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there was world music and world dance ...**

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EN TOEN WAS ER WERELDMUZIEK EN WERELDDANS...
AND THEN THERE WAS WORLD MUSIC AND WORLD DANCE...

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JOEP BOR EN TOEN WAS ER WERELDMUZIEK EN WERELDDANS..
AND THEN THERE WAS WORLD MUSIC AND WORLD DANCE...

Faculteit der Kunsten, Universiteit Leiden
Leiden 2008

Voor mijn lieve zoon, Dion Bor

*Mijnheer de Rector Magnificus,
Gewaardeerde collega's en toehoorders, beste vrienden,¹*

In 1987 was er plotseling wereldmuziek. Althans, dat is de indruk die Philip Sweeney en Ian Anderson wekken.² Beide heren waren aanwezig toen wereldmuziek in een Londense *pub* als een marketingconcept werd gelanceerd. Daarna ging het snel: 'Within months the term was cropping up in the British press, within a year it had crossed the Channel [...] and within three years it was in regular mainstream music industry use in Britain, the United States and northern Europe.'³

Met andere woorden, in 1990 was wereldmuziek een wijdverbreid begrip en was er zelfs een Nederlands tijdschrift dat zo heette. In datzelfde jaar richtte ik samen met Jan Laurens Hartong de afdeling Wereldmuziek van het Rotterdams Conservatorium op. Maar vier jaar later, toen ik als hoofd van deze afdeling werd voorgesteld aan de voorzitter van de zogenaamde Allocatiecommissie Tweede Fase Muziekvakonderwijs, zei die provocerend: 'Wereldmuziek? Nooit van gehoord!' Terwijl ik dacht dat de term goed ingeburgerd was en voor zich sprak. Of niet?⁴

Er kwam een levendige discussie op gang over het begrip 'wereldmuziek'. Componist Ton de Leeuw, een liefhebber van Indiase muziek die dit onderdeel van de discussie leidde, maakte duidelijk dat hij weinig gecharmeerd was van de nieuwe term. Hij vroeg zich af of een 'authentieke' muzieksoort als de Indiase en de meer recente tradities uit Cuba, Brazilië en Argentinië in één afdeling bij elkaar horen. (Ook had hij twijfels over de levensvatbaarheid van cross-overs tussen de verschillende muziektradities.) De hamvraag was natuurlijk of wereldmuziek onderwijsbaar is en op een conservatorium thuishoort.

Ik zal u niet vervelen met wat ik toen gezegd heb. In mijn verschillende functies op het Rotterdams Conservatorium heb ik steeds weer mogen uitleggen waarom het nodig was voor vrijwel alle muziek uit de wereld een nieuw label te verzinnen. Maar is wereldmuziek inderdaad een nieuw begrip zoals Sweeney, Anderson en anderen suggereren? Hoe werd de muziek en dans uit de wereld vroeger genoemd? Wat was de invloed van deze muziek en dans op die in het Westen? Zijn de populaire cross-overs van vandaag een recent fenomeen? En de belangrijkste vraag: waarom heeft het zo lang geduurd voordat de muziek en dans uit de wereld hier serieus werden genomen en op hun merites werden beoordeeld? Daar wil ik het met grove penseelstreken – dus zonder al te veel in detail te treden – vanmiddag over hebben.

DE ONTDEKKING VAN WERELDMUZIEK EN WERELDDANS. In verschillende publicaties heb ik aangegeven dat de beeldvorming over Indiase muziek en dans (en de receptie daarvan) een lang en complex verhaal is dat met het beroemde reisverslag van Marco Polo begint.⁵ Ik was uiteraard niet de eerste die aandacht besteedde aan de beschrijvingen van reizigers, kooplieden en missionarissen. In 1942 vatte Jaap Kunst in zijn openbare les samen hoe deze avonturiers over Indonesische muziek dachten.⁶ Kunst was de eerste Nederlandse lector in de etnomusicologie.

De oratie van een andere Amsterdamse hoogleraar etnomusicologie, in 1971, leidde tot een interessant boek over de muzikale observaties van een aantal ontdekkingsreizigers.⁷ In Frank Harrisons *Time, place and music* (1973) staan onder meer citaten uit het zestiende-eeuwse reisverslag van de Jean de Léry.⁸ Deze Zwitserse zendeling dacht ‘met kloppend hart’ aan de gezangen van de Tupinamba-indianen, die aan de oostkust van Brazilië leefden en de *maracá* bespeelden. Transcripties van drie Zuid-Amerikaanse liederen uit De Léry’s verslag werden in 1636 door Marin Mersenne opgenomen in zijn *Harmonie universelle*.⁹ In dit werk vinden we ook afbeeldingen van een aantal niet-westerse instrumenten die door reizigers mee naar huis waren genomen.¹⁰

Uit mijn eigen onderzoek blijkt dat ‘werelddans’ in vele opzichten een voorloper was van ‘wereldmuziek’, maar dat lag zelden aan de dans zelf. De fascinatie van reizigers voor oosterse danseressen kwam voort uit het beeld dat men van hen had als verleidelijke, mysterieuze en onafhankelijke vrouwen. In feite waren oosterse courtisanes een standaardonderwerp in de reisliteratuur vanaf Marco Polo (ca. 1298). Zelf gaf Polo een uitvoerige beschrijving van de tempeldanseressen: de *devadasis* uit Zuid-India.¹¹ In de zestiende eeuw noemden de Portugezen hen *bailadeiras* (lett. danseressen) en daarna veranderden de Fransen dit woord in *bayadères*. Onze landgenoot Jan Huygen van Linschoten (1596) was een van de eersten die de Indiase danseressen ‘heydensche lichte vrouwen’ noemde, en vervolgens werden ze door vrijwel alle zendingen als danshoeren of tempelhoeren gebrandmerkt.¹²

Niet alle reizigers waren bevooroordeeld. Neem bijvoorbeeld Pietro della Valle, een bekende componist en muziekgeleerde uit Rome, die tussen 1614 en 1626 door het Oosten reisde. In zijn journaal vinden we gedetailleerde beschrijvingen van de Indiase danseressen¹³ en ook een beschrijving van de *vina*.¹⁴ Della Valle zegt dat hij de muziek van een zanger, die zichzelf op de *vina* begeleidde, aangenaam vond, ‘because it was not so obstreperous Musick as the ordinary of the vulgar *Indians*, but rather low and very sweet [...]’.

De Franse geneesheer François Bernier, die twaalf jaar in India verbleef, luisterde ook met plezier naar de inheemse muziek, met name naar de muziek van de hofkapel – de *naqqarakhana*.¹⁵

Maar Bernier kon geen waardering opbrengen voor de tempeldanseressen van de beroemde Jagannath-tempel in Orissa. Hij had ze zelf nooit gezien, maar was er grotendeels voor verantwoordelijk dat deze danseressen later in toneelstukken, opera's en balletten afgeschilderd werden als slachtoffers van de brahmaanse priesters.

Volgens onze landgenoot Jacob Haafner was dit nonsens. Hij verbleef meer dan dertien jaar in India en Ceylon en karakteriseert de verhalen van zijn voorgangers over de danseressen als 'valsch, of van geen beduiden'.¹⁶ In 1786 werd hij smoorverliefd op de jonge danseres Mamia, en dit is waarschijnlijk de reden dat hij een heel hoofdstuk aan de *devadasis* wijdde in zijn meesterwerk *Reize in eenen palanquin* (1808). Hij maakt daarin een onderscheid tussen tempeldanseressen en gewone danseressen, onder wie de notoire *nautch girls*, die op bruiloften, feesten en andere gelegenheden voor vermaak zorgden, en 'u somtijds voor geld en goede woorden, zoo gij zulks begeert, nog meerder beleefdheid en vriendschap zullen betoonen'.¹⁷ Maar volgens Haafner hadden zelfs de ordinairste Indiase danseressen niet de 'onbeschaamdheid, die aanstotelijke en walgelijke manieren' als publieke vrouwen in Europa.¹⁸ Zijn boek werd in het Duits, Frans, Zweeds en Deens vertaald en was in de negentiende eeuw een belangrijke informatiebron over Indiase dans.¹⁹

ORIËNTALISME. Het was geen toeval dat buitenlandse uitgevers een vertaling van Haafners *Reize* publiceerden. In de tweede helft van de achttiende eeuw ontstond er in Europa steeds meer belangstelling voor de 'andere'. Toen nam niet alleen de koloniale expansie toe, maar was er ook een behoefte en noodzaak om meer te weten te komen over de landen die gekoloniseerd werden. Over de opkomst van het oriëntalisme en de wisselwerking tussen koloniale expansie en kennisverwerving zijn vele studies verschenen.²⁰ Hieruit blijkt dat in het kielzog van de imperialisten en missionarissen honderden wetenschappers, schrijvers, dichters, kunstschilders, musici – en vooral een hoop excentriekelingen – in de gekoloniseerde landen op zoek gingen naar werk, avontuur en inspiratie, en soms ook naar mooie exotische vrouwen.²¹

In de antropologische literatuur worden twee denkers genoemd die de belangstelling voor niet-westerse en Europese volksmuziek aanwakkerden: Jean-Jacques Rousseau en Johann Gottfried Herder. De eerste had in zijn zoektocht naar eenvoud interesse in de ongeciviliseerde 'wilden' uit Amerika die nog niet gecorrumpeerd en verpest waren door het decadente Europa. Daarom nam Rousseau in zijn artikel over muziek in de *Encyclopédie* van Diderot en D'Alembert (1751-1772) – en later in zijn eigen *Dictionnaire de musique* (1768) – een aantal transcripties van niet-westerse melodieën op.²² Maar hij betwijfelde of deze melodieën in westerse notatie de muziek van deze volkeren konden weergeven.²³



Afb. 1. *Reinier Vinkeles en Jacob Haafner, Devedaschie, of Indiasche danseresse* (1808). (Uit: Jacob Haafner, *Reize in eenen palaquin*. Amsterdam: Johannes Allart, 1808. Dl. 1, tgo. p. 224.)

Ook Herder had kritiek op het Europese vooruitgangdenken en zocht zijn heil bij het 'gewone' volk. In 1778 gaf hij zijn grote verzameling volksgedichten onder de titel *Volkslieder* uit.²⁴ Met deze term maakte hij een onderscheid tussen de *Naturpoesie* van boeren en plattelanders, en de gedichten die door en voor de gegoede burgerij en de elite waren geschreven.²⁵

Herder speelde een sleutelrol in het besef dat ieder volk een uniek cultureel erfgoed had. Voor hem drukten volkspoëzie en volksmuziek bij uitstek het gedachtegoed en de identiteit van een natie uit. Aangezien men zich er toen al zorgen over maakte dat de oorspronkelijke tradities zouden verdwijnen, nam het verzamelen van volksvertellingen en volksliederen explosief toe en begonnen officiële instellingen dit te ondersteunen.²⁶ Rond 1850 waren er in Europa honderden collecties volksgedichten en volksliederen gepubliceerd.²⁷ Alleen in Schotland bestonden er toen al zo'n honderd verzamelingen.²⁸ Klaarblijkelijk was er een markt voor dit soort literatuur en werden de (veelal voor klavecimbel of pianoforte) gearrangeerde exotische melodieën door amateurmusici gekocht en gespeeld.²⁹

Het eerste Europese boek over Chinese muziek kwam in 1789 uit. Het was geschreven door de Franse missionaris Joseph-Marie Amiot, die het grootste deel van zijn leven in Peking doorbracht. Hij had een brede belangstelling voor de Chinese cultuur en schreef over een uiteenlopend aantal onderwerpen, waaronder astronomie, geneeskunde, oorlogsvoering, dans, en het leven van Confucius. Zijn werk over muziek kwam uit in de serie *Mémoires concernant les Chinois* en bevat zowel waardevolle informatie over de oude Chinese muziek als het contemporaine muziekleven in China.³⁰

Vervolgens verschenen er andere monografieën over niet-westerse muziek, zoals de drie delen over Arabische muziek (in de kolossale verhandeling *Description de l'Égypte* uit 1809) van Guillaume-André Villoteau.³¹ Hij was een van de geleerden die Napoleon in 1798 vergezelden tijdens zijn expeditie naar Egypte en deed daar ruim drie jaar onderzoek. Ook ging hij in de leer bij een musicus. Naast een beschrijving van de muziek in de Egyptische oudheid behandelt Villoteau de eigentijdse kunstmuziek en volksmuziek en geeft hij een gedetailleerde beschrijving van de muziekinstrumenten uit het Midden-Oosten. Tevens besteedt hij aandacht aan dans, de Arabische muziektheorie en grote middeleeuwse geleerden zoals al-Farabi. Door zelf muziek te studeren kwam Villoteau tot de fundamentele conclusie dat de intervallen en stemmingen van de Arabische muziek net zo vals klinken in Europese oren als Europese intervallen in Arabische oren.³²

De studies van Amiot en Villoteau waren de belangrijkste informatiebronnen over Chinese en Arabische muziek, maar deze kostbare werken waren moeilijk verkrijgbaar. Daarnaast ver-

schenen er tientallen andere essays over niet-westerse muziek en dans.³³ De invloedrijkste publicatie was echter 'On the musical modes of the Hindus' van de Britse oriëntalist William Jones.³⁴ Deze veelzijdige geleerde schreef over een groot aantal onderwerpen. Met zijn publicaties maakte hij duidelijk dat India een lange geschiedenis en een indrukwekkende cultuur had die ontelbare grote denkers en schrijvers had voortgebracht.³⁵

'On the musical modes of the Hindus' kwam in 1792 uit in het derde deel van *Asiatick Researches*, het tijdschrift van de Asiatic Society of Bengal, waarvan hijzelf de redacteur was. Het werd vele keren herdrukt, zowel in Engeland als in India.³⁶ Wat Jones in dit essay aantoonde, was dat er in India een oude muziekwetenschap (*sangita sastra*) bestond die in Sanskriet teksten bewaard was gebleven.³⁷ Maar hij was ook verantwoordelijk voor de mythe dat Indiase muziek op sterven na dood was.³⁸

William Jones was niet de enige Europeaan die gefascineerd was door Indiase muziek.³⁹ Twee vrienden – Antoine Polier en Richard Johnson – verzamelden *ragamala* miniaturen en oude muziektheoretische verhandelingen (die nu in de Bibliothèque Nationale in Parijs en de British Library in Londen te vinden zijn).⁴⁰ Een andere vriend, Francis Fowke, schreef een artikel over de Noord-Indiase *vina*, waarin hij de stemming van dit instrument vergelijkt met die van een klavecimbel.⁴¹ En William Ouseley publiceerde een essay over Hindoestaanse muziek in zijn bekende *Oriental collections* (1797).⁴²

In Duitsland verscheen in 1802 *Ueber die Musik der Indier*, dat door Friedrich Hugo von Dalberg was samengesteld en aan Haydn was opgedragen.⁴³ Dit geïllustreerde boekje is een bloemlezing van zo'n beetje alles wat er over Indiase muziek was gepubliceerd, inclusief het essay van William Jones. Ook bevat het bijlagen over Perzische, Arabische en Chinese muziek. Dalberg was ervan overtuigd dat '[...] die ersten musikalischen Kenntnisse, wie überhaupt der Anfang und Ursprung aller Wissenschaften und Künste in Asien zu suchen sey.'⁴⁴ Kortom, als gevolg van de belangstelling voor India verschenen er tussen 1780 en 1835 tientallen publicaties die – geheel of gedeeltelijk – aan Indiase muziek en dans waren gewijd.⁴⁵

Verder weten we uit dagboeken en reisverslagen dat de Britten die in India woonden en de Europeanen die daar op *grand tour* gingen, regelmatig voorstellingen bijwoonden van de zogenoemde *bayadères* en *nautch girls*.⁴⁶ De zangeres Khanum Jan en de danseres Malagiri waren beroemdheden die door verschillende schrijvers worden genoemd.⁴⁷ Aan het einde van de achttiende eeuw begonnen Engelse vrouwen ook *nautch*-liederen te verzamelen en te transcriberen.⁴⁸ Miniaturschilderingen van Indiase dansmeisjes en de liederen die zij zongen, waren net zo populair onder de Engelse bevolking in Calcutta als *Scotch songs* in Londen.⁴⁹

Maar de ‘Hindostannie airs’, die voor klavecimbel of pianoforte werden gearrangeerd, waren op een zodanige wijze gesimplificeerd dat er weinig van de oorspronkelijke melodieën overbleef. De Europese musici die deze liederen ‘harmoniseerden’, hadden geen benul van de melodische en ritmische beginselen van de Noord-Indiase muziek, en ook niet van de betekenis van de liedteksten. William Hamilton Bird was de auteur van de eerste gepubliceerde verzameling – *The oriental miscellany* (1789). Hij merkt op: ‘the greatest imperfection [...] in the music in every part of India, is the total want of accompaniments [...]’.⁵⁰

Hoewel de Hindoestaanse liederen in hun Europese jasjes bijna onherkenbaar vervormd waren, begonnen ze als authentieke Indiase melodieën in en buiten Engeland een eigen leven te leiden.⁵¹ Een aantal ‘Hindostannie airs’ uit Birds collectie werd door Dalberg afgedrukt in zijn *Ueber die Musik der Indier*. Ook werden ze opgenomen in *Lyric airs* (1804) – een verzameling ‘national songs and melodies’ uit de hele wereld van de Welse harpist Edward Jones – en in de befaamde collectie *Specimens of various styles of music* (1808) van William Crotch.⁵² In feite waren dit de eerste publicaties over wereldmuziek.

