, is most helpful in probing issues of ownership, right of representation, entitlement and authority. "Let us not begin at the beginning," Derrida writes. "Nor even at the archive. But rather at the word 'archive'—and with the archive of so familiar a word" (1996: 1). He then reminds his reader that *arkhe*, the Greek word, names at once the "*commencement* and the *commandment*."[16] This name connects two principles in one,

> the principle according to nature or history, *there* where things *commence*—physical, historical, or ontological principle—but also the principle according to the law, *there* where men and gods *command, there* where authority, social order are exercised, *in this place* from which *order* is given—nomological principle. (1996: 1)

The question of authority is in Derrida's view inherent to the idea of archives—almost *a priori*. He sees an "order of commandment" in this "order of commencement" (1996:1). The masculine singular word *archivum* in Latin (*archive* was also masculine in French) comes from the Greek *arkheion*, which was "a house, a domicile, an address, the residence of the superior magistrates, the *archons*, those who commanded." The same

people, or citizens, therefore, who had access to these places had the power as well as the "right to make or to represent the law" (1996: 1).

The *archons*, therefore, file the documents, guard them and ensure their security as they do that of their substrates. But most significantly, "[t]hey have the power to interpret the archives" (1996: 1–2). So the publicly recognised authority of those who own "that *place*" also affords them the power of knowledge, interpretation and representation over its contents. The implications of the name, in Derrida's beginning to discuss archives before the beginning of archives, are in how the concept of archiving "shelters itself" from the memory of its name, just as it "shelters in itself" this memory, thus forgetting it (1996: 1). In a sense, then, archiving is a process that does not need, or for that matter permit, a discursive nature to its activity, and has little awareness of that fact. At its origin, the archive is a mode of ownership in which no counterpart may exist or participate let alone argue, act, be or feel.

Whether with the explicit purpose of creating an archive or not (and this would apply as much to Eastern Christian musics as it would to any other), documenting or preserving a musical tradition through collection is a process involving a number of tasks. One of these tasks is selection. Since it would be difficult to include every piece and/or variation of a piece, no matter how representative a collection sample may be, it remains a *sample*; that is, created by a process involving *election* and *elimination*. Choices such as what goes in or what stays out of any collection may be informed by a varying number of factors. Those factors range from the availability of material to the accessibility of sources, the ability or willingness of source guardians, the collectors' technical agility and available technological capacity, personal and collective taste, philosophical approach, ideas held to be important, aesthetic considerations and the relative value of the selected material, to name a few.[17] In all cases, there are decisions to be made. One level of decision may be made by the tradition bearers in the case of, for instance, a vernacular musical tradition, or by other source owners such as book and manuscript collectors—both of which I implied earlier under "source guardians."

Another level of the decisive selection process is the prerogative of the collection builder. Thus, one might imagine a given musical collection as a construction constituted of various elements which an architect of sorts (the collector) selects and puts together to form this thing he or she will call a collection (or archive): this process involves a creative, curatorial type of decision-making, which is essentially a work of design.[18] Accordingly, there are two overlapping components in the process of creating collections: selection and design. Put together, selection and

design constitute a process of representation, one that is as fraught with complexity as is any form of cultural representation, even when it does not problematise its aims to document and preserve.[19]

Pain and representation

I mentioned above that the implications of discussing the authority of representation in terms of agency and pain have wide applications, but for the purpose of demonstration, and in the interest of space, I refer to recent examples relating to Syria in order to focus on oral musical traditions which are endangered as a result of ongoing violence. As in the opening of this article, I draw on examples from projects that express an intention to preserve mostly religious, but mainly Christian, musics. While neither of the two examples I use is officially designated as an archive, the term is frequently used in the collectors' respective discourses. The first example is the institutionally backed collection of Eastern Christian musical traditions at the University of Notre Dame, which, as I mentioned above, was announced at the conference in Rome.[20] The second is a commercial recording project, which was given a platform at the said conference. Because my discussion is aware of the limitations of using examples, it considers these undertakings in a very general sense. Having introduced the first example earlier, I offer an—admittedly—selective introduction to the second.[21]

