



OIDEION

THE PERFORMING ARTS WORLD-WIDE

EDITED BY
WIM VAN ZANTEN

NEDERLANDSE VERENIGING
VOOR ETNOMUSICOLOGIE
"ARNOLD BAKE"

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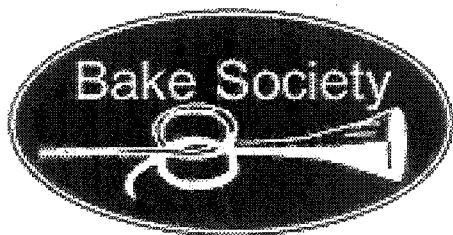
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Nederlandse Vereniging voor Etnomusicologie "Arnold Bake"
Department of Cultural Anthropology and Development Studies
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EDITOR'S PREFACE

This third issue of *Oideion; Performing arts world-wide* contains articles that appeared earlier in the multimedia version *Oideion; Performing arts online* <<http://www.iias.nl/oideion>>.

First among these is The fourth John Blacking Memorial Lecture, 'The musical river of change and innovation', presented by Ki Mantle Hood at the European Seminar in Ethnomusicology, Rotterdam on 14 September 1995. We are very grateful to Ki Mantle Hood, who studied with Jaap Kunst in the early 1950s, to let us publish his lecture in *Oideion*.

Evert Bisschop Boele's article presents an overview of the teaching of music in secondary schools in the Netherlands, discussing the important issues involved. Although nowadays the Dutch 'soundscape' includes music from all parts of the world, the teaching of music in secondary schools has as yet been unable to reach the goals set forth by the Dutch government in a 1994 publication.

Jeroen de Kloet discusses Chinese rock culture, including producers, singers and the audience. He describes how globalisation processes have changed and increased the space in which young people in China can construct their identity. The Chinese government, as well as educators and parents try to govern this space. Foreign investors play a very important role in the promotion of rock, and the audience uses the music to cope with shared feelings of confusion and fatalism.

Jan van Belle describes the current form, construction, and use of the circular frame drum, *daf*, in Tajik Badaxshân and discusses the poetical metres and rhythmic patterns in *dafsâz* songs. The rhythmic patterns appear to be more complex than thought on first hearing. He shows that the structure of the recurrent rhythmic patterns cannot in any simple way be translated into our Western concept of measure. He then explains that the original function of *dafsâz* may have been to aid in the spiritual elevation of the audience.

The last three papers are the revisions of presentations in the Panel *Asian performing arts and the methodology of practice* at the International Convention of Asia Scholars, ICAS, in Noordwijk, the Netherlands in June 1998. The three authors, Hanne de Bruin, Hae-Kyung Um, and Matthew Cohen, were research fellows in the research programme Performing Arts in Asia; Tradition and Innovation, PAATI (1997-2001), of the International Institute for Asian Studies, IIAS.

The PAATI research programme proposed to analyse and compare processes of change in Asian performing arts, and, in particular, traditional Asian theatre. The focus was on

- the way in which the performing arts are institutionalised and standardised; how they balance between flexibility and fixedness under the influence of globalisation and localisation;
- how these processes of change affect form and content of these art forms and the organisation of the teaching;
- the study of audiences in relation to performers and patrons.

Earlier studies had shown that these processes of change occur in similar ways in different regions and in different performing arts. PAATI wanted to expand on this knowledge with a comparative programme, based on three individual studies. It was decided, therefore, to right from the start of the programme focus on methodological issues. The ICAS panel and the resulting three articles in this issue of *Oideion* were first fruits of the reflections on the methodology needed to compare the PAATI research findings.

In her contribution 'What practice? Whose practice?', Hanne de Bruin looks at the different practices in South Indian artistic traditions. She goes on to discuss the theatrical event and Western academic practice in researching such events. She points out that '[t]he essence of an artistic performance becomes available to a person only through his or her physical and mental involvement in the event or her acquisition of experiential knowledge; it cannot be expressed in words or represented satisfactory in any other medium than the human body.' She then goes on to say that '... physical and mental involvement in the event transgresses the framework of Western academic practice [...] Involvement remains taboo, in spite of propagation of research methods, such as that of participant-observation and learning by performing ...' (p.69).