BAYADÈRES EN NATIONALE DANS. Dit leidt tot de vraag in hoeverre het Europese publiek belangstelling had voor échte niet-westerse muziek en dans. Daarvoor moeten we naar Parijs gaan, dat al in het begin van de achttiende eeuw in de ban van het Oosten was. Onder meer verschenen toen de razend populaire vertaling *Mille et une nuits* (1704-1717) van Antoine Galland en de even populaire *Lettres Persanes* (1721) van Montesquieu. Het succesvolle operaballet ‘Les Indes galantes’ van Rameau ging in 1735 in première.

Een eeuw later bereikte de oosterse mode een nieuw hoogtepunt. Napoleon Bonapartes expeditie naar Egypte in 1798 en de ontdekkingen van Champollion en de andere geleerden die hem vergezelden, werkten sterk op de verbeelding van de Fransen. Parijs was in die tijd de leidende stad op het gebied van toneel, muziek en dans. En toen Charles Catels ‘Les bayadères’ op 8 augustus 1810 in première ging, was Napoleon de eregast. Dit was een van de vele opera’s waarin de librettist een oosterse romance of legende als uitgangspunt nam. In dit geval het gedicht van Goethe, ‘Der Gott und die Bajadere’ (1797).⁵³

Ook Victor Hugo beschreef de schoonheid van het imaginaire Oosten in zijn gedicht *Les Orientales*, dat binnen een maand veertien keer werd herdrukt toen het in 1829 uitkwam. Een jaar later vielen de Fransen Algerije binnen en werd Kalidasa’s Sanskriet drama *Sakuntala* (door Antoine-Leonard de Chézy) in het Frans vertaald. En op 13 oktober 1830 ging Daniel Aubers ‘Le dieu et la bayadère’ in première, dat eveneens op Goethes gedicht was gebaseerd. In dit operaballet



Afb. 2. *Mathieu Barathier, Marie Taglioni (als Zoloé) in 'Le dieu et la bayadère' (1849). (Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Narbonne.)*

vertolkte de Italiaanse ballerina Marie Taglioni de titelrol van de fictieve Indiase tempeldanseres Zoloé. Het stond minstens achttien jaar op haar programma en werd daarna regelmatig door andere ballerina's uitgevoerd, ook in Engeland en de Verenigde Staten, waar het 'The maid of Cashmere' heette.

In opera's en balletten als 'Les bayadères' en 'Le dieu et la bayadère' werd een fantasiewereld gecreëerd die (behalve de aankleding) muzikaal en theateraal gezien niets met India te maken had. Zelfs het gedicht van Goethe, waarin een Indiaas dansmeisje – een prostituee dus – als de trouwe geliefde van de god Mahadeva wordt bezongen, was waarschijnlijk niet op een echte legende gebaseerd, maar op een verzinsel van de Nederlandse zendeling Abraham Rogerius.⁵⁴

Maar er was wel degelijk belangstelling voor de dans van de 'andere', die toen nationale dans werd genoemd. Dit blijkt onder meer uit het feit dat Dolores Serral en Mariano Camprubí in 1834 furore maakten op de dansfeesten in de Parijse Opéra.⁵⁵ Deze Spaanse artiesten waren exponenten van de *baile nacional* of *escuela bolero*, een dansstijl die rond 1780 was ontwikkeld en een cross-over was van traditionele Andalusische dans en klassiek ballet.⁵⁶

Drie jaar later hadden Serral en Camprubí wederom een succesvolle tournee in Frankrijk, en tussen 1840 en 1870 veroverden zij en andere Spaanse dansers ook Londen, Berlijn en Wenen met hun shows. 'In the heyday of their fame in the 1850s', schrijft de danshistoricus Ivor Guest, 'the repertoires of Petra Cámara, La Nena, Josefa Vargas, and Concepción Ruiz comprised a wide spread of dances that testifies to their popularity with Paris audiences – and indeed with audiences elsewhere.'⁵⁷

Niet alleen dat, bolero's en fandango's waren zo populair in Parijs dat ze in de modieuze danszalen en chique ballrooms door de gegoede burgerij werden gedanst.⁵⁸ Ook waren ze een inspiratiebron voor componisten en choreografen. De exotische *cachucha* solo in Jean Coralli's ballet 'Le diable boiteux' was gemodelleerd op de dans van de Spaanse artiesten. Fanny Elssler werd er in 1836 wereldberoemd mee. 'How she twists! How she bends! What fire! What voluptuousness! What ardour!' schreef Théophile Gautier.⁵⁹ Klaarblijkelijk was deze bekende Franse schrijver, librettist en theatercriticus, die het begrip *couleur locale* introduceerde, net zo onder de indruk van Fanny Elssler als van Dolores Serral. Daarom stoorde het hem dat de Spaanse dansers in de kleine commerciële theaters van Parijs optraden, en niet in de prestigieuze Opéra. In zijn eigen woorden:



Afb. 3. Achille Devéria, Fanny Elssler (als Florinda), die 'La cachucha' danst in 'Le diable boiteux' (c. 1840). (Particuliere collectie, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fanny_Elssler>.)

It is strange that this delightful couple has not been engaged at the Opéra [...]. Those national dances, so original in character, would have introduced a wonderful variety into the choreographic repertory, which by nature is so monotonous. In my opinion the Opéra should seek out the finest dancers in the world, anyone with a reputation in this field. Can one believe, for example, that a bayadère rôle would not assume a very lively attraction if performed by a genuine bayadère from Calcutta or Masulipatam? Why not have almehs [at the Opéra]?⁶⁰

Gautier bleek een voorgevoel te hebben van wat er een jaar later zou gebeuren. In 1838 waren vijf Zuid-Indiase tempeldanseressen ‘the chief magnets of attraction’ en ‘greatests curiosities’ in Parijs, Londen en andere Europese steden.⁶¹

Het zal niemand verbazen dat deze getalenteerde *devadasis* uit Tiruvendipuram daar als ‘de Bayadères’ werden gepresenteerd.⁶² In kranten en tijdschriften werd uitvoerig over hen gepubliceerd. Hun danskunst werd vergeleken met die van de nu legendarische Marie Taglioni, de ballerina die met ‘Le dieu et la bayadère’ en ‘La sylphide’ een fundamentele rol speelde in de opkomst van het romantische ballet. Zo stond in het *Journal des Débats* en later in *The Morning Post*:

Their dances are like nothing that we have seen, or that can be imagined. The dancers of all Europe dance with their feet, but that is all [...]. Taglioni invented a style, which no one can successfully imitate. Without her the ballet is insufferably tedious. The Bayaderes dance in a different manner. They dance with their whole frame. Their heads dance, their arms dance—their eyes, above all, obey the movement and fury of the dance [...]. Their feet click against the floor—the arms and the hands flash in the air—the eyes sparkle—the bosom heaves—their mouths mutter—the whole body quivers [...].⁶³

Inderdaad, in tegenstelling tot de *escuela bolero* had Indiase dans niets gemeen met ballet. Maar Gautier, die een grote bewondering voor het Oosten had, raakte ook in de ban van deze danseressen, met name van de delicate en gracieuze Amany (Ammani), die een van zijn muzen werd. In vele opzichten vond hij haar indrukwekkender dan Taglioni en de andere Europese *bayadères*. En wederom irriteerde het hem dat de *devadasis* niet in de Opéra optraden en – zoals hij later schreef – het publiek niet de schoonheid en perfectie van Indiase dans kon herkennen.⁶⁴

Het is echter moeilijk te achterhalen wat de toeschouwers ervoeren toen zij de Indiase danseressen zagen. ‘On the first day of the performance the public was in a state of great agitation,’ volgens Gautier, ‘for at last they were going to see something strange, mysterious and charming, something completely unknown to Europe, something new!’⁶⁵ Verder zegt hij:



Afb. 4. *Auguste Barre, Amany (1838)*. (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nice.)

At first the dancers' movements [...] and the outlandishness of their costume caused astonishment among the audience, which was taken aback rather than charmed. But when the lovely Amany recited her melancholy plaint, the antique beauty of her poses, the supple sensuality of her figure, the sorrowful languor of her gestures, and the plaintive sweetness of her half-smile aroused general applause.⁶⁶

Een Engelse recensent schreef na hun debuut in Londen: 'The Bayaderes, at the Adelphi, have been completely successful, and are drawing crowds of inquisitive spectators; not only, we are bound to say, from the novelty of the exhibition, but from the real excellence of the performance.'⁶⁷ Desondanks bleken de *devadasis* voor veel toeschouwers niet meer dan een exotische curiositeit te zijn. Aan het einde van hun Engelse tournee merkte een journalist op:

People do not throng to see the Bayaderes because they do not comprehend their performances. The interesting dancers themselves may attract their notice – the curious tattoo of their hands – their jewels and dress – may be matters of wonders, but nine out of ten think nothing at all of the dances, and would much sooner see a bad *ballet* at Drury-lane. *Their* idea of dancing is different from this, and they can't tell what to make of it.⁶⁸

EXOTISME. Naar de invloed van niet-westerse dans op de westerse dans is weinig onderzoek gedaan.⁶⁹ Zeker is dat de *devadasis* een inspiratiebron waren voor Gautiers megaproductie 'Saccountalâ' (1858), die door Lucien Petipa werd gecoreografeerd. Ook het beroemde ballet 'La bayadère' (1877) van zijn broer Marius Petipa was geïnspireerd door de *devadasis*.⁷⁰ Het wordt nog steeds door grote balletgezelschappen uitgevoerd, zoals vorig jaar door het Nationale Ballet (met Igone de Jongh in de titelrol van de *bayadère* Nikiya).

Vijftig jaar na de tournee van de Indiase *bayadères* waren het vier Javaanse *bayadères* die in Parijs de aandacht trokken. Deze danseressen uit Solo waren in 1889 onderdeel van de Nederlandse inzending voor de *Exposition universelle*.⁷¹ 'Toute la ville fut véritablement éprise des danseuses javanaises, de ces hiératiques bayadères [...] qui évoluaient, mystérieuses et graves', schreef Judith Gautier, de dochter van Théophile Gautier.⁷² Inderdaad, bijna heel Parijs kwam de vier jonge 'godinnen' bewonderen.

Meer dan dertig miljoen mensen bezochten de wereldtentoonstelling, waar producten en handwerkslieden uit een groot deel van de gekoloniseerde wereld werden geëxposeerd, Bizets opera 'Carmen' (1875) voor de vierhonderdste keer werd uitgevoerd, het eerste wereldmuziekconкурс en volksmuziekcongress plaatsvond,⁷³ en Thomas Edison zijn revolutionaire fonograaf exposeerde. In het Egyptische café verdrongen de bezoekers zich om de *almées* uit Caïro te aanschouwen.



Afb. 5. *Emile Bayard, Les danseuses javanaises (1889)*. (Uit: *L'illustration, Supplément* nr. 27, 6 July 1889; Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris.)

Over deze zinnenprikkelende courtesanes was uitvoerig geschreven, onder meer door Gérard de Nerval en Gustave Flaubert, die een avontuurtje had met Ruchiouk-Hanem.⁷⁴ Ook waren er Algerijnse, Marokkaanse, Tunesische, Roemeense en Hongaarse cafés, waar gedanst en gemusiceerd werd.⁷⁵ Het Vietnamese theater en de dansers uit Andalusië trokken eveneens veel bezoekers. ‘La Macaronna, c’est le diable lui-même’, zei Léon Sari, de directeur van de Folies-Bergère.⁷⁶

In ieder geval was er in 1889 veel meer te zien en te horen dan daarvoor op de Parijse wereldtentoonstellingen.⁷⁷ In 1867 waren er weliswaar koffieconcerten in de Tunesische en Algerijnse cafés en drukbezochte optredens van een Hongaars zigeunerorkest, maar composities als ‘La chanson du thé’ en ‘La danse des plumes’ werden in het Chinese paviljoen door een Frans orkest gespeeld.⁷⁸ Een recensent van *La Liberté* merkte op dat deze door een jonge Franse componist gearrangeerde stukken niets met Chinese muziek te maken hadden en als de muziek van Offenbach klonken!⁷⁹ Dit was exotisme in de ware zin van het woord: alleen de verpakking was Chinees.

In 1889 bevonden zich onder de reguliere bezoekers van de wereldtentoonstelling componisten zoals Léo Delibes, Ernest Reyer, Camille Saint-Saëns en Claude Debussy. Voor Saint-Saëns was de muziek uit Vietnam ‘slechte Chinese muziek die in verval was’ en klonk echte Chinese muziek afgrijselijk.⁸⁰ Daar zei hij niets nieuws mee. Want een eeuw daarvoor had de Britse muziek-historicus Charles Burney al geschreven dat *national music* – dat wil zeggen: populaire muziek – minderwaardig was: ‘This kind of artless music is best learned in the nursery and the street. Real music arises from a complete scale [...]’.⁸¹ Ook vroeg Burney zich af: ‘And why are the inhabitants of three-fourths of the globe still content, and even delighted with no better than noise and jargon?’⁸² De boodschap was duidelijk. Volgens deze autoriteit en alle andere negentiende-eeuwse muziekhistorici was de enige geavanceerde muziek Europese kunstmuziek.⁸³ De meeste van hen hadden nooit Chinese, Arabische, Indiase of Zuid-Amerikaanse muziek gehoord, maar die was per definitie barbaars, primitief, decadent en inferieur.