Operating under a privately owned commercial label, Lost Origins Productions was established to sell recordings of religious chant from Aleppo, among which are Sufi, Syriac and Armenian samples. According to the project's website, the owner, who is a former rock drummer and current massage therapist and photographer, travelled to the Syrian city in the late 2000s to "document the ancient prayers, hallowed rituals, and sacred spaces of Syria's religious minorities"[22]; a task he seems to have found after the "demise" of his rock band in 1999 sent him looking for inspiration around the world.[23] Stating that this company "explores the past to change the future,"[24] the website announces an upcoming recording (a CD) of chants from a Syriac church in Aleppo as "the process of preserving the essence of [the church]."[25] Claiming, inaccurately, that no recordings exist of a famous part of the Syriac repertoire, the former drummer declares his intention "to preserve those chants." While seemingly aware of some of the huge challenges involved in the task, the company owner's comment in a self-published short documentary reveals another layer of his logic: "When a western eye discovered what the east hold dear, no one in the west knows what it is."[26]

Scattered snippets on the website hint at a number of unnamed "projects" (including a film about the owner himself and his collection efforts). But only two releases appear to have been made (by winter 2015), one of which is a recording of Armenian chants from the Church of the Forty Martyrs. These chants, according to the website, are not only in a language that is set to disappear in 100 years but are also "the sounds of the disappearing Armenian community in Syria." This, as the merchandise page hastens to stress, makes the 8-track LP "even more valuable as it documents the sounds of a vanishing culture."[27] There is also a T-shirt with "Forty Martyrs" written on the front, and the print of a framed Orthodox cross on the back. Customers can get a special price for buying the two in a "bundle" named the "Forty Martyrs LP + T-shirt." If there is a point in combining a desirable medium for pop-music collectors with an item of clothing, then it appears to be a commercial one. Labelling the lot as "Forty Martyrs" however was something I found difficult to comprehend.

If a music collection is a mode of documenting and preservation, then, like the archive in Derrida's term origins, it is one in which the relationship between the preserver and the preserved is nomological, patriarchal and privileged (1996: 2). Friends from Aleppo who heard samples from the projected recordings by Lost Origins voiced largely negative reactions, if only in the safety of private conversation. One classified the owner as "a trader of crisis," which puts his project on a par with merchants who exploit crises for exceptional gain. "We have too many of those now in Aleppo," he lamented. Another said the recordings he heard would never have been approved by the cantor who sang them, had the cantor still been alive. For that reason my interlocutor thought those recordings "disfigure our tradition." While my Aleppine friends (who shall remain anonymous here) felt comfortable voicing their feelings and views to me, they did not feel powerful enough to stand in the way of such commercial collection projects. When handed a recording of Sufi chants from Aleppo released under his personal label, I asked the restless religious music preservationist about the whereabouts of those whose voices appear in the 2014 record. He did not seem sure. To my question about how much of the proceeds of this CD, or of any of his planned releases, would go to the cantors of Aleppo, the answer was: none.[28] While all the copyrighted records released under this record label are of Syrian voices, the Syrian musicians are given neither rights nor offers of contractual agreement. In some cases, the Syrian owners of the recorded pieces remain anonymous while the collector's name and personal story dominate his label's releases. Some of those with whom the former rock

musician has worked are struggling to survive. I happen to know that some have become refugees; others have died or disappeared. Aside from the commodification of the pain of others, which relies on the combination of endangered “eastern” realities and a “western” fixation on the musical object, there must be other, perhaps more deferential, ways of exercising the Derridean privilege.

Archives begin, in Derrida’s terms, in a process of abstraction and classification: signs are gathered, combined and assigned. In this deliberate process, groups of ideas and objects are formed; so is meaning, which is then ascribed to the contents of the archive. This “consignation” is a process by which a single corpus is coordinated, and all its elements form an ideal configuration of unity (1996: 2). This is the process of design I mentioned earlier but it is also a performative process. What is more, the power in exercising this deliberate design is also political, and in so being it controls memory (1996: 3). This is a good moment to bring back the idea about how memory, history and sources interact/interface with the individual, the collective, the process of collection and the collection as end product and historical source. When lamenting the disregard for his deceased friend’s high standards in representing their shared musical heritage, an Aleppine interlocutor expressed layers of sadness and pain at the multiple losses he felt when he heard unauthorised recordings of his church’s chant go public. The intimacy in the personal and shared memories he recounted could not be missed. Equally deep was his sense of indignation in the face of what he viewed as historical and cultural misrepresentation. So as not to give in to a homogenising “western” gaze (looking at a thing no one quite “knows what it is,” as the label owner said) or to romantic indulgence in obsolete, exoticist narratives of cultural heroism in a distraught “east”, collection should be a process of representation in which the emphasis is not on the object or the designer but on that which is being represented.