In 'Food for body and soul; Measuring the dialectics of performance' Hae-Kyung Um discusses processes of performance and methodological research instruments, using her research on a traditional Korean musical drama (*p'ansori*) as an example. Researchers are not kept completely outside the processes of composition, performance, and transmission. In the course of her fieldwork in the Korean communities in the former Soviet Union and China, her informants also saw her as 'their informant who performs and transmits [her] cultural knowledge of Korea, and other Korean migrant communities in the former Soviet Union and the United States.' (p.103). The researcher is very much part of the processes of making sense of the performing arts we study. A conscious application of a theoretical and methodological framework may somewhat correct the 'inherent partiality' of our research (p.104).

In his article 'Details, details: Methodological issues and practical considerations in a study of Barikan, a Cirebonese ritual drama for Wayang Kulit' Matthew Cohen stresses that performances exist in a unique moment of time, never to be repeated. We often study performances through their remains: photographs, notes made during the performance or afterwards, physical materials, post-performance discussions etc. However, we should instead look for the combination of 'liveness' and detailed particularity, which is the most meaningful to the audiences (p.74). Matthew Cohen exemplifies the importance of details in a 1994 performance of a ritual drama, called *barikan*, in northwest Java.

most meaningful to the audiences (p.74). Matthew Cohen exemplifies the importance of details in a 1994 performance of a ritual drama, called *barikan*, in northwest Java.

These last three articles offer interesting viewpoints on the methodology of research in the performing arts. It is a well-known methodological issue in anthropology, and more generally the social sciences, that while every human being is considered to be unique, groups of human beings have so many things in common that we can generalise about them. Case studies and life histories of musicians can help us to understand the complexities of musical worlds. However, it would be counter-productive if we were to forget that when building models, the empirical sciences deal with generalisations. Although generalisation, or systematic description for that matter, may not be easy to do, just describing particular instruments, tunings or individual musicians has limited utility if we don't bear in mind that these may supply information about situations elsewhere, or at different times. The anthropological case study is only useful if it also tells us something about how things may happen at other times and places. It should present us with the set of relations between the different concepts that are used to describe the situation. We may say that it is difficult to generalise from case studies, but they can supply much 'intuitive knowledge' of the problem, namely a set of relationships.

Cohen points out that the essence of a performance lies in the details, and explains that: 'The associations with the word "detail" in both ordinary language use, and in the technical vocabulary of art criticism suggest that in a focus upon details, one misses the main point. But the idea, which I would like to drive across, is quite the contrary. In oral art, particularly in performances of works already familiar to audiences, the development of details is precisely the major point of the performance, and not at all small or secondary in significance.' Oral art demands attention to detail (p.74).

To pay attention to detail is important for all anthropological research: it starts with careful observation and a precise description of the ethnographical data. However, this does not solve all our methodological problems, as the question arises: which observations should be made and which ethnographical details described? In a theatrical performance we may, for instance, concentrate on music, language and/or visual communication, but the idea that we would be able to grasp all the detail is an illusion. For instance, in his article Cohen mainly concentrates on language and pays hardly any attention to non-verbal forms of communication in the theatrical performance he analyses. Moreover, a careful account of some set of relevant details does not necessarily give us an optimal scientific understanding.

The articles by Cohen and de Bruin seem to suggest that generalisations (and representations) may lead to the neglect of details and experiential knowledge. However, can we only understand by attending live performances? Of course, in studying the performing arts, experiential knowledge and attention to how details are used is crucial, but it is not the only possible road to understanding. Furthermore, do South-Indian performers and their audiences understand things properly? Lysloff's remark (1998: 187), although addressed to researchers, is also valid for members of the audience and performers: 'sharing the same experience does not necessarily lead to sharing the same

Moreover, science - in any part of the world - is not the same as the performance studied, although in some parts of the world science and performing arts may be more closely connected than elsewhere. It is this 'schizophrenic' situation for social scientists, which makes things so difficult: sharing experience at certain moments, and becoming the 'outsider' at moments of reflection to theorise or compare. Avoiding 'going native' does not mean that the sharing of experience is avoided, or that 'involvement remains taboo' (de Bruin, p.69). It does mean that there should also be moments of reflection, of looking at things in a more detached or 'objective' way. In this matter, the researcher's task is not very different from the performer's. And of course, in science we never speak about 'real things' (de Bruin, p.70) but about models, built on the data collected.