Er waren echter componisten die sensitiever en minder geboorneerd waren dan de conservatieve Saint-Saëns. Zoals bekend heeft de gamelanmuziek die Debussy hoorde, een grote impact op zijn werk en denken gehad. Aan een vriend schreef hij: ‘Do you not remember the Javanese music able to express every nuance of meaning, even unmentionable shades, and which makes our tonic and dominant seem like empty phantoms for the use of unwise infants?’⁸⁴

Debussy is wellicht de beroemdste componist die gecharmeerd was van de muziek uit het Oosten, maar hij had voorgangers zoals Félicien David en Ernest Reyer, die zelf naar Noord-Afrika of het Midden-Oosten reisden.⁸⁵ Wat van belang is dat Debussy tot een lange reeks componisten

behoorde die zich enerzijds door het Oosten, anderzijds door Europese volksmuziek lieten inspireren. Aangezien over deze componisten uitvoerig geschreven is, hoef ik daar niet verder op in te gaan.⁸⁶ Uit recent onderzoek wordt duidelijk dat de meeste van hen met de mode meehobbelde en met een aantal muzikale clichés *couleur locale* aanbrachten. In de meeste gevallen suggereren alleen de titels en liedteksten van hun stukken, of de plots, libretti, costuums en decors van hun opera's en balletten, dat deze in een exotisch droomland zijn gesitueerd. Sommige componisten waren echter diep geraakt door de 'vreemde' muziek die zij hoorden, en gebruikten deze muziek om hun eigen muzikale taal te verrijken of te vernieuwen.

In de dans was iets dergelijks gaande. Dansers en choreografen bestudeerden boeken over oosterse kunst, filosofie, mystiek en occultisme om nieuwe ideeën op te doen en om uit het keurslijf van hun eigen traditie te breken. Ruth St. Denis was in 1900 een van de vijftig miljoen bezoekers van de spectaculaire *Exhibition de siècle* in Parijs en zag daar een optreden van de Japanse geisha Sada Yacco.⁸⁷ 'For the first time', schreef zij in haar autobiografie, 'I beheld and understood the beautiful austerities of Japanese art.'⁸⁸ Zes jaar later maakte St. Denis furore met 'Radha', waarover zij zelf zei: 'My first Indian dance was a jumble of everything I was aware of in Indian art.'⁸⁹ Haar kennis van India was inderdaad zeer beperkt, en haar dansen waren een exotische mengelmoes, een product van ongebreidelde fantasie.⁹⁰

Hoe dan ook, de buikdanseressen uit Caïro en de Andalusische dansers waren wederom een grote trekpleister op de Parijse wereldtentoonstelling. Maar de choreografieën van Otojiro Kawakami in het theater van de *art nouveau*-danseres Loïe Fuller oogstten de meeste waardering. In deze stukken (die gebaseerd waren op het traditionele *kabuki*-repertoire) speelde Kawakami's echtgenote Sada Yacco de titelrol.⁹¹ Yacco maakte ook naam in Londen en New York, en danspioniers zoals Isadora Duncan en Sergei Diaghilev – de oprichter van het beroemde Ballets Russes – waren eveneens diep onder de indruk van haar.

Dat oosterse dans – echt of namaak – aan het begin van de twintigste eeuw in de mode was, blijkt uit het feit dat Mikhaïl Fokine een aantal oriëntaalse balletten choreografeerde, nadat hij in 1901 het Siamese hofballet in Sint-Petersburg had gezien.⁹² In 1906 was het Cambodjaanse hofballet een *hype* in Parijs, en twee jaar later danste Maud Allan haar sensationele 'Vision of Salomé' in Londen in een Indiaas kostuum met borstplaten.⁹³ De samenwerking tussen ballerina Anna Pavlova en Uday Shankar resulteerde in de jaren twintig eveneens in een aantal 'hindoe' balletten. Mata Hari spande de kroon door zich voor te doen als een Indiase tempeldanseres en door haar sluiers te laten vallen. Evenals Ruth St. Denis gebruikte zij het ensemble van de Indiase soefimusicus Inayat Khan als achtergrondmuziek voor een aantal van haar optredens.⁹⁴



Afb. 6. Paul Nadar, Sada Yacco in 'La geisha et le chevalier' (1900). (Uit: *Le Théâtre* nr. 44, 11 Octobre 1900; Médiathèque du Centre National de la Danse, Parijs.)

Zelf was Inayat Khan minder succesvol met zijn muziek.⁹⁵ De dans uit de wereld sprak tot de verbeelding van het publiek, maar voor de muziek ontbrak elk referentiekader. Bovendien hadden musicologen aan het einde van de negentiende eeuw besloten dat alle wereldmuziek primitief was, dus ook Indiase muziek.⁹⁶

DE KENTERING. Ondanks het feit dat niet-westerse musici met regelmaat in Europa en Noord-Amerika optraden en de muziek uit een groot deel van de wereld op grammofoonplaten te horen was, waren de muziekgeschiedenissen uit de eerste helft van de twintigste eeuw niet veel beter dan die uit de negentiende eeuw wat wereldmuziek betreft. Wat hierin opvalt, is dat men in 'the West' altijd geworsteld heeft met 'the rest'. Bevooroordeeld of niet, de meeste muziekhistorici waren kamergeleerden die de bevindingen van andere auteurs overschreven en zelf eigenlijk niets over de muziek van de wereld wisten. Vrijwel iedere musicoloog ging er blindelings vanuit dat wat er in het Westen op het gebied van muziek en dans gebeurde, het beste, het hoogste, het meest progressieve en het meest ontwikkelde was. Alleen de westerse uitvoerende kunsten waren internationaal en universeel. In de rest van de wereld, zo meenden zij, hadden de ontwikkelingen honderden of zelfs duizenden jaren stilgestaan.

Neem bijvoorbeeld de prestigieuze *New Oxford history of music* uit 1957. Het eerste deel van dit werk – *Ancient and oriental music* – begint nog steeds met een hoofdstuk over primitieve muziek. En de muziek van onze oosterburen is onderdeel van de oude muziek, dat wil zeggen: de muziek van beschavingen die reeds lang zijn vergaan. In de inleiding lezen we met verbazing: 'The Eastern musician likes to improvise on given patterns, his music does not develop, does not aim at producing climaxes, but it flows [...].'⁹⁷ Dit deel is aanmerkelijk beter dan wat er in voorgaande geschiedenissen over niet-westerse muziek stond, maar het concept was ongewijzigd: de muziek van de 'andere' vertegenwoordigde de prehistorie van de westerse kunstmuziek. Of zoals de Franse componist Pierre Boulez het in 1967 zei: 'The music of Asia [...] is to be admired because it has reached a stage of perfection [...]. But otherwise the music is dead.'⁹⁸

Een ander boek dat nog steeds wordt geciteerd, is *The four ages of music* (1965) van Walter Wiora. Hierin doet deze Duitse musicoloog wederom een Herderiaanse poging om de geschiedenis in vier ontwikkelingsstadia onder te brengen. Wiora beweert met droge ogen dat: 'the music of primitive peoples and the Orient [...] seems relatively lacking in historical evolution and historical data.'⁹⁹ Hun muziek behoort volgens hem tot de eerste twee historische perioden en westerse kunstmuziek tot de laatste twee. Want:

[...] its theory has become the basis of music theory in all parts of the earth, and a selection from its creations forms the foundation of the world's music literature [...]. Western music has done for mankind something similar to what Greek sculpture, architecture, logic, and mathematics did: it strongly set forth classic fundamentals of universal character [...]. This [...] explains the diffusion of Western music today in all parts of the earth. Its 'world empire' rests essentially upon its immanent universality.¹⁰⁰

Wow! Als Walter Wiora *Philosophies of music history* had gelezen, dan had hij zich gerealiseerd dat hij de zoveelste schrijver was die Herbert Spencers theorieën over de vooruitgang en evolutie klakkeloos op muziek toepaste. 'The old custom of beginning music histories with a condescending chapter on "primitive" music is thoroughly reprehensible, in the light of modern knowledge', schreef Warren Allen in zijn briljante studie uit 1939. 'Oriental music and other exotic systems are anything but "primitive". [They] should be treated as contemporary, living phases of art, having a long and worthy tradition of their own, not as dead relics of an early stage of development.'¹⁰¹ Maar Allen was zijn tijd vooruit en muziekhistorici weigerden om naar hem te luisteren.¹⁰²

De omslag in het denken over muziek vond in de jaren zestig en zeventig van de vorige eeuw plaats. Dit was in vele opzichten een periode van grote veranderingen. Op het gebied van de muziek begon het door te dringen dat rock een geduchte concurrent van klassiek was, en dat het Westen zijn exclusieve en bevoorrechte positie moest gaan delen met de rest van de wereld. Popconcerten, de lp, en musici zoals Yehudi Menuhin, John Cage, John Coltrane en George Harrison speelden daarin een fundamentele rol. Voor het eerst werden niet-westerse musici als Ravi Shankar, Ali Akbar Khan en Astor Piazzolla als gelijkwaardig beschouwd en was er sprake van een dialoog. Voor het eerst begon men te beseffen dat het Oosten net zo divers als het Westen was.

Hoewel Wesleyan University toen het eerste wereldmuziekprogramma opzette, waar eminente niet-westerse musici en dansers lesgaven, sloten de directeuren van dansacademies en conservatoria hun ogen en hun oren en deden zij alsof er niets aan de hand was, alsof er niets was veranderd. Want zij waren het eens met mensen als Wiora en Boulez dat de westerse gecomponeerde muziek en de westerse gechoreografeerde dans de enige echte universele uitvoerende kunsten waren. Ook dachten zij dat wereldmuziek en werelddans op den duur zouden verdwijnen.

WERELDMUZIEK EN WERELDDANS. Wat zijn wereldmuziek en werelddans eigenlijk? Bestaan ze überhaupt wel? Wereldmuziek is zeker niet hetzelfde als *Weltmusik*, een term die aan het begin van de twintigste eeuw door Georg Capellen werd gelanceerd voor de universele, eclectische muziek waarmee westerse componisten de wereld zouden veroveren.¹⁰³ In de jaren zeventig was Karlheinz Stockhausen een protagonist van dit soort denken.¹⁰⁴ In zijn visie konden toekomstige componisten beschikken over een oneindig reservoir van muziekstijlen waarmee zij geheel nieuwe muziekvormen zouden creëren.

Tot op zekere hoogte kreeg Stockhausen gelijk. Vandaag kan iedereen met zijn iPod of laptop naar alle muziek van de wereld luisteren en naar de eclectische compilaties van dj's en vj's. Bijna iedere dag ontstaan er *songs* of arrangementen waarin aspecten van wereldmuziek worden gebruikt of misbruikt. Inderdaad, niemand kon voorspellen dat rockmuzikanten – en niet componisten – in deze vernieuwing een centrale rol zouden spelen, en dat wereldmuziek daardoor in de jaren tachtig en negentig een andere betekenis en een nieuw publiek kreeg.

Uit mijn betoog wordt duidelijk dat wereldmuziek en werelddans een veel langere geschiedenis hebben dan algemeen wordt verondersteld. Hun voorlopers heetten eerst nationale of (in Frankrijk) populaire muziek en dans, en daarna primitieve muziek en dans. Ik weet niet wanneer deze termen voor het eerst in de roulatie kwamen, maar het begrip *national music* komen we al in 1776 in Charles Burney's muziekgeschiedenis tegen, dus twee jaar voordat Herder zijn verzameling *Volkslieder* uitgaf. Naast de *baile nacional* of de gestileerde bolero uit Andalusië, waren Schotse dansen als de *écossaise* en de polka uit Bohemen in de negentiende eeuw wellicht de meest bekende nationale dansstijlen in Europa.¹⁰⁵

De Britse musicoloog Carl Engel definieerde *national music* in 1878 als 'any music which, being composed in the peculiar taste of the nation to which it appertains, appeals more powerfully than other music to the feelings of that nation, and is consequently pre-eminently cultivated in [that] country'.¹⁰⁶ Kortom, dit was *alle* muziek van de wereld, behalve de muziek van bekende en minder bekende Europese componisten.¹⁰⁷

Philip Bohlman zegt min of meer hetzelfde. Volgens hem is wereldmuziek 'that music we encounter, well, everywhere in the world.'¹⁰⁸ Met andere woorden, wereldmuziek is gewoon muziek. Door globalisering – dat wil zeggen: migratie, mobiliteit, de muziekindustrie, de media en het web – is alle muziek van de wereld vandaag toegankelijk en onderdeel van ons culturele leven geworden.¹⁰⁹ Maar rockster David Byrne haat de term wereldmuziek en raakt een gevoelige snaar: 'It groups everything and anything that isn't "us" into "them" [...]. It ghettoizes most of the world's music.'¹¹⁰

Gerry Farrell heeft ook een hekel aan de term.¹¹¹ Volgens hem is wereldmuziek ‘as it has developed so far [...] primarily about popular music that functions as a backdrop to Western exotic consumerism.’¹¹² Volgens anderen is het *world fusion of ethnofusion*, en volgens politici is het migrantenmuziek. Het probleem is dat wereldmuziek ondefinieerbaar is: het omvat zo’n beetje alle muziek van de wereld, met name de muziek die niet tot de gevestigde orde behoort.¹¹³

Zelf heb ik ooit op een etnomusicologisch congres geopperd dat wereldmuziek ‘music out of context’ is.¹¹⁴ Dat was provocerend bedoeld, maar hiermee benadruk ik dat wereldmuziek net zoals oriëntalisme een westers begrip is. En dat het niet alleen het muzikale erfgoed van onze migranten uit een koloniaal verleden en van onze nieuwe medelanders is. Het is alle geïmporteerde niet-westerse muziek die in een nieuwe omgeving en context een integraal onderdeel van ons muzikleven is geworden. Dit werd mij niet in dank afgenomen omdat de meeste etnomusicologen zich bezighouden met ‘music in culture’ of ‘music in society’ en weinig belangstelling hebben voor de wereldmuziekstijlen en cross-overs die de afgelopen decennia in het Westen – dus ‘out of context’ – tot bloei zijn gekomen.¹¹⁵

Maar juist omdat musici als Youssou N’Dour, Salif Keita, Joseph Shabala en Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan hier in de jaren tachtig en negentig steeds meer succes hadden en musici uit de hele wereld met elkaar gingen samenwerken,¹¹⁶ moest er een nieuwe term voor hun muziek bedacht worden. Van alle termen die zijn gelanceerd – nationale muziek, volksmuziek, populaire muziek, primitieve muziek, exotische muziek, etnische muziek, internationale muziek, extra-Europese muziek – heeft wereldmuziek het voorlopig gewonnen. Niet in de laatste plaats omdat folkloristische of nationale muziek na de Tweede Wereldoorlog geassocieerd werd met nationalistische sentimenten, en wereldmuziek – evenals de begrippen wereldliteratuur, wereldcuisine en wereld-economie – pretendeert dat we thans wereldburgers zijn.