Creating a collection of any living musical tradition is essentially a process of representation. Its acts of selection and design stem from its conceptions of value so it is possible that the values informing an external collector’s work differ from those shared by the tradition bearers. For people whose existence is at stake, the sense of value is manifested in fundamental and profound ways that may or may not be evident to an external collector. These values can relate to such metaphysical matters as faith but include, nonetheless, the necessities of survival. Such necessities could be food and shelter but also the recognition of a people’s plight and suffering and, in cases of religious musics, of the transcendental value of their heritage. As terrorised families left their homes in Mosul with no

belongings in 2014, escaping to the unknown, Christians from the region, who are now scattered around the world, remembered the hundreds of thousands of their ancestors who had perished in sectarian massacres exactly one century earlier.[29] Speaking on media outlets with great indignation about having no sanitation in their improvised shelter, the traumatised Christians from Mosul cannot recount stories of children from the vicinity who were brutally murdered when they refused to renounce their faith.[30] To those Eastern Christians whose church history abounds with persecutions, martyrdom remains a possibility in the Iraq and Syria of 2016, and the endurance of pain for their faith is a daily reality. A Christian militia formed in the Syrian north-east in 2015 still grows as ISIS control expands. Its members speak various dialects of Aramaic, of which their liturgical language, Syriac, is the learned one. Men of diverse ages donning camouflage uniforms tell a news reporter that they enlisted through the Syriac cultural organisation of which they were members. One commander says he used to organise local events and choreograph line-dance performances; he pauses as his demeanour gives way to the artist hidden under the warrior's attire. The young man picks up the rifle that slipped when he gazed into memories for a moment, tightens his lips and says something about duties being different now.

Agency as authority

From another angle, representation is contingent on authority: to represent the music of others one has to have the ability to do so. But at the same time, to represent the music of others is also to assume—or command—the authority to do so. Representation, then, is not only contingent on authority but also engenders authority. But such authority must, in turn, be contingent on knowledge—first-hand knowledge—which in local terms can only be acquired through experience. Moreover, the experiential knowledge of an expressive religious oral tradition is a formative element of its music (Jarjour 2015b). So in contexts where suffering is not only an essential historical component of a community's musical life but also part of what creates the need for its representation, experience necessarily involves pain. Pain, thus, is a condition of first-hand knowledge in a musical tradition under threat, and is accordingly a prerequisite of the authority of its representation.

In the Syriac context, pain is yet to be accounted for. From the earliest European source on Syriac chant (Villoteau 1826) to the most recent declarations of intent to collect chants from the Syriac tradition (e.g., in Rome, see above) and through two centuries of European publications in

between, the necessity to salvage this musical tradition from destruction is a continuing trope.[31] At the same time, the lack of regard for the pain and suffering of the Syriac-speaking Christians also continues (see Jarjour 2015a). While this would mean that the authority of those sources claiming to represent Syriac chant is lacking, it need not be the case.

To anchor this thought in contextually grounded scholarship, I refer to anthropologist and theorist Talal Asad's work on agency and pain (2000), in which he puts the term "agency" under a new set of analytical tests. Commonly used to express the assumption by the weak—the victim—of a voice or of an ability of some act of resistance or mere resilience, the term has been confined to a triumphalist vision of history. Asad criticises this view. Rather than seeing agency within individuals (or groups) who have been on the receiving end of injustice, disempowerment or—most importantly—pain, as a form of self-fulfilling triumphalism of liberated individuals, agency can include creative forms of existing through pain and, as Asad puts it, ways to live "sanely in a world that is inevitably painful" (2000: 29). Agency in this sense is not only not triumphalist but also not passive or defeatist. It is the way in which such groups as the impoverished Shiʻa of southern Lebanon command a spirituality that embraces pain not only through rituals based on mourning and self-flagellation practices but also through forms of emotional and social solidarity, essential to which is their combined view of faith, pain and active collective forms of support. In a similar vein, the emotional and moral effect of cassette sermons in Cairo's massive Muslim conscience is the basis for a moral construction of collective agency in which pain and spirituality are part and parcel of a pious ethical form of existence.

Through such examples as the two studies on Shiʻi forms of piety in southern Lebanon (Mahmood 2005) and the Islamic counterpublics of urban Cairo (Hirschkind 2006), Asad sheds light on agency in history as collective memories of various local pasts. In these states of existence and collective creation of memory and religious experience, pain, representation and agency feature prominently, and may be seen to operate concurrently. There is no reason for these concurrences not to transcend historical and geographic differences and be active in the meeting points—the interfaces—between the individual and the collective, and memory and history, in the creation of musical collections.