Hence our understanding is always partial. De Bruin and Cohen do not really address the following methodological question: caught in social processes, for instance of globalisation and localisation, human beings generalise, so, how should researchers generalise in a meaningful way, taking into account the ethnographic details and experience? Some work remains to be done.

Last but not least I would like to mention that *Oideion 3* has been produced by the *Nederlandse Vereniging voor Ethnomusicologie* 'Arnold Bake' itself and not, like the first two volumes, in the series of the Research School CNWS.

Wim van Zanten (editor)

October 2003

Reference

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THE MUSICAL RIVER OF CHANGE AND INNOVATION;
THE FOURTH JOHN BLACKING MEMORIAL LECTURE,
ESEM, ROTTERDAM, 14 SEPTEMBER 1995

Ki Mantle Hood

Abstract

In this Fourth John Blacking Memorial Lecture ¹, delivered at the European Seminar in Ethnomusicology in Rotterdam, 14 September 1995, I want to respond briefly to each of the three stated themes of the conference: musical evolution, musical creativity, and musicians' biographies. The Quantum Theory of Music furnishes the perspective with which I consider them. The intent of the three themes, our programme committee states, is to 'focus on processes of change and innovation in music'. In fact, I believe change and innovation is a continual process of music making.

Introduction

It is a singular honour for an American to be invited by the European Seminar in Ethnomusicology to give the John Blacking Memorial Lecture. My acquaintance with John Blacking, the scholar, began when I was asked to serve as an outside reviewer by Witwatersrand University. He was being considered for an honorary degree. They sent me copies of all his published and unpublished writings. My impressions were so positive that I invited John to join us as a colleague in the Institute of Ethnomusicology at UCLA. In the early 1960s, he was still living in South Africa. He responded with an immediate 'yes'. Six months later, for personal reasons, he had to withdraw his acceptance.

In an 'untalkable' way, this occasion allows me to make up for that lost opportunity to collaborate with John. I'm honoured and truly grateful to have been invited to contribute to these meetings.

I want to respond briefly to each of the three stated themes of the conference: musical evolution, musical creativity, and musicians' biographies. The Quantum Theory of Music furnishes the perspective with which I consider them. The intent of the three themes, our programme committee states, is to 'focus on processes of change and innovation in music'. In fact, I believe change and innovation is a continual process of music making.

Musical Evolution

World-wide musical evolution is so overwhelming that it defies credible articulation. Complete discussion of even one musical tradition is intimidating. Therefore, instead of

¹ This Fourth John Blacking Memorial Lecture also appeared in *Oideion; Performing arts online*, issue 2 (September 1998), <<http://www.iias.nl/oideion/journal/issue02/hood/index-a.html>>

examining one or another tradition, except for illustration, I want to stress aspects of musical evolution that are common to all of them, but which are too often ignored.

The live performance of a piece of music is sometimes compared to the flowing movement, the ever-changing sounds and configurations heard and observed in the course of a fluid brook or a meandering stream or a torrential river. Its motion never stops. At the very instant of aural-visual observation of a river or of a musical performance, there is change. At that moment, the instant has vanished and will never again appear in precisely the same configuration or sound. That is the nature of a river. It is also the nature of music.

A sequence of those ephemeral-instants can be frozen by recording. But, except for the CD or cassette, those musical instants no longer exist.² By definition, therefore, the performance of music is, in itself, a process of continual change.

I've merely stated the obvious. And yet, in talking about music, in researching all aspects of the tradition, for instance, anthro-, socio-, ethno-, bio-, historio-, and all the other 'o's' accepted in the stock and trade of 'ologists' - in this world of papers read and/or published it's easy to forget that music, *live music*, is itself an eternal process of change.

I'm not suggesting we bypass the hard work and dedication of the 'ologist;' otherwise, I would be hypocritical to give this paper. The degree of change, however, from one live performance to the next of the same piece of music is so very minute, so subtly present, that its audience and we 'ologists' seem unaware that change is occurring and is constant.

If the changes making up this process are so minute, can we not, as we have always done in the past, go on ignoring them? I think not. To do so is to accept the past seven or eight decades of research in music as adequate. They simply are not.

If one of our objectives in studying music is to understand musical processes, let me state emphatically: *at the dawn of the 21st century, our theoretical thinking about music is as out of step with musical reality as the theories of physics held 75 years ago.* Research in music has tried to emulate religiously the objective scientific methods associated with the sciences *eight decades ago!* Isn't it time we musicians looked critically at the 75-year gap that has occurred?