Kortom, net zoals westerse kunstmuziek, westerse instrumenten, westerse notatie en westerse bladmuziek ooit lucratieve exportproducten waren die het summum van de beschaving vertegenwoordigden, is wereldmuziek nu een succesvol importproduct. Daarnaast is het een voedingsbodemp voor allerlei cross-overs, met als gevolg dat de hedendaagse muziekpraktijk gekenmerkt wordt door een enorme diversiteit die alleen maar toeneemt.¹¹⁷

In de westerse dans is eenzelfde proces van vernieuwing gaande waarin de dans van de wereld een steeds grotere rol speelt. Ook werelddans omvat alle geïmporteerde dansstijlen en eigentijdse cross-overs die vandaag in de grote steden wereldwijd onderdeel van zowel het amateuristische als professionele dansleven zijn.¹¹⁸

Het is de hoogste tijd om af te ronden. Uit wat ik gezegd heb, blijkt dat werelddans gewoon dans is, en wereldmuziek gewoon muziek. Ook heb ik gesuggereerd dat er vier perioden te onderscheiden zijn in de geschiedenis van de wereldmuziek en de werelddans.

De eerste periode van de ontdekkingsreizigers¹¹⁹ werd gevolgd door die van de imperialisten, de oriëntalisten en de verzamelaars. Ik heb hier tamelijk uitvoerig over gesproken. Van belang is dat het Oosten – met name Egypte en India – aan het begin van de negentiende eeuw een prominente rol speelde in het Europese denken, én in toneel, opera en ballet.

De derde periode kan het beste gekarakteriseerd worden als die van het kolonialisme en het exotisme. Optredens van niet-westerse dansers en musici op de werelddans tentoonstellingen veroorzaakten aan het begin van de twintigste eeuw wederom een ware oosterse rage. Daarna kwamen *art negre* en het primitivisme in de mode.

In de vierde periode zitten we nu. Thans zijn wereldmuziek en werelddans onderdeel van ons dagelijkse leven geworden. Met een muisklik kunnen we de muziek uit alle hoeken van de wereld horen. Een ander fundamenteel verschil met vroeger is dat musici en dansers wereldwijd met elkaar samenwerken en dat het proces van interactie doorgaat. Voor het eerst hebben onze niet-westerse collega's een stem in het internationale muziek- en dansgebeuren en spelen zij een actieve rol in de vernieuwing.

Op het gebied van onderzoek is het nog niet zo ver. In de etnomusicologie wordt door veel onderzoekers nog steeds door een dikke Amerikaanse bril naar de muziek van de 'andere' gekeken, en spelen de musici, de muziekpraktijk en wat er vandaag gebeurt een perifere rol.¹²⁰ Mijn vriend Wim van der Meer probeert daar in Amsterdam verandering in te brengen. Zelf hoop ik hier met de steun van mijn Leidse, Haagse, Amsterdamse en Rotterdamse collega's een bijdrage te leveren aan een beter begrip van en respect voor de muziek en dans wereldwijd. En wat onderzoek betreft: aan een meer pragmatische en historische benadering.¹²¹

Ten slotte wil ik graag het College van Bestuur van de Universiteit Leiden, het Leids Etnologisch Fonds en het bestuur van de Faculteit der Kunsten bedanken, met name Frans de Rooter. Beste Frans, zonder jouw oprechte belangstelling voor de niet-westerse muziek en dans zou ik hier vandaag niet de kans hebben gehad om over dit belangrijke onderwerp te spreken.

Ook mijn vrienden en collega's van het Rotterdams Conservatorium en de Codarts Hogeschool voor de Kunsten ben ik veel dank verschuldigd, met name Jikkie van der Giessen. Beste Jikkie, ik ben blij dat je mij de gelegenheid hebt gegeven om in alle rust te kunnen nadenken over waarom ik indertijd met een afdeling Wereldmuziek ben begonnen.

En dan zijn er mijn collega's van de Universiteit van Amsterdam en nog vele andere mensen die ik wil bedanken. Ik noem er elf: mijn grote leermeesters Pandit Dilip Chandra Vedi en Pandit Ram Narayan, mijn *gurubai* Wim van der Meer, Arvind Parikh, Emmie te Nijenhuis, Rokus de Groot, Jan Laurens Hartong, Henrice Vonck, mijn tweelingbroer en compagnon Jan Bor, en natuurlijk mijn lieve vrouw Durga en zoon Dion voor al hun geduld.

Ik heb gezegd.

*Respected Vice-Chancellor,
Distinguished colleagues and listeners, dear friends,¹*

In 1987 there was suddenly world music. At least, this is the impression created by Philip Sweeney and Ian Anderson.² Both gentlemen were present when world music was launched as a marketing concept from a London pub. Afterwards, it went fast: 'Within months the term was cropping up in the British press, within a year it had crossed the Channel [...] and within three years it was in regular mainstream music industry use in Britain, the United States and northern Europe.'³

In other words, in 1990 world music was a widespread concept and there was even a Dutch magazine with this name. The same year, I founded the World Music department of the Rotterdam Conservatory, together with Jan Laurens Hartong. But four years later, when as head of this department I was introduced to the chairman of the so-called Allocations Committee (for the second phase in professional music education), he said provocatively: 'World music? Never heard of it!' Whereas I thought the term was quite current and self-explanatory. Or wasn't it?⁴

A lively discussion got under way about the concept of 'world music'. Composer Ton de Leeuw, an admirer of Indian music who was leading this part of the discussion, made it clear that he was not at all attracted to the new term. He questioned whether an 'authentic' kind of music such as the Indian one and the more recent traditions from Cuba, Brazil and Argentina belonged together in one department. (He also had his doubts about the viability of crossovers between the different music traditions.) The crucial question was of course whether world music can be taught and should be part of a conservatory.

I will not bore you with what I said. In my various functions at Rotterdam Conservatory I have explained again and again why it was necessary to think up a new label for practically all the music of the world. But is world music indeed a new concept, as Sweeney, Anderson and others suggest? What was the music and dance of the world called in earlier times? What was the influence of this music and dance on that of the West? Are the popular crossovers of today a recent phenomenon? And the most important question: why has it taken so long for the music and dance of the world to be taken seriously and judged on its own merits? In broad lines – so without going into too much detail – this is what I want to talk about this afternoon.

THE DISCOVERY OF WORLD MUSIC AND WORLD DANCE. In various publications I have indicated that the representation of Indian music and dance (and its reception) is a long and complex story

which begins with the famous travel account of Marco Polo.⁵ Of course, I was not the first to pay attention to the descriptions by travellers, merchants and missionaries. In 1942 in his inaugural speech, Jaap Kunst summed up the way these adventurers thought about Indonesian music.⁶ Kunst was the first Dutch professor of comparative musicology but afterwards called this discipline ethnomusicology.

The inaugural lecture of another Amsterdam professor of ethnomusicology, in 1971, led to an interesting book about the musical observations of a number of explorers.⁷ Frank Harrison's *Time, place and music* (1973) includes quotations from the sixteenth-century travel account by Jean de Léry.⁸ With a 'beating heart' this Swiss missionary thought back on the hymns of the Tupinamba Indians, who lived on the east coast of Brazil and played the *maracá*. Transcriptions of three South American songs from De Léry's account were incorporated by Marin Mersenne into his *Harmonie universelle*.⁹ In this work we also find depictions of a number of non-Western instruments which travellers took home with them.¹⁰

My own research demonstrates that in many respects 'world dance' was a forerunner of 'world music', but this was seldom because of the dance itself. The fascination for Eastern dancers by travellers arose from their fancy of them as seductive, mysterious and independent women. In fact, Eastern courtesans were a standard topic in travel literature from the time of Marco Polo (c. 1298), who himself gave a detailed description of the temple dancers – the *devadasis* from South India.¹¹ In the sixteenth century the Portuguese called them *bailadeiras* (lit. female dancers), and afterwards the French changed this word into *bayadères*. Our compatriot Jan Huygen van Linschoten (1596) was one of the first to call the Indian dancers 'heathenish whores', and subsequently they were branded as dancing whores or temple prostitutes by practically all missionaries.¹²

Not all travellers were prejudiced. Take Pietro della Valle, a well-known composer and music scholar from Rome, who travelled in the East between 1614 and 1626. In his account we find detailed descriptions of the Indian dancers¹³ and also of the *vina*.¹⁴ Della Valle says that he found the music of a singer, who accompanied himself on the *vina*, to be pleasant, 'because it was not so obstreperous Musick as the ordinary of the vulgar *Indians*, but rather low and very sweet [...].'

The French physician François Bernier, who stayed in India for twelve years, also listened to indigenous music with pleasure, particularly to the music of the imperial ensemble – the *naqqarakhana*.¹⁵ But Bernier could not muster up any appreciation for the temple dancers of the famous Jagannath temple in Orissa. He had never seen them himself, but he was largely responsible for these dancers later being portrayed in plays, operas and ballets as victims of the brahman priests.

According to our fellow-countryman Jacob Haafner, this was nonsense. The latter lived in India and Ceylon for more than thirteen years and characterizes his predecessors' descriptions of the dancers as 'false, or of no significance'.¹⁶ In 1786 he fell madly in love with the young dancer Mamia, and this is probably the reason why he devoted a whole chapter to the *devadasis* in his master work *Reize in eenen palanquin* (1808). In it he distinguishes between temple dancers and ordinary dancers, including the notorious *nautch girls*, who provided entertainment at weddings, parties and other events, and 'sometimes for money and good words, if you wish, will offer you more politeness and friendship.'¹⁷ But according to Haafner, even the most common Indian dancers did not have the 'effrontery, the offensive and disgusting manners' of public women in Europe.¹⁸ His book was translated into German, French, Swedish and Danish and was an important source of information on Indian dance in the nineteenth century.¹⁹

ORIENTALISM. It was no coincidence that foreign publishers came out with a translation of Haafner's *Travels*. In the second half of the eighteenth century in Europe, there was increasing interest in the 'other'. At that time it was not only colonial expansion which was on the rise, but there was also a need and a requirement to get to know more about the countries which were being colonized. Many studies have appeared about the rise of orientalism, and the interaction between colonial expansion and the acquisition of knowledge.²⁰ From these it is evident that in the wake of the imperialists and missionaries, hundreds of scholars, writers, poets, painters, musicians – and a multitude of eccentrics – went looking for work, adventure and inspiration in the colonized countries, and sometimes also for beautiful, exotic women.²¹

In the anthropological literature two thinkers are mentioned who roused interest in non-Western and European folk music: Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Johann Gottfried Herder. The first, in his search for simplicity, was interested in the uncivilized 'savages' from America who were not yet corrupted and contaminated by decadent Europe. Therefore Rousseau included a number of transcriptions of non-Western melodies in his article about music in the *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and D'Alembert (1751-1772) – and later in his own *Dictionnaire de musique* (1768).²² But he doubted whether these melodies in Western notation could reproduce the music of these peoples.²³

Herder was also critical of European progressive thought and resorted to the 'common' people. In 1778 he published his large collection of folk poems under the title of *Volkslieder* (folk songs).²⁴ With this term he made a distinction between the *Naturpoesie* (natural poetry) of farmers and country people, and the poems which were written by and for the well-to-do citizenry and the elite.²⁵

Herder played a key role in the notion that each people had a unique cultural heritage. For him, folk poetry and folk music pre-eminently expressed the body of thought and the identity of a nation. Since there was already concern that the original traditions would disappear, the collecting of popular stories and folk songs increased exponentially and official institutions began to provide support.²⁶ Around 1850, hundreds of collections of folk poems and folk songs were published in Europe.²⁷ In Scotland alone, there were about a hundred collections at that time.²⁸ Evidently there was a market for this kind of literature and the exotic melodies (usually arranged for harpsichord or pianoforte) were bought and played by amateur musicians.²⁹

The first European book about Chinese music came out in 1789. It was written by the French missionary Joseph-Marie Amiot, who spent the greatest part of his life in Peking. He had a broad interest in Chinese culture and wrote books on a varied number of topics, including astronomy, medicine, conduct of war, dance, and the life of Confucius. His work about music was published in the series *Mémoires concernant les Chinois* and contains valuable information about both ancient Chinese music and contemporary music life in China.³⁰

Subsequently, other monographs appeared about non-Western music, such as the three volumes on Arabian music in the colossal series *Description de l'Égypte* (1809) by Guillaume-André Villoteau.³¹ He was one of the scholars who accompanied Napoleon in 1798 during his expedition to Egypt and did research there for a good three years. He also became apprenticed to a musician. In addition to a description of music in Egyptian antiquity, Villoteau writes about contemporary art and folk music, and he also provides a detailed account of the musical instruments of the Middle East. At the same time he pays attention to dance, Arab music theory and great medieval scholars such as al-Farabi. By studying music himself, Villoteau came to the fundamental conclusion that the intervals and tunings of Arabian music sound just as off key to the European ear as European intervals to the Arab ear.³²

The studies by Amiot and Villoteau were the most important sources of information on Chinese and Arabian music, but these precious works were difficult to obtain. In addition, dozens of other essays about non-Western music and dance were published.³³ However, the most influential publication was 'On the musical modes of the Hindus' by the British orientalist William Jones.³⁴ This multi-faceted scholar wrote on a large number of topics. With his publications he made it clear that India had a long history and an imposing culture that had brought forth innumerable great thinkers and writers.³⁵

‘On the musical modes of the Hindus’ was published in 1792 in the third volume of *Asiatick Researches*, the journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, of which Jones himself was the editor. It was reprinted many times, both in England and in India.³⁶ What Jones demonstrated in this essay was that in India there existed an old musicology (*sangita sastra*) which had been preserved in Sanskrit texts.³⁷ But he was also responsible for the myth that Indian music was on the verge of extinction.³⁸

William Jones was not the only European who was fascinated by Indian music.³⁹ Two friends – Antoine Polier and Richard Johnson – collected *ragamala* miniatures and old music-theoretical treatises (which can now be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and the British Library in London).⁴⁰ Another friend, Francis Fowke, wrote an article about the North Indian *vina*, in which he compares the tuning of this instrument with that of a harpsichord.⁴¹ And William Ouseley published an essay about Hindustani music in his well-known *Oriental collections* (1797).⁴²

In 1802, in Germany there appeared *Ueber die Musik der Indier*, which was compiled by Friedrich Hugo von Dalberg and dedicated to Haydn.⁴³ This illustrated book is an anthology of almost everything that had been published about Indian music, including the essay of William Jones. It also includes appendices on Persian, Arabian and Chinese music. Dalberg was convinced that ‘one has to look to Asia for the first musical knowledge, just like for the beginning and source of all arts and sciences.’⁴⁴ In short, as a result of the interest in India, dozens of publications came out between 1780 and 1835 which – in whole or in part – were devoted to Indian music and dance.⁴⁵

We also know from diaries and travel accounts that the British who lived in India and the Europeans who went there on *grand tour* regularly attended performances of the so-called *bayadères* and *nautch girls*.⁴⁶ The singer Khanum Jan and the dancer Malagiri were celebrities who are mentioned by various writers.⁴⁷ At the end of the eighteenth century English women also began to collect *nautch* songs and transcribe them.⁴⁸ Miniature paintings of Indian dancing girls and the songs they sang were just as popular among the British population in Calcutta as Scotch songs in London.⁴⁹

But the ‘Hindostannic airs’ which were arranged for harpsichord or pianoforte were simplified to such an extent that there was little left of the original melodies. The European musicians who ‘harmonized’ these songs had no idea of the melodic and rhythmic fundamentals of North Indian music, nor of the meaning of the song lyrics either. William Hamilton Bird was the author of the first published collection – *The oriental miscellany* (1789). He remarks that ‘the greatest imperfection [...] in the music in every part of India, is the total want of accompaniments [...]!’⁵⁰

Although the Hindustani songs in their European versions were transformed almost unrecognisably, they began to lead a life of their own as authentic Indian melodies, both in England and abroad.⁵¹ A number of 'Hindostannie airs' from Bird's collection were printed by Dalberg in his *Ueber die Musik der Indier*. They were also included in *Lyric airs* (1804) – a collection of national songs and melodies from all over the world by the Welsh harpist Edward Jones – and in the famous collection *Specimens of various styles of music* (1808) by William Crotch.⁵² In fact, these were the first publications about world music.