Agency, in the anthropological sense, is a relational term that can mean representation (Asad 2000: 34), and takes its various complex senses in cultural and agreed ways (2000: 35). This meaning is viable in the political sense (through the representative as agent), in the theatrical sense (when the actor's body represents an absent person) and, most significantly, in

the emotional sense. Based on considering emotions as part of the internal economy of the self, agency comes to mean "the self-ownership of the individual to whom power—'external force'—must always appear as a potential threat" (2000: 34–35).

Seen in light of the above, pain is not a cause of action but "a kind of action" (Asad 2000: 31)[32] because pain in a religious context may be transformed by those on whom it is inflicted into something different from what it was intended to be—into something good, virtuous or compatible with a form of devotion worthy of spiritual reward (2000: 45–51). Pain can also be active, a practical relationship, such as the necessity for the recognition of pain by others for recovery from trauma (2000: 43). In this sense, living pain in a relational way transforms pain from a passive experience into an active one (2000: 43), thereby making the subject an agent rather than a receiving object.

Accordingly, conceptions of musical repositories of the contemporary Christian east can admit multiple and dynamic understandings of pain, can recognise agency in pain, and may, by the same token, recognise pain as not only part of the acknowledged condition in which the sought collection comes about but as inherent to the authority of those whose music is being collected. What is at stake, therefore, is not the music or the collection but the recognition of the conditions of authority inherent to its representation. The authority to represent is thus a relational process that is contingent on an authority of ownership moulded by the emotional agency of pain.

Attempting to safeguard a living musical tradition through record collections engages in representing not only the musical tradition but also the lives of those who carry it. This representation is a purposeful process, an operation which aims to create a work of design that is meant to enhance, rather than independently outlive, the musical lives it represents. Authority is a condition and a consequence of this process, and the true authority to represent a musical tradition under threat is contingent on pain.

Pain is the *raison d'être* for collections of traditions endangered by threat to safety and is, therefore, at the heart of any cultural rescue operation. The collection is a consequence of circumstances, of horrible circumstances, and realities of danger. But in the safety in which collectors and archivists carry out their work, pain is not part of the operation so it may be easily neglected. The collection is also the place—and practice—of multiple forms of authority; it assumes at once the authority to act in representation and the authority that results from representation. As it exercises authority, however, collection also comprises the power to decide whether or not to recognise in the process the pain of the

represented others. Sharing this authority is not only possible, it is necessary, even through pain, which is not antithetical to ability. This is possible because there is agency in pain and because this agency is representational; even more, this agency is relational and so is the authority to represent.

Without the adequate recognition of pain in musical representations of endangered Christianity, or in any such living tradition, a collection might only succeed in negating the validity of its authority to represent. Short of the local agency of pain being manifest in the process, any form of musical collection risks defeating its very purpose.

Postscript

Creating musical collections for the "safe-guarding" of oral traditions is not only the creation of historical sources but also of memories, histories and individual and collective narratives of pain. At least that is the case for traditions endangered by violence, such as those of Aleppo in the 21st century.

In embarking on such a process of representation, one must pause and ask some difficult questions. Whatever the answers, people interested in the wellbeing of living musics can no longer be satisfied with the recording/object. As humanity is rethinking its conception of purposefully created collections, what we traditionally call archives, we have started thinking about archives in nuanced and increasingly sophisticated—even sensitive—ways.[33] Perhaps a relevant question to ask is, how do we account for people's pain, even if only in the sense of the emotion of human pain rather than that of historical circumstance, when we attempt to capture what we perceive as an endangered musical tradition? Creating a safeguardant version of a living thing without considering its livingness risks being akin to embarking on a decision to mummify it, thereby necessitating the contingency of its death. This may neither be the aim nor the purpose but perhaps by thinking more dynamically and relationally about traditions in danger, then, rather than trying to capture their last throes, guarding their safety might succeed in promoting their life and in maintaining their active existence.

Notes

[1] This paper was presented first at the 20th meeting of the ICTM Study Group on Historical Sources of Traditional Music (University of Aveiro, May 2014), then at the University of Notre Dame conference (Rome, May 2015). I am grateful for the feedback received during these two events, especially the generous reception it was given by members of the ICTM Study Group. For feedback received from the editors of this volume, I am especially grateful, so am I to Henry Stobart for generously commenting on an earlier draft. Recognition and gratitude are also due to cantors and musicians from Aleppo, especially members of the Syrian Orthodox church, whose generosity of culture and spirit has continued for a decade.
[2] See, for example, the *New York Times* article titled "Is This the End of Christianity in the Middle East?" which follows Christian and Yezidi families who fled ISIS expansion into Mosul and the Nineveh plain (Iraq) in June 2014 http://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/26/magazine/is-this-the-end-of-christianity-in-the-middle-east.html?_r=0 (by Eliza Grizwold, July 22, 2015).
[3] Following is the event description in the webpage announcement http://sacredmusic.nd.edu/special-projects/safeguarding/, accessed February 3, 2016. The page also provides links to UNESCO's conventions concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and natural Heritage (1972), and the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003).