We'll return to this thought presently, but for now let me also stress that the eternal process of minute changes and innovations to which I am referring is not just intrinsic to performance. It also generates *all the grosser attributes of musical change and innovation.*

Let me try an example. The *bonang* kettle found in Java-Bali is a horizontally suspended bossed gong played in sets. There are differences in the shape of the *bonang* kettle used by the Sundanese in west Java as distinguished from those used by the

² Even advanced recording technology conspires to obliterate minute subtleties of sound. The process of auditory data compression used to save 'space' on a minidisk 'reduces the data stream by about 75 percent' (!) The technician admits it 'colors the sound to some degree'. See further, EQ, Project Recording & Sound

Javanese in central and east Java. Different from those in shape but closely related are the sets of kettles found on the *trompong* and *reyong* of the Balinese.

In each of these geographic areas the particular shape and size of the *bonang* kettle can also be identified according to differences in age. In addition, within each area - Sundanese, Javanese, Balinese - there are differences in shape determined by the musical taste of a particular *kompong* or village precinct.

The definitive shape of the kettle, of course, is a major determinant of the unique sound it emits. But its sound is also affected by the technique used in striking the instrument; by the quality of the metallurgic alloy of the bronze - some include traces of silver or gold; by the design and materials of the *tabuh* or *panggul*, the beater used to strike it. Some of these determinants of the sound of a *bonang* kettle, it might be argued, are almost as minute in the differences they produce as the type of eternal change discussed earlier. Can they be ignored, therefore?

No, not if we aspire to understand the sound of music played on a gamelan. These subtleties are typical of the aural referents used by sensitive Sundanese, Javanese, and Balinese musicians when they identify the various gamelan found in a particular village. Present studies tend to overlook or ignore such phenomena. Awareness of these minutiae is essential in recognizing musical change and innovation in the aesthetic governing their music.

In considering the evolution of the *bonang* kettle we might pull back from our microscopic examination and ask, 'How did all these subtle, minute, but critical differences develop?' Somewhere, sometime, there seems to have been *bonang* prototypes from which our present array of regional and local differences developed (see further Hood 1980: 122)

By starting with the oldest *bonang*-type kettles known today, we can postulate the one-time existence of ancient prototypes that were reasonably uniform in shape and size. Even the old instruments we use as a starting point, however, can be readily differentiated from one gamelan to another (see further Hood 1970). The written historical record of Java-Bali is too sketchy for us to manage more than a speculative reconstruction. But if we may try this for the *bonang* kettle, the example can be extended in principle to all aspects of the evolution of gamelan.

There has been continuous intercourse between the Sundanese and the Javanese for centuries. They live on the same island and, to some degree, interpenetrate vague borders. Colonization of Bali by the Javanese has been documented as early as the 10th century; we can presume some contact in trade earlier than this. There are detailed accounts of the colonization of Bali by Javanese royalty from the beginning of the Majapahit Empire, 13th-14th centuries (McPhee 1966: 3-4). Orchestras, musicians, dancers, puppeteers, mask makers, priests and others were in the retinue of the

colonizers. Even today, reference is occasionally heard by a titled Balinese to his Javanese ancestry dating from the Golden Age of the Majapahit Empire.³

Over many years, I've observed the continual process of mutual influence between performing musicians of similar but different traditions.⁴ Like the process of evanescent change in the flowing river of live music this kind of cultural interchange and borrowing of musical practices is an ubiquitous originator of innovation.

The perception of minute differences in sound, I maintain, supports the processes of all change and innovation in musical evolution. The most recent evidence of this underlying sensitivity to the subtleties of musical sound is the concept of Balinese 'angkep-angkepan', a term used in connection with the final step in tuning a Balinese gamelan Semar Pegulingan (see further Hood 1995a).

Musical creativity

Musical creativity, our second theme, is inherent in making music. Thinkers about music associate the word 'creativity' with the composer. Musical improvisation is recognized as creative. Conductors strive to achieve a creative interpretation of the orchestral score. Less often, the word 'creative' is used to describe the performer who renders an inspired performance.