BAYADÈRES AND NATIONAL DANCE. This leads to the question: to what extent were European audiences interested in genuine non-Western music and dance? For this we must go to Paris, which was already enraptured by the East at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Then the tremendously popular translation of *A thousand and one nights* in French (1704-1717) by Antoine Galland and the equally popular *Lettres Persanes* (1721) by Montesquieu came out. The successful opera-ballet 'Les Indes galantes' by Rameau had its premiere in 1735.

A century later, the Eastern vogue reached new heights. Napoleon Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt in 1798 and the discoveries by Champollion and the other scholars who accompanied him, appealed strongly to the imagination of the French. At this time Paris was the leading city in the field of drama, music and dance. And when Charles Catel's 'Les bayadères' was first staged on 8 August 1810, Napoleon was the guest of honour. This was one of the many operas in which the librettist took an Eastern romance or legend as their theme. In this case it was the poem by Goethe, 'Der Gott und die Bajadere' (1797).⁵³

Victor Hugo also described the beauty of the imaginary East in his poem *Les Orientales*, which was reprinted fourteen times within one month when it came out in 1829. A year later, the French invaded Algeria and Kalidasa's Sanskrit play *Sakuntala* was translated into French (by Antoine-Leonard de Chézy). And on 13 October 1830 Daniel Auber's 'Le dieu et la bayadère', which was likewise based on Goethe's poem, made its debut. In this opera-ballet the Italian ballerina Marie Taglioni played the title role of the fictitious Indian temple dancer Zoloé. It remained on her programme for at least eighteen years and afterwards was regularly performed by other ballerinas, also in England and the United States, where it was called 'The maid of Cashmere'.

In operas and ballets such as 'Les bayadères' and 'Le dieu et la bayadère' a fantasy world was created which (apart from the costumes) had nothing to do with India, musically and theatrically speaking. Even Goethe's poem, in which an Indian dancing girl – that is, a prostitute – was celebrated

as the faithful beloved of the god Mahadeva, was probably not based on a real legend, but on a fabrication by the Dutch missionary Abraham Rogerius.⁵⁴

But there was substantial interest in the dance of the ‘other’, which was then called national dance. This is apparent from the fact that in 1834 Dolores Serral and Mariano Camprubí were a big hit at the Paris Opéra balls.⁵⁵ These Spanish artists were exponents of the *baile nacional* or *escuela bolero*, a dance style which was a crossover between traditional Andalusian dance and classical ballet, and was developed around 1780.⁵⁶

Three years later, Serral and Camprubí once again had a successful tour in France, and between 1840 and 1870 they and other Spanish dancers also conquered London, Berlin and Vienna with their shows. ‘In the heyday of their fame in the 1850s’, writes the dance historian Ivor Guest, ‘the repertoires of Petra Cámara, La Nena, Josefa Vargas, and Concepción Ruiz comprised a wide spread of dances that testifies to their popularity with Paris audiences – and indeed with audiences elsewhere.’⁵⁷

Not only that, boleros and fandangos were so popular in Paris that they were danced in the fashionable dance salons and chique ballrooms by the well-to-do citizenry.⁵⁸ They were also a source of inspiration for composers and choreographers. The exotic *cachucha* solo in Jean Coralli’s ballet ‘Le diable boiteux’ was modelled on the dance of the Spanish artists. In 1836 Fanny Elssler became world-famous with it. ‘How she twists! How she bends! What fire! What voluptuousness! What ardour!’ wrote Théophile Gautier.⁵⁹

Evidently this well-known French writer, librettist and theatre critic, who introduced the idea of *couleur locale*, was as impressed by Fanny Elssler as by Dolores Serral. Therefore it disturbed him that the Spanish dancers performed in the small commercial theaters of Paris, and not in the prestigious Opéra. In his own words:

It is strange that this delightful couple has not been engaged at the Opéra [...]. Those national dances, so original in character, would have introduced a wonderful variety into the choreographic repertory, which by nature is so monotonous. In my opinion the Opéra should seek out the finest dancers in the world, anyone with a reputation in this field. Can one believe, for example, that a bayadère rôle would not assume a very lively attraction if performed by a genuine bayadère from Calcutta or Masulipatam? Why not have almehs [at the Opéra]?⁶⁰

It seemed as though Gautier had a premonition of what would happen a year later. Because in 1838 five South Indian temple dancers were ‘the chief magnets of attraction’ and ‘greatest curiosities’ in Paris, London, and other European cities.⁶¹

It will not surprise anyone that these talented *devadasis* from Tiruvendipuram were presented there as ‘the Bayadères’.⁶² Newspapers and magazines were full of articles about them. Their dancing art was compared with that of the now legendary Marie Taglioni, the ballerina who played a fundamental role in the rise of romantic ballet with ‘Le dieu et la bayadère’ and ‘La sylphide’. This piece about the Indian dancers appeared in the *Journal des Débats* and later in *The Morning Post*:

Their dances are like nothing that we have seen, or that can be imagined. The dancers of all Europe dance with their feet, but that is all [...]. Taglioni invented a style, which no one can successfully imitate. Without her the ballet is insufferably tedious. The Bayaderes dance in a different manner. They dance with their whole frame. Their heads dance, their arms dance—their eyes, above all, obey the movement and fury of the dance [...]. Their feet click against the floor—the arms and the hands flash in the air—the eyes sparkle—the bosom heaves—their mouths mutter—the whole body quivers [...].⁶³

Indeed, in contrast with the *escuela bolero*, Indian dance had nothing in common with ballet. But Gautier, who had a great admiration for the East, was also enchanted by these dancers, especially the delicate and gracious Amany (Ammani), who became one of his muses. In many respects he found her more impressive than Taglioni and the other European *bayadères*. And once again it irritated him that the *devadasis* did not perform at the Opéra, and that the audience was unable to recognize the beauty and perfection of Indian dance, as he wrote later.⁶⁴

However, it is difficult to recover what the onlookers experienced when they saw the Indian dancers. ‘On the first day of the performance the public was in a state of great agitation’, according to Gautier, ‘for at last they were going to see something strange, mysterious and charming, something completely unknown to Europe, something new!’⁶⁵ Further, he says:

At first the dancers’ movements [...] and the outlandishness of their costume caused astonishment among the audience, which was taken aback rather than charmed. But when the lovely Amany recited her melancholy plaint, the antique beauty of her poses, the supple sensuality of her figure, the sorrowful languor of her gestures, and the plaintive sweetness of her half-smile aroused general applause.⁶⁶

After their debut in London an English reviewer wrote: ‘The Bayaderes, at the Adelphi, have been completely successful, and are drawing crowds of inquisitive spectators; not only, we are bound to say, from the novelty of the exhibition, but from the real excellence of the performance.’⁶⁷ Despite this, for most spectators the *devadasis* did not seem to be more than an exotic curiosity. At the end of their English tour a reporter observed:

People do not throng to see the Bayaderes because they do not comprehend their performances. The interesting dancers themselves may attract their notice – the curious tattoo of their hands – their jewels and dress – may be matters of wonders, but nine out of ten think nothing at all of the dances, and would much sooner see a bad *ballet* at Drury-lane. *Their* idea of dancing is different from this, and they can’t tell what to make of it.⁶⁸

EXOTICISM. Little research has been done into the influence of non-Western dance on Western dance.⁶⁹ There is no doubt that the *devadasis* were a source of inspiration for Gautier’s megaproduction ‘Sacountalâ’ (1858), which was choreographed by Lucien Petipa. The famous ballet ‘La bayadère’ (1877) of his brother Marius Petipa was also inspired by the *devadasis*.⁷⁰ It is still performed by large ballet companies, such as last year by the Dutch National Ballet (with Igone de Jongh in the title role of the *bayadère* Nikiya).

Fifty years after the tour of the Indian *bayadères*, it was four Javanese *bayadères* who attracted attention in Paris. These dancers from Solo formed part of the Dutch exhibit for the *Exposition universelle* in 1889.⁷¹ ‘The whole city really fell in love with the Javanese dancers, with these hieratic bayadères [...] who revolved mysteriously and solemnly’, wrote Judith Gautier, Théophile Gautier’s daughter.⁷² Indeed, almost all of Paris came to admire the four young ‘goddesses’.

More than thirty million people visited the world exposition where products and artisans from a large part of the colonized world were exhibited, Bizet’s opera ‘Carmen’ (1875) was performed for the four-hundredth time, the first world music concours and folk music congress took place,⁷³ and Thomas Edison exhibited his revolutionary phonograph. Visitors crowded into the Egyptian cafe to see the *almées* from Cairo. A lot had been written about these titillating courtesans, among others by Gérard de Nerval and Gustave Flaubert, who had a little adventure with Ruchiouk-Hanem.⁷⁴ There were also Algerian, Moroccan, Tunisian, Roumanian and Hungarian cafes where there was dancing and music.⁷⁵ The Vietnamese theater and the dancers from Andalucia drew many visitors as well. ‘La Macaronna, she is the devil herself’, said Léon Sari, the director of the Folies-Bergère.⁷⁶

In any case in 1889 there was much more to be seen and heard than previously at the Paris world expositions.⁷⁷ To be sure, in 1867 there were coffee concerts in the Tunisian and Algerian cafes and much-frequented performances by a Hungarian gypsy orchestra, but compositions such as 'La chanson du thé' and 'La danse des plumes' were played in the Chinese pavilion by a French orchestra.⁷⁸ A reviewer from *La Liberté* remarked that these pieces arranged by a young French composer had nothing to do with Chinese music and sounded like the music of Offenbach!⁷⁹ This was exoticism in the true sense of the word: only the wrapping was Chinese.

Among the regular visitors of the 1889 world fair were composers such as Léo Delibes, Ernest Reyer, Camille Saint-Saëns and Claude Debussy. For Saint-Saëns the music of Vietnam was 'only bad Chinese music in decline', and real Chinese music 'sounds atrocious to our ears'.⁸⁰ With this he said nothing new. Because a century earlier, the British music historian Charles Burney wrote that national music – that is, popular music – was inferior: 'This kind of artless music is best learned in the nursery and the street. Real music arises from a complete scale [...].'⁸¹ Burney also wondered: 'And why are the inhabitants of three-fourths of the globe still content, and even delighted with no better than noise and jargon?'⁸² The message was clear. According to this authority and all other nineteenth-century music historians, the only high music was European art music.⁸³ Most of them had never heard Chinese, Arabian, Indian or South American music, but these were by definition barbarian, primitive, decadent and inferior.

There were composers, however, who were more sensitive and less narrow-minded than the conservative Saint-Saëns. It is known that the gamelan music which Debussy heard had a great impact on his work and thinking. He wrote to a friend: 'Do you not remember the Javanese music able to express every nuance of meaning, even unmentionable shades, and which makes our tonic and dominant seem like empty phantoms for the use of unwise infants?'⁸⁴

Debussy may well be the most famous composer to be charmed by the music from the East, but he had predecessors such as Félicien David and Ernest Reyer, who themselves travelled to North Africa or the Middle East.⁸⁵ What is important is that Debussy belonged to a long line of composers who were inspired on the one hand by the East, and on the other hand by European folk music. Since these composers have been extensively written about, I do not need to go further into this.⁸⁶ From recent research it becomes clear that most of them went along with the fashion and imparted local color with a number of musical clichés. In most cases merely the titles and song lyrics of their pieces, or the plots, librettos, costumes and decors of their operas and ballets suggested that these were situated in an exotic dreamland. However, some composers were

deeply affected by the ‘bizarre’ music which they heard, and used this music to enrich or renew their own musical language.

In dance, something similar was going on. Dancers and choreographers studied books about Eastern art, philosophy, mysticism and occultism to acquire new ideas and break out of the strait-jacket of their own tradition. In 1900 Ruth St. Denis was one of the fifty million visitors to the spectacular *Exhibition de siècle* in Paris and saw a performance of the Japanese geisha Sada Yacco.⁸⁷ ‘For the first time’, she wrote in her autobiography, ‘I beheld and understood the beautiful austerities of Japanese art.’⁸⁸ Six years later St. Denis became famous with ‘Radha’, about which she herself said: ‘My first Indian dance was a jumble of everything I was aware of in Indian art.’⁸⁹ Her knowledge of India was indeed very limited, and her dances were an exotic mishmash, a product of unbridled fantasy.⁹⁰

Nonetheless, the belly dancers from Cairo and the Andalucian dancers were once again a big crowd-puller at the Paris world fair. But the choreographies of Otojiro Kawakami in the theater of the *art nouveau* dancer Loïe Fuller harvested the most appreciation. In these pieces (which were based on the traditional *kabuki* repertoire), Kawakami’s wife Sada Yacco played the title role.⁹¹ Yacco also gained fame in London and New York, and dance pioneers such as Isadora Duncan and Sergei Diaghilev – the founder of the famous Ballets Russes – were likewise deeply impressed by her.

That Eastern dance – real or fake – was in fashion at the beginning of the twentieth century, is apparent from the fact that Mikhail Fokine choreographed a number of oriental ballets, after he had seen the Siamese court ballet in Saint Petersburg in 1901.⁹² In 1906 the Cambodian court ballet was all the rage in Paris, and two years later Maud Allan danced her sensational ‘Vision of Salomé’ in London in an Indian costume with breastplates.⁹³ The collaboration between ballerina Anna Pavlova and Uday Shankar likewise resulted in a number of ‘Hindu’ ballets in the nineteen-twenties. Mata Hari topped everything by representing herself as an Indian temple dancer and by letting her veils fall. Just like Ruth St. Denis, she used the ensemble of the Indian Sufi musician Inayat Khan as background music for a number of her performances.⁹⁴

Inayat Khan himself was less successful with his music.⁹⁵ The dance from around the world struck the audience’s imagination, but for the music any frame of reference was lacking. Moreover, at the end of the nineteenth century musicologists had decided that all world music was primitive, which meant Indian music too.⁹⁶

TURN OF THE TIDE. Despite the fact that non-Western musicians regularly performed in Europe and North America and the music from a large part of the world could be heard on gramophone records, the histories of music from the first half of the twentieth century were not much better than those from the nineteenth century as far as world music was concerned. What stands out here is that in 'the West', one was always wrestling with 'the rest'. Prejudiced or not, most music historians were scholarly recluses who copied the findings of other authors and themselves really knew nothing about the musics of the world. Nearly every musicologist blindly assumed that what happened in the West in the area of music and dance was the best, the highest, the most progressive, and the most developed. Only the Western performing arts were international and universal. In the rest of the world, so they said, development had stood still for hundreds or even thousands of years.