"Safeguarding Eastern Christian Music. International conference on 'Safeguarding the Musical Traditions of Eastern Christianity."' Rome, 24–26 May, 2015.

Safeguarding the Musical Traditions of Eastern Christianity

> Since 2003, 155 countries have ratified the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage. The Convention recognized oral traditions, languages, performing arts, "rituals and festive events" among the kinds of heritage that need to be "safeguarded," against the "grave threats of deterioration, disappearance and destruction" posed by the processes of globalization, social change, even intolerance. This description of intangible cultural heritage aptly fits the musical traditions of Eastern Christianity, which consist of about 25 ancient communities located in Europe, Africa, and Asia: from Greece stretching through Russia to Armenia, and from Ethiopia to India. Many of these Christians are Orthodox, some are Catholic, a few are Protestant. Their musical traditions have been transmitted for centuries through the techniques and practices of pre-modern pedagogy and training. But such methods are increasingly difficult to maintain today, due to changes in culture and education, political pressures, and widespread emigration away from the traditional homelands.
>
> According to the 2003 UNESCO Convention: "'Safeguarding' means measures aimed at ensuring the viability of the intangible cultural heritage, including the identification, documentation, research, preservation,

> protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education, as well as the revitalization of the various aspects of such heritage." It is also essential "to ensure the widest possible participation of communities, groups and, where appropriate, individuals that create, maintain and transmit such heritage, and to involve them actively in its management." Our conference, to be held May 24–26, 2015 at the Rome Center of the University of Notre Dame, will open an international dialogue about how these longstanding traditions can be safeguarded, preserved and passed on to new generations, based on the UNESCO convention, the Kyiv Statement of 2010 on the Protection of Religious Properties within the Framework of the World Heritage Convention, and other international standards… This event was made possible in part by support from the Henkels Lecture Fund, Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts, College of Arts and Letters, University of Notre Dame; and from the Global Collaboration Initiative of Notre Dame International…

http://sacredmusic.nd.edu/special-projects/safeguarding/, accessed February 3, 2016.

[4] The conference description defines Eastern Christianity as consisting "of about 25 ancient communities located in Europe, Africa, and Asia: from Greece stretching through Russia to Armenia, and from Ethiopia to India. Many of these Christians are Orthodox, some are Catholic, a few are Protestant." http://sacredmusic.nd.edu/special-projects/safeguarding/, accessed November 23, 2015.

[5] It must be emphasized here that UNESCO's reading of "safeguarding," especially with respect to the 2003 convention, does not equate it with "preserving." Against the tendency to conceive culture in fixed terms, the discussions that led to UNESCO's convention understood culture in dynamic terms, and thus underscored the importance of safeguarding as pertaining to the conditions that allow cultural expressions to continue to be lived and developed. The fact that "safeguard" is often interpreted in practical terms as preservation does not mean that all efforts that use the term "safeguard" necessarily abide by UNESCO's objectives and its conventions.

[6] The focus on Christian music is due in part to the increasing interest it is receiving in European and North American discourses, where identifying with Christianity in the east occurs in public discourses more readily than with other religions. This point will become increasingly relevant as the article progresses.

[7] I use synonyms for "safeguarding" (OED) to distinguish the core issues in this article from the much discussed term in the context of UNESCO (and other) efforts.

[8] It is important to recognize the multifaceted and evolving conceptions of the archive, and the growing number of ways in which archivists, as well as archive specialists and scholars (among whom count many members of the ICTM Study Group on Historical Sources of Traditional Music), continue to consider the benefit of all communities concerned, especially tradition owners and indigenous

communities. For a recent example of work dealing with complexities of heritage ownership and indigenous rights, see Bigenho and Stobart (2016).

[9] Among European sound archives that contain Syriac chant recordings are the *Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv*, the British Library Sound Archive and *le Musée de l'Homme*. There are also individual archives, most of which contain impressive collections, such as that in the Syrian Orthodox Archbishopric library in Aleppo, Syria, which was largely compiled by the city's Bishop, Mor Gregorios Youhanna Ibrahim. I visited this library where, like many other visitors, I was able to obtain cassette copies of some of its holdings, on a number of occasions.