To do justice to this second theme of the conference I want to extend these usual associations of musical creativity to all aspects of music:

- to the construction, experimentation, and usage of musical instruments;
- to the interaction between performers and audience;
- to the audio-visual engineering inseparable from much music today;
- to the fleeting changes in the very perception of musical sounds, instant-to-instant, by both performer and auditor;
- even to something assumed to be as constant as the practice of applying a tuning system.

Let's return to Balinese tuning. Something as basic as a tuning system, once identified, is not usually thought of as being essentially 'creative'. But I insist that the sensitivity of a fine tuner requires as much creativity as that expected of a fine composer or an improviser or a performer giving a personal realization of a printed piece of music.

In Java-Bali there are several recognized tuning systems, namely, 3-, 4-, 5-, 6-, and 7-tone systems, which may be further enriched by so-called 'vocal tones'. Like the variables of *bonang* kettles, a tuning system is realized in a unique form when applied to a particular gamelan. Among the thousands of gamelan found on these islands⁵ it is generally known that no two are tuned precisely the same.

In my first few months of fieldwork in central Java, I heard the comment: 'Oh, the pitch 2 on that gamelan is a little too low.' Since there is no concert pitch, no standard

³ For example, an oral account given to me in Bali in 1988 by I Gusti Agung Ngura Supartha, S.S.T.

⁴ Even in the foreign atmosphere of the American concert hall! Elsewhere I've mentioned hearing drummers from Mali and drummers from Ghana exchange drumming patterns in the wings of Royce Hall at UCLA.

pitch referent, we can be sure the speaker was referring to the relationship between pitch 2 and its higher and lower neighbours, pitches 3 and 1 respectively. In the course of years since then, I've learned that the speaker made a very gross observation. The subtle differences in tuning among all gamelan known to me are far more complex than simply differences in intervallic size. The actual size of a given interval in the same gamelan, in fact, varies from one octave to the next (Hood 1966).

If we take into account all the variables mentioned in connection with *bonang* kettles we begin to have some insight into the tuning of a gamelan. The final creative act in Bali is that of the person who adjusts the tuning according to the concept of *angkep-angkepan*, a Balinese word that means 'a coming together (of sound)'. After it has been tuned in accordance with a number of requirements (Hood 1966), he listens to the composite sound of the whole gamelan, and then makes further adjustments in tuning.

Before someone says, 'Oh, yes . . . strange things happen in the name of music in southeast Asia', let me give another example of creativity as it relates to tuning. This time, I take my example from the so-called tempered tuning system of European origin as it is applied to tuning a piano.

Years ago, after searching several hours among some 300 second-hand Steinway grand pianos for one that 'sounded just right' for me, I gave up. It was early in World War II, and the wood for piano soundboards was being used in the war effort to make PT boats. No new instruments were available. I had tried between 70 and 80 pianos: two models, 5' 102" and 6' 4". Shorter models had too small a sound; models over 6' 4" I couldn't afford. As I left the store, I could see the clerk thought I was not really interested in buying an instrument.

Outside, I noticed another Steinway in the store window. I went back to the clerk, ignored his exasperation, and asked to try the one in the window. I took off my shoes and climbed into the display window. After the first arpeggio and a few chords I got up and said to the startled clerk, 'I'll take it! How much is it?'

In the next half hour of writing a contract I learned something about voicing pianos. He was surprised that I really wanted to buy a piano and impressed that I had selected this one among the 300. 'You've chosen a Buriofsky!' he said. 'I think he's the best voicer of Steinways I've ever heard. This one was built and voiced in Germany.' He showed me the autograph written along the side of the highest key. For several years after that, I secretly examined the sides of the top or bottom key on every piano I saw. If the tuning was routine, the clerk had explained, the name of the tuner was stamped. If he or she was especially proud of the tuning, it was personally autographed. If there was no name at all, forget it.

The point of my story is not the reputation of the voicer but the fact that no two Steinways among the 300 sounded precisely the same - just like the variety of sounds of thousands of gamelan. That's not the only evidence of sensitive perception to tuning in the West. Recently on Public Television in the United States there was a story called

⁵ Kunst identified 17,282 on Java and neighbouring Madura alone; vide Kunst 1973: Vol. II, 570.

'The Tree of Music'. It was about the wood of the *mpingo* tree, a specimen of ebony.⁶ At one point a virtuoso clarinetist at the Boosey-Hawkes factory tried several different bells on the end of the instrument, turning and twisting each, until he found one that gave the clarinet a tone to his satisfaction. As a former clarinetist I can attest to the fact that - no two instruments of identical manufacture and model sound precisely the same. A good salesman in a music store always says, 'Try them all to see which one you like'.