Take for example the prestigious *New Oxford history of music* (1957). The first volume of this work – *Ancient and oriental music* – still begins with a chapter about primitive music. And the music of our Eastern neighbours forms part of ancient music, that is to say: the music of civilizations which have perished long ago. In the introduction we read with amazement: 'The Eastern musician likes to improvise on given patterns, his music does not develop, does not aim at producing climaxes, but it flows [...].'⁹⁷ This volume is considerably better than what appeared in previous histories about non-Western music, but the concept was unchanged: the music of the 'other' represented the prehistory of Western art music. Or as the French composer Pierre Boulez put it in 1967: 'The music of Asia [...] is to be admired because it has reached a stage of perfection [...]. But otherwise the music is dead.'⁹⁸

Another book which is still cited is *The four ages of music* (1965) by Walter Wiora. In this work the German musicologist once more makes a Herderesque attempt to fit history into four stages of development. Wiora maintains dry-eyed that 'the music of primitive peoples and the Orient [...] seems relatively lacking in historical evolution and historical data.'⁹⁹ In his opinion their music belongs to the first two historical periods and Western art music to the last two. Because:

[...] its theory has become the basis of music theory in all parts of the earth, and a selection from its creations forms the foundation of the world's music literature [...]. Western music has done for mankind something similar to what Greek sculpture, architecture, logic, and mathematics did: it strongly set forth classic fundamentals of universal character [...]. This [...] explains the diffusion of Western music today in all parts of the earth. Its 'world empire' rests essentially upon its immanent universality.¹⁰⁰

Wow! If Walter Wiora had read *Philosophies of music history*, he would have realized that he was one of the many writers who was mindlessly applying Herbert Spencer's theories about progress and evolution to music. 'The old custom of beginning music histories with a condescending chapter on "primitive" music is thoroughly reprehensible, in the light of modern knowledge', wrote Warren Allen in his brilliant study from 1939. 'Oriental music and other exotic systems are anything but "primitive". [They] should be treated as contemporary, living phases of art, having a long and worthy tradition of their own, not as dead relics of an early stage of development.'¹⁰¹ But Allen was ahead of his time and music historians refused to listen to him.¹⁰²

The turn-about in musical thought took place in the nineteen-sixties and seventies. In many respects this was a period of great change. In the field of music it began to sink in that rock was a formidable competitor with classical, and that the West had to start sharing its exclusive and privileged position with the rest of the world. Pop concerts, the LP, and musicians such as Yehudi Menuhin, John Cage, John Coltrane and George Harrison played a fundamental role here. For the first time non-Western musicians such as Ravi Shankar, Ali Akbar Khan and Astor Piazzolla were seen as having equal merit, and a dialogue could be discerned. For the first time people began to realize that the East was just as diverse as the West.

Although Wesleyan University at that time set up the first World Music program in which eminent non-Western musicians and dancers were engaged to teach, the directors of dance academies and conservatories closed their eyes and ears and made out that nothing was going on, as though nothing had changed. They agreed with those such as Wiora and Boulez that Western composed music and Western choreographed dance were the only genuine universal performing arts. They also thought that world music and world dance would disappear in the long run.

WORLD MUSIC AND WORLD DANCE. What are world music and world dance really? Do they exist at all? World music is certainly not the same as *Weltmusik*, a term which was launched at the beginning of the twentieth century by Georg Capellen for the universal, eclectic music with which Western composers were supposed to conquer the world.¹⁰³ In the nineteen-seventies, Karlheinz Stockhausen was a protagonist of this kind of thinking.¹⁰⁴ In his vision, future composers could have an unending reservoir of music styles with which they would create completely new forms of music.

To a certain point Stockhausen turned out to be right. Today, everyone can listen to all the musics of the world with his or her iPod or laptop, and to the eclectic compilations of DJs and VJs.

Nearly every day, songs or arrangements come into existence in which aspects of world music are used, misused or abused. Indeed, no-one could predict that rock musicians – and not composers – would play a central role in this new situation, and that world music would thereby have a different meaning and a new audience in the nineteen-eighties and nineties.

From my argument it becomes clear that world music and world dance have a much longer history than is generally supposed. Their forerunners were first called national or (in France) popular music and dance, and subsequently primitive music and dance. I do not know when these terms first came into circulation, but we already come across the concept of ‘national music’ in 1776 in Charles Burney’s history of music, thus two years before Herder published his collection of *Volkslieder*. In addition to the *baile nacional* or the stylized bolero from Andalusia, Scottish dances such as the *écossaise* and the polka from Bohemia were probably the most well-known national dance styles in Europe in the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁵

In 1878, the British musicologist Carl Engel defined ‘national music’ as ‘any music which, being composed in the peculiar taste of the nation to which it appertains, appeals more powerfully than other music to the feelings of that nation, and is consequently pre-eminently cultivated in [that] country’.¹⁰⁶ In brief, this was *all* music of the world, except for the music of well-known and lesser-known European composers.¹⁰⁷

Philip Bohlman says more or less the same. In his opinion world music is ‘that music we encounter, well, everywhere in the world’.¹⁰⁸ In other words, world music is simply music. Through globalization – that is: migration, mobility, the music industry, the media and the web – all music of the world has today become accessible and a component of our cultural life.¹⁰⁹ But rock star David Byrne hates the term world music and hits a sensitive nerve: ‘It groups everything and anything that isn’t “us” into “them” [...]. It ghettoizes most of the world’s music.’¹¹⁰

Gerry Farrell also dislikes the term.¹¹¹ In his opinion, world music ‘as it has developed so far [is] primarily about popular music that functions as a backdrop to Western exotic consumerism’.¹¹² According to others it is *world fusion* or *ethnofusion*, and according to politicians it is immigrant music. The problem is that world music is indefinable: it comprises practically all the music of the world, particularly the music that does not belong to the establishment.¹¹³

Once, at an ethnomusicological conference I have provocatively suggested that world music is ‘music out of context’.¹¹⁴ By this I emphasize that world music, just like orientalism, is a Western concept, and that it is not only the musical heritage of our immigrants from a colonial past and of our new citizens. It is all imported non-Western music which, in a new environment and

context, has become an integral part of our music life. This was taken ill of me because most ethnomusicologists are preoccupied with 'music in culture' or 'music in society' and have little interest in the world music styles and crossovers that have flourished over the past few decades in the West – thus, 'out of context'.¹¹⁵

But just because musicians such as Youssou N'Dour, Salif Keita, Joseph Shabala and Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan were more and more successful here in the nineteen-eighties and nineties, and musicians from all over the world began to collaborate with each other,¹¹⁶ a new term for their music had to be thought up. Of all the terms which were launched – national music, folk music, popular music, primitive music, exotic music, ethnic music, international music, extra-European music – world music has been the winner up to now. Not in the last place because after the Second World War, folkloristic or national music was associated with nationalistic sentiments, and world music – just as the concepts of world literature, world cuisine and world economy – asserts that we are now world citizens.

In short, just as Western art music, Western instruments, Western notation and Western sheet music were once booming export products which represented the pinnacle of civilization, world music is now a successful import product. Additionally, it is a medium for all kinds of crossovers, with the result that today's music is characterized by an enormous diversity which is only increasing.¹¹⁷

In Western dance a similar process of renewal is occurring in which the dances of the world are playing an increasingly important role. World dance also comprises all imported dance styles and contemporary crossovers which in the metropolises of today are a component of both amateur and professional dance life.¹¹⁸

It is time to round off. From what I have said, it is clear that world dance is simply dance, and world music simply music. I have also suggested that four periods can be distinguished in the history of world music and world dance.

The first period of the explorers¹¹⁹ was followed by those of the imperialists, the orientalist and the collectors. I have spoken about this in some detail. What matters is that the East – particularly Egypt and India – have played a prominent role in European thought, and in drama, opera and ballet in the early nineteenth century.

The third period can best be characterized as that of colonialism and exoticism. Performances by non-Western dancers and musicians at the world fairs caused an Eastern rage at the beginning of the twentieth century. Afterwards, *art nègre* and primitivism came into fashion.

We are now in the fourth period. Today, world music and world dance have become a part of our daily lives. With one click of the mouse we can hear the musics from all corners of the world. Another fundamental difference with the past is that musicians and dancers from all over the world collaborate with each other, and that the process of interaction continues. For the first time our non-Western colleagues have a voice in the international music and dance scene, and they play an active role in the renewal of these performing arts.

In the area of research, things have not yet come so far. In ethnomusicology many researchers still look through thick American lenses at the music of the 'other', and the musicians, the music practice and what happens today play a peripheral role.¹²⁰ My dear friend Wim van der Meer is trying to change this in Amsterdam. With the support of my colleagues in Leiden, The Hague, Amsterdam and Rotterdam, I myself hope I can make a contribution to a better understanding of and respect for music and dance worldwide. And where research is concerned, to a more pragmatic and historical approach.¹²¹

Finally I would like to thank the Leiden University Executive Board, the Leiden Ethnological Fund and the management of the Faculty of Creative and Performing Arts, especially Frans de Ruiter. Dear Frans, without your sincere interest in non-Western music and dance I would not have had the chance to speak about this important topic here today.

I also owe many thanks to my friends and colleagues at Rotterdam Conservatory and Codarts University for the Arts, especially Jikkie van der Giessen. Dear Jikkie, I am glad that you gave me the opportunity to contemplate why I started a World Music department at the time.

And then there are my colleagues at the University of Amsterdam, and many more people I would like to thank. I will name eleven: my great teachers Pandit Dilip Chandra VEDI and Pandit Ram Narayan, my *gurubai* Wim van der Meer, Arvind Parikh, Emmie te Nijenhuis, Rokus de Groot, Jan Laurens Hartong, Henrice Vonck, my twin brother and companion Jan Bor, and of course my dear wife Durga and son Dion for putting up with me.

I now conclude my lecture.

Notes

- ¹ In preparing this speech, the following friends have provided useful editorial suggestions: Frans de Ruiter, Korrie Korevaart, Wim van der Meer, Huib Schippers, Maruska Svasek and Jane Harvey. I am very grateful to them.
- ² Philip Sweeney, *The Virgin directory of world music*. London: Virgin Books, 1991, p. ix; Ian Anderson, 'World music history', in: *fRoots* nr. 201, March 2000 (accessed 9 Nov. 2007), <www.frootsmag.com/content/features/world_music_history>; also see Simon Frith, 'The discourse of world music', in: *Western music and its others. Difference, representation, and appropriation in music*. Georgina Born & David Hesmondhalgh (eds.). Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000, pp. 305-322.
- ³ Sweeney, *The Virgin directory of world music*, p. ix.
- ⁴ Musicologists also seem to have difficulties with the term 'world music'. In the latest edition of *The Harvard dictionary of music* this term does not occur. Neither is there a separate entry devoted to world music in *The New Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, and what is written about the early history of ethnomusicology is incomplete. See *The Harvard dictionary of music*. Don Michael Randel (ed.). Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2003; Helen Myers, 'Ethnomusicology, § II: history to 1945', in: *Grove music online*. Laura Macy (ed.) (accessed 24 Nov. 2007), <www.grovemusic.com>.
- ⁵ Wim van der Meer & Joep Bor, *De roep van de kokila. Historische en hedendaagse aspecten van de Indiase muziek*. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982, pp. 42-49, 111-119; Joep Bor, 'The rise of ethnomusicology. Sources on Indian music c. 1780-c. 1890', in: *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 20 (1988), pp. 51-73; 'Mamia, Ammani and other bayadères. Europe's portrayal of India's temple dancers', in: *Music and orientalism in the British Empire, 1780s-1940s. Portrayal of the East*. Martin Clayton & Bennett Zon (eds.). Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007, pp. 39-70.
- ⁶ Jakob Kunst, *De waardeering van exotische muziek in den loop der eeuwen*. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1942. Openbare les UvA.
- ⁷ Frank Harrison, *Time, place and music. An anthology of ethnomusicological observation c. 1550 to c. 1800*. Amsterdam: Frits Knuf, 1973.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-24.
- ⁹ Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle, contenant la théorie et la pratique de la musique*. Paris: Richard Charlemagne, 1636; rpt. Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1963. Vol. 2, p. 148.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.* Vol. 3, pp. 227-228.
- ¹¹ Marco Polo, *The travels of Marco Polo*. Transl. by R. Latham. Middlesex & New York: Penguin Books, 1958; rpt. 1976, pp. 270-271. See Joep Bor, 'Mamia, Ammani and other bayadères', pp. 40-42.

- ¹² Ibid., pp. 42-46.
- ¹³ Pietro della Valle, *The travels of Pietro della Valle in India. From the Old English translation of 1664, by G. Havers*. Edward Grey (ed.). London: Hakluyt Society, 1892. Vol. 2, pp. 258-263, 269-273, 278-282.
- ¹⁴ Della Valle, *The travels*. Vol. 1, pp. 117-118; see Bor, 'The rise of ethnomusicology', pp. 52-53.
- ¹⁵ François Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire, A.D. 1656-1668*. Transl. by I. Brock. A. Constable & V.A. Smith (eds.). London: Oxford University Press, 1916; rpt. New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1983, p. 260.
- ¹⁶ Jacob Haafner, *Reize in eenen palanquin; of Lotgevallen en merkwaardige aanteekeningen op eene reize langs de kusten Orixia en Choro-mandel*. Amsterdam: Johannes Allart, 1808. Vol. 1, p. 193; rpt. in: *De werken van Jacob Haafner*. J.A. de Moor & P.G.E.I.J. van der Velde (eds.). Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1997. Vol. 3, p. 110. Also see Bor, 'Mamia, Ammani and other bayadères', pp. 46-52.
- ¹⁷ *De werken van Jacob Haafner*. Vol. 3, p. 41.
- ¹⁸ Ibid., p. 117.
- ¹⁹ His chapter was quoted for instance in *Lettres sur la danse* and a summary of it appeared in *Le Monde Dramatique*. See Auguste-Alexis Baron, *Lettres et entretiens sur la danse. Ancienne, moderne, religieuse, civile et théâtrale*. Paris: Dondey-Dupré, 1825, pp. 43-45; *Le Monde Dramatique* (1835), vol. 1, pp. 161-162.
- ²⁰ See for instance Raymond Schwab, *La Renaissance orientale*. Paris: Editions Payot, 1950; *The oriental Renaissance. Europe's rediscovery of India and the East, 1680-1880*. Transl. by G. Patterson-Black & V. Reinking. New York: Columbia University Press, 1984; Edward W. Said, *Orientalism. Western conceptions of the orient*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1978; John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism. History, theory and the arts*. Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 1995; Robert Irwin, *For the lust of knowing. The orientalis and their enemies*. London: Allen Lane, 2006.
- ²¹ According to William Dalrymple (*White Mughals. Love and betrayal in eighteenth-century India*. New Delhi: Viking, 2002, p. 10), between 1770 and 1830 in India there was 'wholesale interracial exploration and surprisingly widespread cultural assimilation and hybridity [...]. Virtually all Englishmen in India at this period Indianised themselves to some extent.'
- ²² Rousseau had taken the 'Air Chinois' from a book about China by Jean-Baptiste du Halde, and the 'Air Persane' from a work about Persia by Jean Chardin. He copied the 'Air des sauvages de l'Amérique' and the 'Danse Canadienne' from Mersenne's *Harmonie universelle*. See in: *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers. Recueil de plances, sur les sciences, les arts libéraux, et les arts mécaniques, avec leur explication: Musique*. Denis Diderot & Jean le Rond d'Alembert