[10] A number of sound archives of historical significance in music studies are increasingly grappling with issues of technical upkeep of their holdings, as well as with keeping up with rapid technological developments and changing means of sound collection and dissemination. Some national archives are simply struggling to survive. Yet, various international, academic and local bodies are voicing a need for new archives.

[11] For a number of cases and good discussions on issues of ownership related to archives and communities of practice, see the *Ethnomusicology Forum* special issue 21(2) "Ethnomusicology, Archives and Communities: Methodologies for an Equitable Discipline," particularly the introductory article by Landau and Topp Fargion (2012). See also the British Library's Endangered Archives Program; www.eap.bl.uk.

[12] The creation of archives in East Germany, for instance, had a bearing on the development of East German cultural history and scholarship (Jampol 2012).

[13] In the Syria of 2015, there are many musical traditions that are under just as much threat as those of local Christian communities. While the degree of vulnerability varies among ethnic and religious groups, and larger groups may not be endangered as such, the case is not the same for locally distinctive musical traditions. In the case of Aleppo, the utter devastation of large parts of the city has caused many of its musicians to dissipate, and will have significant consequences on the longstanding Arab music traditions, among which is the distinguished Aleppine school of tarab, for instance. The same is true of the city's many Sufi lodges with their respective lineages of master singers, as well as of the influence they exercised historically on secular music (for more on music in Aleppo, see Shannon, 2006). These musical traditions deserve attention as they, too, are in danger owing to the dissipation of their carriers.

[14] The controversy over owning Derrida's archive after his death involved a legal battle, which the philosopher's family eventually won against the University of California at Irvine (Bartlett 2007).

[15] The main title of his book, published in 1995 by Éditions Galilée as *Mal d'Archive: une impression freudienne*, was translated to English as *Archive Fever*.

[16] All emphases are original.

[17] See footnote 11 above.

[18] While recognizing that "collection" and "archive" are not always synonymous, I use the two terms interchangeably on specific occasions to emphasize particular points of connection.

[19] For widely recognized readings on the complexity of culture and cultural representation, see Geertz (1973) and Clifford (1992). Owing to limitations of space and scope in this article, I am not problematizing the concept of culture or its definition in relation to discussing pain as emotion (for a good source on this question, see Reddy 2001).
[20] Eastern Christianity is defined in the conference description website in wide geographic and denominational terms that encompass Europe, where many Orthodox Christian traditions are increasingly thriving (such as Russia), as well as every denominational variety. Yet the question as to what makes a Christianity "Eastern" (or otherwise, presumably, "Western") is left open (see footnote 3). It must be noted that the denominational and historical makeup of Christianity in the Eastern Mediterranean is of such intricacy that it forbids the isolation of denominations just as it erodes the viability of monolithic treatment. With this complex diversity acknowledged, my argument on agency and representation applies to any group who claim a particularity to their musical practices, regardless of whether they are a religiously or ethnically defined group, so long as they are facing the danger of death and lack the safety and ability to maintain an active presence in what they consider their homeland. It could hardly be said that Yezidi, Sunni, Shiʻi or Kurdish groups would not fall under these categories in one instance or another. The category of Eastern Christianity, therefore, is itself an example in this short article.
[21] The use of examples in this argument is both useful and hindering. While they may provide instances and therefore material to discuss, the examples here pertain to larger projects that would not be given justice in selective employment for illustrative purposes. Moreover, space limitations do not allow engagement with a number of important points. For instance, the examples in question come from two very different projects; they each have their independent set of economic, ethical and/or academic complexities; they attempt to tackle the task of documenting religious musical traditions in different ways; and they are partial undertakings concerning parts of the world with which their respective directors have limited (if any) engagement. It is for reasons such as these, as well as for the fact that both examples lend themselves to longer discussion, that I recognize the limitations of their use in the argument at hand and in the small space available.
[22] http://lostorigins.merchnow.com/products/205631/nawa-silver-vinyl-lp; accessed November 25, 2015.
[23] http://lostorigins.merchnow.com/products/205630/limited-edition-postcards-set-of-9-250-made; accessed November 25, 2015.
[24] http://lostorigins.com/about-lost-origins-productions/; accessed November 25, 2015.
[25] http://lostorigins.com/projects/; accessed November 25, 2015.
[26] In *Old Soul: Chants from the Syrian Orthodox Church*, a short film by Documentary Challenge, 2008. Via http://en.qantara.de/content/syria-and-the-lost-origin-sound-project-the-timely-involvement-of-a-punk-rocker; accessed November 25, 2015.
[27] http://lostorigins.merchnow.com/products/203856/forty-martyrs-armenian-chanting-from-aleppo-deluxe-cd; accessed November 25, 2015.