- (eds.); rpt. Paris: Inter-Livres, [n.d.], pl. iii, iv.
- ²³ 'One will find in all these pieces a conformity of style with our music, which could make some people admire the soundness and the universality of our rules, and perhaps render suspect to other people the intelligence or the accuracy of those who have transmitted to us these tunes.' Quoted in Harrison, *Time, place and music*, p. 7; Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de musique*. Paris: chez la veuve Duchesne, 1768, p. 317.
- ²⁴ Johann Gottfried Herder, *Volkslieder*. Leipzig: In der Weygandschen Buchhandlung, 1778-1779. 2 vols.
- ²⁵ Herder plays an important role in Philip Bohlman's recent book on world music. But was he the father of ethnomusicology as Bohlman maintains? Contrary to Rousseau, Herder was neither a composer nor a music theoretician, and he was certainly not the first to collect folk poems. Moreover, the term *Volkslied* was a synonym of the English term *national song* and the French term *chant populaire*. See Philip Bohlman, *World music. A very short introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, pp. 39-41.
- ²⁶ For example, the collection *Germaniens Völkerstimmen. Sammlung der deutschen Mundarten in Dichtungen, Sagen, Märchen, Volksliedern, [etc.]* was compiled under the auspices of the king of Prussia; and in 1851, in one of his first decrees, Napoleon III called for the publication of a similar work: *Recueil général des poésies populaires de la France*. See Carl Engel, 'The literature of national music', in: *The Musical Times* 19 (nr. 429), Nov. 1878, p. 587.
- ²⁷ Also, nearly every European country had a national and an ethnological museum then; see Maruska Svasek, *Anthropology, art and cultural production*. London: Pluto Press, 2007, p. 137.
- ²⁸ Engel, 'The literature of national music', in: *The Musical Times* 19 (nr. 427), Sep. 1878, pp. 484-487. In this article he mentions the second edition of J.T. Surennes, *The dance music of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Wood & Co., 1852) which contains a list with ninety-seven published collections and eight manuscripts. A well-known collection was that of William Thomson, *Orpheus Caledonius, or A collection of the best Scotch songs* (London: printed for the author, c. 1725) which was an important source for all kinds of other collections of Scottish melodies. Other well-known collections were those of the Welsh harpist Edward Jones, *Musical and poetical relics of the Welsh bards* (London: printed for the author, 1784) and of the Irish poet Thomas Moore and John Stevenson, *A selection of Irish melodies, with symphonies and accompaniments* (London: J. Power, 1807-1821).
- ²⁹ Arranging popular songs became a source of income for many a composer. In 1792 Haydn wrote the accompaniment of *A selection of original Scots songs* for the music publisher William Napier. Later, just like Pleyel, Ko-

- zeluch, Beethoven, Hummel and Weber, he made arrangements of Scotch songs for the publisher George Thomson. Afterwards dozens of other nineteenth-century composers wrote pieces based on their national music or inspired by it. In Carl Engel's opinion most of the collections of national songs were however 'too insignificant to be useful for study', by which he meant that through the tasteless or bombastic arrangements, the songs had lost their original musical character. See Engel, 'The literature of national music', in: *The Musical Times* 19 (nr. 425), Jul. 1878, p. 376.
- ³⁰ Joseph-Marie Amiot, *De la musique des Chinois, tant anciens que modernes*. Pierre-Joseph Rousnier (ed.). Paris: Nyon, 1780. (Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les mœurs, les usages, &c. des Chinois, par les missionnaires de Pekin. Vol. 6.) In this work Amiot refers to dozens of old treatises on music and dance. Two of these texts – one about music and the other about dance – were translated into Spanish in 1779. See Engel, 'The literature of national music', in: *The Musical Times* 20 (nr. 432), Feb. 1879, pp. 69-70.
- ³¹ Guillaume-André Villoteau, *Mémoire sur la musique de l'antique Égypte; De l'état actuel de l'art musical en Égypte; Description historique, technique et littéraire, des instruments de musique des orientaux*. Paris: C.L.F. Panckoucke, 1822-1823. (Description de l'Égypte. Vols. 8 & 13.)
- ³² In the words of Curt Sachs (*The wellsprings of music*. Jaap Kunst (ed.). The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1962, p. 10): 'Villoteau [...] had his prejudice when he first set foot on Egypt's shore. But, while studying with a native teacher, he soon realized that correct into-nation was not a monopoly of western man [...]. [He] came to understand that oriental music [...] was neither less near the truth nor inferior; it had its own scientific foundation and must therefore be judged according to laws of its own.'
- ³³ Stamford Raffles and John Crawfurd for example wrote detailed chapters about the music and dance of Java. Crawfurd's description includes observations and music examples from the well-known music theorist William Crotch. See Thomas Stamford Raffles, *The history of Java*. London: Murray, 1817. 2 vols.; John Crawfurd, *History of the Indian archipelago*. London: Hurst, Robinson, 1820. 3 vols.
- ³⁴ Garland Cannon, *The life and mind of Oriental Jones: Sir William Jones, the father of modern linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- ³⁵ His translation of Kalidasa's classical drama *Sakuntala* had an especially huge impact on German writers, including Goethe, Herder, Rückert and Novalis; see Schwab, *The oriental Renaissance*, pp. 58-63.
- ³⁶ William Jones, 'On the musical modes of the Hindus', in: *Asiatick Researches* 3 (1792); rpt. 1799, pp. 55-87.
- ³⁷ The irony is that his research was partly based on a number of treatises in Persian

that he distrusted, and that the oldest Indian text on theater, music and dance – Bharata's *Natyasastra* – was only discovered later.

- ³⁸ In fact, music in North India was very much alive at the time. In this period of political instability big changes were taking place in the area of music: the old *dhrupad* vocal genre, *vina* (or *bin*) and *pakhawaj* had to make way for the modern *khayal* vocal genre, sitar and tabla, and all kinds of other vocal genres flourished at the courts and in the milieu of the popular courtesans. For a good overview of the music at the beginning of the nineteenth century see N. Augustus Willard, *A treatise on the music of Hindoostan. Comprising a detail of the ancient theory and modern practice*. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1834.
- ³⁹ The German missionary Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg wrote extensively about South Indian poetry, music and dance in his *Malabarisches Heidenthum* of 1711, but this work was not published until 1926. See Ziegenbalg's *Malabarisches Heidenthum*. Willem Caland (ed.). Amsterdam: Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1926. p. 127, pp. 131-132, 223-231, 287-288.
- ⁴⁰ For a short biography about Richard Johnson and his famous collection see Toby Falk & Mildred Archer, *Indian miniatures in the India Office Library*. London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, Delhi & Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1981, pp. 14-29. Also see Antoine Polier, *A European experience of the Mughal orient. The*

I'jaz-i Arsanani of Antoine-Louis Henri Polier. Transl. by M. Alam & S. Alavi. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000.

- ⁴¹ Francis Fowke, 'An extract of a letter from Francis Fowke, Esq. to the President', in: *Asiatick Researches* 1 (1788); rpt. 1799, pp. 295-299.
- ⁴² William Ouseley, 'An essay on the music of Hindustan', in: *Oriental collections*. London: Cadell & Davies, 1797. Vol. 1.
- ⁴³ Friedrich Hugo von Dalberg, *Ueber die Musik der Indier. Eine Abhandlung des Sir William Jones, aus dem Englischen übersetzt, mit erläuternden Anmerkungen und Zusätzen begleitet*. Erfurt: Beyer & Maring, 1802.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. iii. A year later the Sanskrit scholar August Wilhelm von Schlegel wrote: 'Everything, yes, everything without exception has its origin in India.' Quoted in Schwab, *The oriental Renaissance*, p. 71.
- ⁴⁵ A description of a number of South Indian musical instruments and the notorious *devadasis* – the so-called *bayadères* – could be found in Pierre Sonnerat's travel account (1782). Abbé Guillaume-Thomas Raynal (1773), Maistre de la Tour (1783), Jacob Haafner (1808) and Abbé Jean-Antoine Dubois (1817) also wrote extensively about the temple dancers. The carmelite Paolino da San Bartolomeo (1796) devoted a chapter to South Indian music and poetry, and the Flemish painter François Baltazard Solvyns published illustrations of thirty-six North Indian musi-

cal instruments. Further, Hindustani songs and song lyrics were published. John David Paterson and the eccentric John Gilchrist were probably the first to translate a number of well-known Hindu or 'Hindoostanee' odes. Afterwards Thomas Broughton and William Price published their own collections of Indian poems and song lyrics. By far the most important publication about North Indian music was that of Captain N. Augustus Willard (1834). See Pierre Sonnerat, *Voyages aux Indes orientales et à la Chine*. Paris: chez l'auteur, 1782. Vol. 1, pp. 40-41, 101-103; Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*. Amsterdam: Dufour, 1773. Vol. 2, pp. 20-24; Maistre de la Tour, *Histoire d'Ayder-Ali-Khan*. Paris: Cailleau, 1783. 2 vols.; Haafner, *Reize in eenen palanquin*. Vol. 1, pp. 194-225; Jean-Antoine Dubois, *Description of the character, manners, and customs of the people of India*. London: [n.p.], 1817; *Hindu manners, customs and ceremonies*. H.K. Beauchamp (transl. & ed.). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906; rpt. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1978, pp. 584-588; Paolino da San Bartolomeo, *A voyage to the East Indies*. London: J. Davies, 1800, pp. 364-378; François Baltazard Solvyns, *A catalogue of 250 coloured etchings*. Calcutta: Mirror Press, 1799; *Les Hindoûs, ou description de leurs mœurs, coutumes et ceremonies*. Paris: chez l'auteur, 1810. Vol. 2; John David Paterson, 'Hindu odes', in: *New*

Asiatic miscellany. Francis Gladwin (ed.). Calcutta: Joseph Cooper, 1789; John Gilchrist, *The oriental linguist*. Calcutta: Ferris & Greenway, 1798, pp. 153-163; Thomas Duer Broughton, *Selections from the popular poetry of the Hindoos*. London: John Martin, 1814; William Price, *Hindee and Hindoostanee selections*. Calcutta: The Asiatic Lithographic Company's Press, 1830. 2 vols.; Willard, *A treatise on the music of Hindoostan*.

⁴⁶ For example, see Kethaki Kushari Dyson, *A various universe. A study of the journals and memmoirs of British men and women in the Indian subcontinent, 1765-1856*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1978, pp. 110-111, 336-356.

⁴⁷ For Khanum Jan see Ian Woodfield, *Music of the Raj. A social and economic history of music in late eighteenth-century Anglo-Indian society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 152-158; for two miniature paintings on which Malagiri is depicted see Joep Bor, 'Bardes et baladins', in: *Gloire des princes, louange des dieux. Patrimoine musical de l'Hindoustan du XIVE au XXe siècle*. Joep Bor & Philippe Bruguère (eds.). Paris: Cité de la Musique & Musée de la Musique, 2003, pp. 139-140.

⁴⁸ Captain Willard (*A treatise on the music of Hindoostan*, p. 24) says about this phenomenon: 'Although I have met with some European ladies who eagerly desired to possess a copy of a Hindoostanee song or air, yet it seemed to me that they esteemed it more as a relic of curiosity, perhaps to be sent home, than for

its intrinsic worth in their eyes.'

⁴⁹ Woodfield, *Music of the Raj*, p. 9; also see Roger Fiske, *Scotland in music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

⁵⁰ Further he says: 'it [had] cost him great pains to bring [the airs] into any form as to TIME, which the music of Hindostan is extremely deficient in [...]. The Raagnies [raginis] are so void of meaning, and any degree of regularity, that it is impossible to bring them into a form of performance, by any singers but those of their country (Hindostan); and they appear to be the efforts of men enraptured by words, to which they have added notes as their fancy and amorous flights have dictated.' William Hamilton Bird, *The oriental miscellany, being a collection of the most favourite airs of Hindoostan*. Calcutta: Jo. Cooper, 1789.

⁵¹ This is extensively described by Gerry Farrell and Ian Woodfield. See Gerry Farrell, *Indian music and the West*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997, pp. 28-44, 79-98; Woodfield, *Music of the Raj*, pp. 149-180.

⁵² Edward Jones, *Lyric airs. Consisting of specimens of Greek, Albanian, Walachian, Turkish, Arabian, Persian, Chinese, and Moorish national songs and melodies*. London: printed for the author, 1804, p. 25; William Crotch, *Specimens of various styles of music, referred to in a course of lectures read at Oxford and London, [etc.]*. London: Royal Harmonic Institution, 1808, p. 13. Crotch was a professor at St. John's College in Oxford and the first director of the

Royal Academy of Music.

⁵³ Bor, 'Mamia, Ammani and other *bayadères*', pp. 52-55.

⁵⁴ Ibid.; Abraham Rogerius, *De open-deure tot het verborgen heydendom*. W. Caland (ed.). 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1915, pp. 125-126.

⁵⁵ *Gautier on dance*. Ivor Guest (transl. & ed.). London: Dance Books, 1986, p. 5.

⁵⁶ The repertoire consisted of *boleros, fandangos, seguidillas, jotas, cachuchas, polos* and *zorongos*, and the dancers, who played castanettes themselves, were accompanied by vocals and guitar. Ivor Guest, 'Théophile Gautier on Spanish dancing', in: *Dance Chronicle* 10 (1987), nr. 1, pp. 1-104; Nancy Lee Chalfa Ruyter, 'La escuela bolero', in: *Dance Chronicle* 16 (1993), nr. 2, pp. 249-257.

⁵⁷ Guest, 'Théophile Gautier on Spanish dancing', p. 10.

⁵⁸ In *The code of Terpsichore* (1828) Carlo Blasis refers to these social dances as 'imitative exercises of the Spaniards [...] the majestic movements express those feelings which determine the national character; namely, hauteur, pride, love, and arrogance.' Quoted in Lisa C. Arkin, 'The context of exoticism in Fanny Elssler's *cachucha*', in: *Dance Chronicle* 17 (1994), nr. 3, pp. 303-325.

⁵⁹ Cited in Ann Hutchinson, *Fanny Elssler's cachucha*. New York: Theatre Art Books, 1981, p. 15.

⁶⁰ Guest, *Gautier on dance*, p. 8.

- ⁶¹ 'Theatricals: Adelphi', in: *The Penny Satirist*, 20 Oct. 1838, p. 2. Between 22 August and 25 September 1838 they had 26 performances in the Parisian Théâtre des Variétés, and between 1 October and 1 December they danced 55 times in London's Adelphi Theatre. They also performed almost daily in November and December in the Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly. After this they danced in Brighton, Brussels, Frankfurt, Berlin and Vienna. See Bor, 'Mamia, Ammani and other *bayadères*', pp. 55-66.
- ⁶² Gautier says about this ('Les devadasis dites bayadères', in: *La Presse*, 20 Aug. 1838): 'apart from [Haafner's] ravishing story of Mamia, we knew nothing of the dancers of India, not even their name, for the word *bayadère* is Portuguese. In actual fact they are called *Devadasis* [...]' See Guest, *Gautier on dance*, pp. 39-40.
- ⁶³ 'Les bayadères aux Tuileries', in: *Journal des Débats*, 20 Aug. 1838; cited in *The Morning Post*, 3 Oct. 1838.
- ⁶⁴ Guest, *Gautier on dance*, pp. 134-137, 315-316.
- ⁶⁵ Théophile Gautier, *La Presse*, 27 Aug. 1838; Guest, *Gautier on dance*, pp. 48-49.
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 49.
- ⁶⁷ 'Dramatic intelligence', in: *The Observer*, 7 Oct. 1838.
- ⁶⁸ 'The bayaderes', in: *Brighton Herald*, 19 Jan. 1839.
- ⁶⁹ The best study is by Anne Décoret-Ahiha, *Les danses exotiques en France 1880-1940*. Paris: Centre National de la Danse, 2004; for Indian dance see Tiziana Leucci, *Devadasi e bayadères: tra storia e leggenda; Le danzatrici indiane nei racconti di viaggio a nell'immaginario teatrale occidentale (XIII-XX secolo)*. Bologna: CLUEB, 2005.
- ⁷⁰ Leucci, *Devadasi e bayadères*, pp. 162-170, 191-202.
- ⁷¹ According to Marieke Bloembergen and Annegret Fauser the Javanese *kampong* was one of the biggest crowd-pullers and attracted 875,000 visitors, twice as many as the likewise popular theater from Annam (Vietnam). See Marieke Bloembergen, *De koloniale vertoning. Nederland en Indië op de Wereldtentoonstellingen (1880-1931)*. Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, [2002], p. 139; Annegret Fauser, *Musical encounters at the 1889 Paris World's Fair*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2005, p. 166.
- ⁷² Cited in Décoret-Ahiha, *Les danses exotiques en France*, p. 36.
- ⁷³ The *Concours international de musiques pittoresques* took place on 4 July, and the *Congrès international des traditions populaires* between 29 July and 1 August 1889; see Julien Tiersot, *Musiques pittoresques. Promenades musicales à l'Exposition de 1889*. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1889, pp. 54-61; Fauser, *Musical encounters at the 1889 Paris World's Fair*, pp. 269-276.
- ⁷⁴ For instance see Wendy Buonaventura, *Belly dancing. The serpent and the sphinx*. London:

- Virago, 1983, pp. 35-52; Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 5-6, 186-188.
- ⁷⁵ Fauser, *Musical encounters at the 1889 Paris World's Fair*, pp. 216-241.
- ⁷⁶ Cited in Décoret-Ahiha, *Les danses exotiques en France*, p. 33.
- ⁷⁷ For a detailed description of the national music from Finland, Norway, Russia, Roumania, Hungary, Spain, Africa, the Middle East and Java which could be heard at this world fair, see Tiersot, *Musiques pittoresques*; arrangements of this music for piano can be found in Louis Benedictus, *Les musiques bizarres à l'Exposition*. Paris: G. Hartmann, 1889.
- ⁷⁸ Cited in Oscar Comettant, *La musique, les musiciens et les instruments de musique chez les différents peuples du monde*. Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1869, pp. 256-261.
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 262.
- ⁸⁰ Cited in Glenn Watkins, *Pyramids at the Louvre. Music, culture, and collage from Stravinsky to the Postmodernists*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 1994, p. 21. Saint-Saëns probably based his opinion of Chinese music on Hector Berlioz's *Les soirées de l'orchestre. Vingt-et-unième soirée*, in which the latter describes the Chinese and Indian musicians he heard in London in 1851. Berlioz says that 'Chinese and Indian music would be similar to ours if it existed; but that, musically speaking, these nations are still plunged in a state of benighted barbarianism and childish ignorance where only a few vague and feeble instincts are dimly discernible; that, moreover, the Orientals call *music* what we should style *cacophony*, and that for them, as for Macbeth's witches, *foul is fair*' Quoted in Timothy D. Taylor, *Beyond exoticism. Western music and the world*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007, p. 77.
- ⁸¹ Charles Burney, *A general history of music. From the earliest ages to the present period*. London: printed for the author, 1789. Vol. 2, p. 220.
- ⁸² *Ibid.*, 1776. Vol. 1, p. 703. In a comparable way John Hawkins scorned non-Western music as 'hideous and astonishing sounds', and says (*A general history of the science and practice of music*. London: T. Payne & Son, 1776. Vol. 1, Preface): 'Of what importance can it be to enquire into a practice that has not its foundation in science or system, or to know what are the sounds that most delight a Hottentot, a wild American, or even a more refined Chinese?'
- ⁸³ The influential Belgian music historian François-Joseph Fétis, who devoted much attention to non-Western music, also thought that only composed European music was genuine art music and that all other forms were primitive earlier stages. In the second volume of his history of music which was completely devoted to Eastern music, he wrote (*Histoire générale de la musique depuis les temps anciens jusqu'à nos jours*. Paris: Firmin Didot, 1869. Vol. 2, p. vi): 'Que la nôtre soit un art plus

- élevé; que même elle seule soit un art, cela n'est pas douteux; mais il n'en est pas moins intéressant de connaître les formes primitives de ce même art et d'observer les transformations subies par ses éléments, avant qu'ils fussent parvenus à l'état où nous les voyons.' See Bor, 'The rise of ethnomusicology', pp. 60-61; Fauser, *Musical encounters at the 1889 Paris World's Fair*, pp. 149-154.
- ⁸⁴ Cited in Watkins, *Pyramids at the Louvre*, p. 22.
- ⁸⁵ For David see Peter Gradenwitz, 'Félicien David (1810-1876) and French Romantic Orientalism', in: *The Musical Quarterly* 62 (1976), nr. 4, pp. 471-506.
- ⁸⁶ 'In Western music', according to Derek Scott ('Orientalism and musical style', in: *The Musical Quarterly* 82 (1998), nr. 2, p. 309), 'Orientalist styles have related to previous Orientalist styles rather than Eastern ethnic practices [...].' For exoticism and orientalism in music see Ralph P. Locke, 'Exoticism' and 'Orientalism', in: *Grove music online*. Laura Macy (ed.) (accessed 9 November 2007), <www.grovemusic.com>; also see Peter Gradenwitz, *Musik zwischen Orient und Okzident. Eine Kulturgeschichte der Wechselbeziehungen*. Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichhofen's Verlag, 1977; *The exotic in Western music*. Jonathan Bellman (ed.). Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998; Mac-Kenzie, *Orientalism*, pp. 138-175; Taylor, *Beyond exoticism*.
- ⁸⁷ Deborah Jowitt, *Time and the dancing image*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988, p. 116, 129.
- ⁸⁸ Ruth St. Denis, *An unfinished life*. New York & London: Harper & Brothers, 1939, p. 40.
- ⁸⁹ Cited in Suzanne Shelton, *Divine dancer. A biography of Ruth St. Denis*. New York: Doubleday & Company, 1981, p. 51.
- ⁹⁰ In 'Radha' for example Buddhism, Hinduism and Jainism were all thrown together!
- ⁹¹ Décoret-Ahiha, *Les danses exotiques en France*, pp. 39-43; also see Shelley C. Berg, 'Sada Yacco: The American Tour, 1899-1900', in: *Dance Chronicle* 16 (1993), nr. 2, pp. 147-196.
- ⁹² Jowitt, *Time and the dancing image*, p. 116, 113; also see Jetty Roels, *Oriëntaals 1926. Een bizarerie naar Indische inspiratie*. Brussels: Centrum voor Amateurkunsten, [n.d.].
- ⁹³ Décoret-Ahiha, *Les danses exotiques en France*, pp. 43-47.
- ⁹⁴ Inayat Khan, *Biography of Pir-o-Murshid Inayat Khan*. London & The Hague: East-West Publications, 1979, p. 124, pp. 371-374.
- ⁹⁵ Joep Bor with Jane Harvey & Michael Kinnear, *Inayat Khan. The complete recordings of 1909*. Calcutta & Katwijk: EMI/RPG The Gramophone Co. of India Ltd. & Panta Rhei, 1994, pp. 1-32; Farrell, *Indian music and the West*, pp. 147-155; R.C. Mehta, 'Music in the life of Hazrat Inayat Khan', in: *A pearl in wine. Essays on the life, music and Sufism of Hazrat Inayat Khan*. Zia Inayat Khan (ed.). New Lebanon: Omega Publications, 2001, pp. 161-175; Allyn Miner, 'The Minqar-i musiqar and Inayat

- Khan's early career in music', in: *A pearl in wine*, pp. 177-205.
- ⁹⁶ For example see Richard Wallaschek, *Primitive music. An inquiry into the origin and development of music, songs, instruments, dances, and pantomimes of savage races*. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1893; Bruno Nettl, *Music in primitive culture*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956.
- ⁹⁷ *Ancient and oriental music*. Egon Wellesz (ed.). London: Oxford University Press, 1957, p. xviii. (New Oxford history of music. Vol. 1.)
- ⁹⁸ Pierre Boulez, *Orientations. Collected writings*. Jean-Jacques Nattiez (ed.) & Martin Cooper (transl.). London: Faber & Faber, 1990, p. 421.
- ⁹⁹ Walter Wiora, *The four ages of music*. Transl. by M.D. Herter Norton. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1965, p. 11.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 126-128.
- ¹⁰¹ Warren Dwight Allen, *Philosophies of music history. A study of general histories of music 1600-1960*. 2nd ed. New York: Dover, 1962, p. 204. More recently, Nicolas Cook wrote (*Music. A very short introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998, p. 43): 'It is hardly possible to miss the implicit associations in such a scheme of non-Western cultures with beginnings, and of Western culture with progress. That such thinking was commonplace at the turn of the twentieth century, the time when the sun never set on the British Empire, is only to be expected. That it is still to be encountered at the turn of the twenty-first is astounding, for it offers an entirely inadequate basis for understanding music in today's pluralistic society.'
- ¹⁰² Joseph Kerman, *Contemplating music. Challenges to musicology*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985, pp. 130-131.
- ¹⁰³ Ingrid Fritsch, 'Zur Idee der Weltmusik', in: *Weltmusik*. Köln: Feedback Studio, 1981, pp. 3-27.
- ¹⁰⁴ Karlheinz Stockhausen, 'Weltmusik', in: *Texte zur Musik 1970-1977*. Köln: DuMont Schauberg, 1978, pp. 468-476.
- ¹⁰⁵ It should be noted here that Scotland and Spain were then just as far away and oriental in the imagination of writers and artists as Egypt, Morocco or Algeria.
- ¹⁰⁶ Engel, 'The literature of national music', in: *The Musical Times* 19 (nr. 425), Jul. 1878, p. 374. The series of articles about national music were also published in book form: Carl Engel, *The literature of national music*. London: Novello, Ewer & Co., 1879. Thirteen years previously the first study exclusively devoted to popular music and world music had appeared: Carl Engel, *An introduction to the study of national music. Comprising researches into popular songs, traditions and customs*. London: Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer, 1866. Afterwards other books about national music came out, for example Henry F. Chorley, *The national music of the world*. Henry G. Hewlett (ed.). London: Sampson Low & Co., 1880; Louis Elson, *The national music of America and its*

sources. Boston: Page, 1899.

¹⁰⁷In J. Stainer & W.A. Barrett, *Dictionary of musical terms* (London: Novello, Ewer & Co., 1898) *national music* is defined as 'popular music, peculiar to, or characteristic of, a particular nation'. Quoted in Robert B. Cantrick, 'The blind men and the elephant. Scholars on popular music', in: *Ethnomusicology* 9 (1965), nr. 2, p. 104. The most current term in France in the nineteenth century was *musique populaire*; see for example Julien Tiersot, *Histoire de la chanson populaire en France*. Paris: E. Plan Nourrit, 1889.

¹⁰⁸Bohlman, *World music*, Preface.

¹⁰⁹The same goes for world dance, with the difference that this term has not become as much part of popular usage as the term world music, and expressions such as folk dance, ethnic dance or exotic dance are still preferred for folkloristic and non-Western dance styles.

¹¹⁰David Byrne, 'I hate world music', in: *The New York Times*, 3 Oct. 1999 (accessed 6 Nov. 2007), <www.lukabop.com/david_byrne/cmp/worldmusic.html>.

¹¹¹Farrell, *Indian music and the West*, pp. 201-203.

¹¹²Ibid., p. 201. For Simon Frith ('The discourse of world music', pp. 305-306) world music is also primarily a pop genre: '[As] an ideological category, world music can only be understood by reference to the rock world from which it emerged.'

¹¹³*The rough guide* gives a good picture of what is generally understood under world music: that is, all the music of the world except for classical, country, folk, jazz, rock, rap, and so on – i.e. the urban musics from Europe and the United States. Simon Broughton, Mark Ellingham & Richard Trillo, *World music. The rough guide*. London: Rough Guides, 1999. 2 vols.

¹¹⁴Then I proposed the following definition: 'World music is all non-western music that has successfully adapted itself to its new, western environment.'

¹¹⁵An exception is Marc Slobin, *Subcultural sounds. Micromusics of the West*. Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1993.

¹¹⁶Consider for example the successful projects of Paul Simon, David Byrne, Ry Cooder, John McLaughlin, Mickey Hart and Sting with musicians from South Africa, Mali, Brazil, Cuba, India and the Middle East.

¹¹⁷I myself said at a conference in 1993 (Joep Bor, 'Studying world music. The next phase', in: *Teaching musics of the world. The Second International Symposium, Basel, 14-17 October 1993*. Margot Lieth-Philipp & Andreas Gutzwiler (eds.). Affalterbach: Philipp Verlag, 1995, pp. 62-63): 'However meaningless, trendy and ambiguous the term "world music" may seem, it describes the phenomenon whereby today musicians from all over the world can be heard all over the world. [...] The musics of the world are no longer restricted

to their natural or national boundaries. They have reached the man in the street and belong to everyone. And if this is partly caused by the international music industry, we should be grateful.' Nicholas Cook says more or less the same (in *Music. A very short introduction*, Foreword): 'Everywhere the barriers that once kept different styles and traditions of music firmly apart are crumbling [...]. It is an obvious fact that the world is teeming with different kinds of music: traditional, folk, classical, jazz, rock, pop, world, just to name a few [...]. And yet the ways we think about music don't reflect this [...]. In particular, the way of thinking about music that is built into schools and universities – and most books about music, for that matter – reflects the way music was in nineteenth-century Europe rather than the way it is today, anywhere.'

¹¹⁸ According to Laurien Saraber (*Tussen rasa en redouble. Werelddans in de Nederlandse kunst-educatie*. Utrecht: LOKV, 2000, p. 9), the term world dance was 'not introduced in order to set up new fences artificially, but rather to draw full attention to traditional and modern views of dance outside the Western mainstream.'

¹¹⁹ It is inconceivable, but researchers have only paid sporadic attention to the discovery of world music and world dance, whereas there are hundreds of lively descriptions of Non-Western music and dance scenes to be found

in travel literature. The most important accounts were reprinted in popular collections such as Ramusio's *Racolta de navigazioni et viaggi* (1550-1559), Hakluyt's *Principal navigations* (from 1589) and *Purchas his pilgrimage* (1613-1625). A number of these descriptions influenced thinkers and writers.

¹²⁰ About practice-oriented or performance-based research, virtually nothing is mentioned in the latest edition of Bruno Nettl's *The study of ethnomusicology. Thirty-one issues and concepts* (Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005). Clearly, the music itself is not yet an 'issue' for this influential American ethnomusicologist.

¹²¹ Joep Bor, 'Zonder praktijk geen theorie. Over onderzoek van de niet-westerse muziek.' Forthcoming.

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