[28] Personal conversation, Rome, May 2015.
[29] During and around the First World War, in what is known as the Armenian Genocide, or Sayfo (in Syriac).
[30] "ISIS Begins Killing Christians in Mosul—Warning Graphic Photos / Children Beheaded." *Catholic Online* (News Consortium), August 8, 2014, http://www.catholic.org/news/international/middle_east/story.php?id=56481; accessed November 30, 2015.
[31] Since Villoteau's account, which includes the earliest musical transcriptions of Syriac chant and calls for its preservation, many collections have attempted to capture its norms. Some accounts pursued systematic analyses (in the systematic musicological sense) for the purpose of which they created hundreds of transcriptions (e.g., Heinrich Husmann in the 1970s and Jules Jeannin in the 1920s).
[32] In religious contexts, such as the martyrdom ethos of early Christianity and certain medieval Islamic views, Asad sees pain endured by choice, or merely by a refusal of submission to societal powers, as a form of active agency. It brings about possibilities for social action by assuming a different meaning in an economy of action that is significant to the community of faith (2000: 46–7).
[33] There are personal archives (e.g., Derrida and Walters), and archives that are works of art (Merewether 2006). Scholars are talking about the body as archive (Lepecki 2010), about power relations and the dynamic nature of archives (Derrida 1996), about the materiality of archives (Moor & Uprichard 2014) and even about the silenced (Trouillot 2015) and forbidden archives (Combe 1994).

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CONTRIBUTORS

Ingrid Åkesson works at the Centre for Swedish Folk Music and Jazz Research, Stockholm, and is chair of the Swedish National Committee of the International Council for Traditional Music and co-chair of the International Council for Traditional Music Study Group on Historical Sources of Traditional Music. She has published books and numerous articles on vocal traditions, and she is general editor of *Puls – Journal for Ethnomusicology and Ethnochoreology.*

Anda Beitāne is a professor, head of the department of ethnomusicology and vice-rector for Research and Creative Work at the Latvian Academy of Music in Riga (Latvia). In 2006, she received her PhD at the Latvian Academy of Music with the dissertation *Multipart Singing in Latvian Traditional Music* and established the department of ethnomusicology at the same institution. Since 1992, she has carried out fieldwork in Latvia, Russia (Siberia) and Belarus. Beitāne has also published several books, articles and recordings on local musical practices in Latvia, Siberia and Belarus.

Ingrid Bertleff is an ethnomusicologist at Folkwang University of the Arts (Germany). She has previously worked as a researcher at the German Folk Song Archive and at the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv. Her publications focus on issues of music, migration, identity, cultural politics and related processes of transformation in Southeast Asia and Europe, and on the history of ethnomusicological collections.

Until his retirement, **Shai Burstyn** taught at the department of musicology at Tel Aviv University, Israel. Since earning his PhD in historical musicology at Columbia University in New York (1972), he has published extensively on various aspects of late medieval and early Renaissance music in international journals such as *The Musical Quarterly, Acta Musicologica, Musica Disciplina*. Another research interest is oral musical practices related to the early Israeli folksongs, especially from the perspective of the manifold tangled ways they reflect Israeli society in its pre-statehood era.

Susanne Fürniss is a senior researcher at the French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS). She is affiliated with the Musée de l'Homme in Paris and is a PhD supervisor at the University Paris Ouest Nanterre. Fürniss has an interdisciplinary training in music, ethnomusicology, phonetics and ethnology. She is mainly working on traditional musics of South Cameroon. Her main publications feature music systematics, endogenous categorisation, instruments and vocal techniques as well as interethnic relationships in the light of cultural change.

Miguel A. García is an independent researcher for the National Scientific and Technical Research Council (CONICET), Argentina, and holds tenure at the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy, University of Buenos Aires. He is currently director of the journal *El Oído Pensante*. García has published five books and a large number of papers in national and international academic journals. His research focuses on the music of Chaco and Tierra del Fuego aborigines, the sociology of popular music, anthropology and ethno aesthetics, the epistemology of ethnomusicological research, music and colonialism and sound archives.

Since 2011, **Christiane Gesierich** has been the scientific director of the academy for zither and stringed instruments (including a museum) in Upper Austria. She is also a PhD student at the University of Music in Vienna, focusing on the Russian psaltery *gusli*. A publication about the Austrian zither is forthcoming.

Olli Heikkinen is a postdoctoral researcher at the Sibelius Academy, Helsinki. He is currently working on distinction in cultural politics and music classification systems. In addition to folk song collecting, he has published articles on, among other things, sound recording aesthetics, musical genres, the birth of "Finnish" musical language, the history of brass bands in Finland and Jean Sibelius.

Tala Jarjour is a music scholar whose current research focuses on Middle Eastern musics, especially religious traditions. She is at present at the University of Tübingen, as Excellent Junior Researcher. Her recent publications include articles in *Ethnomusicology Forum*, the *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, and *The Oxford Handbook of Music and World Christianities*. Upcoming is a monograph on the Edessan school of Syriac chant in Aleppo.

Drago Kunej is assistant professor at the Academy of Music and at the department of musicology at the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana, Slovenia. He is the head of the Institute of Ethnomusicology, and of the institute's sound archives. Kunej is actively involved in the technical and methodological aspects of sound recording for research purposes. His research field is the history of sound recordings and early ethnomusicological sound recordings in Slovenia, and he has participated in numerous publications. Kunej has worked on several projects and headed two EU projects.

Claire Lacombe has been a music teacher since 2009. She took a master's degree in musicology at the University Jean Monnet, St Etienne, France, based on recordings of Ethiopian traditional music stored in the Institute of Ethiopian Studies. She took a second master's degree in ethnomusicology in 2013 at Paris Ouest Nanterre University, based on the study of the traditional music of the Fang people. She has also contributed to collective publications.

Émeline Lechaux is currently a postdoctoral research fellow in ethnomusicology at the French telecommunications company Orange, where she analyses the link between music, communication and emotion in different cultures. She holds a PhD in ethnomusicology, based on her work on diachronic comparison of musical repertoires of the Mitsogo population of Gabon. She has worked at three cultural institutions in Paris: the Musée de l'Homme, the Musée du Quai Branly and the Cité de la Musique.

Andreas Meyer is professor of musicology at the Folkwang University of the Arts in Essen, Germany, where he teaches ethnomusicology and music and media. He has conducted fieldwork in Trinidad and Tobago, Ghana and Germany. Among his publications are books and articles on African and African Caribbean music genres, local features of popular music, and organology. His current research interests include transculturation and cultural memory studies.

Marie-France Mifune is an ethnomusicologist with a PhD in anthropology from the EHESS, Paris. From 2013, she conducted postdoctoral research in the programme DIADEMS on automatic indexation and analysis of ethnomusicological sound archives, and later in a programme at the University of *Sorbonne* on interdisciplinary research on the voice. Her research interests focus on the anthropology of performance, sound

archives and musical gesture, and she has developed collaboration with researchers in acoustics, bioinformatics and biomechanics. She is currently a postdoctoral fellow at the Chair "Gesture-Acoustic-Music" of Sorbonne Universités.

Susana Sardo is associate professor of ethnomusicology at the University of Aveiro, Portugal, and director of the Aveiro branch of the Research Centre for Ethnomusicology (INET-MD). She is scientific coordinator of *The Journey of Sounds*, a 12-CD collection about the musical landscape related to the Portuguese colonial presence in different parts of the world.

Joséphine Simonnot is a research engineer and project manager of the web platform "Telemeta", aimed at improving access to ethnomusicology sound archives. She has studied musicology at the University of Sorbonne and specialises in vocal musics of East Indonesia. Since 1999, she has worked at the Musée de l'Homme, center of research in ethnomusicology (CNRS). Her research concerns advanced and innovative tools for automatic or semi-automatic indexing of audio data in the DIADEMS project, and she is currently responsible for the CNRS in the Europeana Sounds project.

M. Emin Soydaş is a faculty member within the department of music at Çankırı Karatekin University in Turkey. After graduating from the history department of Boğaziçi University, he completed his MA in Turkish Religious Music at Marmara University. He received his PhD in Musicology and Music Theory from İstanbul Technical University in 2007, with a thesis on the musical instruments at the Ottoman court. Soydaş has done postdoctoral research at SOAS, University of London. His research interests mainly include historical aspects of Turkish music.

Gunnar Ternhag is a professor in musicology at the University of Stockholm, Sweden. He is also a member of the Royal Swedish Academy of Music and the Royal Gustav Adolphus Academy. His research comprises ethnomusicological issues as well as works in music history, mainly about Swedish music from the late Romantic era. He has written several articles about personal songbooks, investigating them as sources for vernacular culture, produced by the singing individual.