Musicians' biographies

I want to congratulate members of the programme committee - in making the third theme 'musicians' biographies' and not 'composers' biographies'. I believe it is the most neglected subject in the field of research about music. Musicology has attended to this important aspect of musical practice, especially the biographies of composers. The same degree of attention has not been given to performers, instrument builders, voicers of pianos, etc. we might take a lesson from this fact.

Reflecting on four decades of exposure to music in many parts of the world I remember, above all, the artistry of individual performers, for instance, the Javanese *rebab* player Pak Pantjopangrawit, the *ud* player Munir Bashir in Bagdad, the Queen of Indian *Bharatnatyam* dancers, Balasariswati. I also remember the composite sound of a chamber symphony from Moscow, performing one night under the stars in Shiraz-Persepolis. Almost with a chill down my spine I can hear again the unique sound quality of a venerated gamelan *pelog*, played in Sumedang, West Java.

Shouldn't our notion of biographies extend also to ensembles, both players and instruments? And, of course, avoiding exclusive attention, let's not forget composers. Occasionally over the years I've heard the comment, 'Composers in Asia are anonymous. Their names are not important.' In this regard I don't claim to be an authority outside my studies in Java and Bali. But I want to point out that the names of composers in this part of the world are indeed known and respected. True, there is nothing like the time-depth known in European traditions. But during their life times and for at least a few generations following, the names, the compositions, and the stylistic individuality of some composers are well known.

Recently in Bali I had the personal pleasure of taking preliminary steps to organize a foundation in the name of the composer I Wayan Lotring. His name was first brought to the attention of Western musicians by the late Colin McPhee (1946). *Yayasan I Wayan Lotring* is the first foundation to honour a Balinese composer.⁷

My gamelan Semar Pegulingan, *Genta Pinara Pitu*, rehearses his compositions every week on Monday and Thursday nights. One of the objectives of our club, *Seka Genta Semara*, is to tour Bali performing his works in order to stimulate Balinese gamelan clubs to revive this great composer's music. This kind of emphasis, I believe,

⁶ Also known to clarinetists by the popular name of 'grenadilla' (granadilla), which is actually a species of tropical passion-fruit wood.

⁷ I want to acknowledge that in a truly communal society like Bali the concept of especial recognition of

the performance of composers' music, is one of the most important forms of biographical attention.

Conclusion

Throughout this Memorial Lecture I've given examples of detailed attributes of musical sound that ultimately generate all forms of change and innovation in music. We may not continue to ignore such details. Recognition of the 'untalkables' of music, which sometimes require very keen *perception*, together with the concept of bi-musicality, that is, *participation*, are both essential to viable research.

In 1994, I attended a conference of mathematicians, physicists, acousticians, and composers in Trieste. After my paper on 'The Untalkables of Music' (Hood 1995b), I was asked to write on the chalkboard the formula for QTM, the Quantum Theory of Music. Alas, neither I nor any member of *les six*, a self-appointed group interested in QTM, is able to do that. Perhaps we never shall be. At present, our *modus operandi* is asking questions. We try to identify neglected, overlooked, not-always-obvious phenomena that relate in any way to the *perception* of music. That order of perception is only possible by *participation*.

Before giving my first paper entitled 'The Quantum Theory of Music' at the Tenth European Seminar in Ethnomusicology in Berlin, 1990, I sent it to several persons for comment. I'd like to cite part of one response:

'I believe that looking through the prism of quantum physics reveals a universe so unlike the one we believe we know as to be very unsettling. As if one were thrust, after living in two dimensions all one's life, into a three dimensional environment. Frightening to the extent it is even imaginable. This seems consistent with the challenge embedded in your talk ['The Quantum Theory of Music']; you approach the study of music in a wholly new way. This does not, of course, mean abandoning the tools already in hand, though one may want to do so after the 'shock' of a new vision.' (Hood 1995b: 91, footnote 27).

I recommend to all my colleagues that we collaborate in attaining a new vision, a truly fresh way of regarding musical evolution, musical creativity, and musicians' biographies.

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TEACHING A MULTIMUSICAL SOUNDSCAPE NON-WESTERN MUSIC IN DUTCH BASIC EDUCATION TEACHING MATERIALS

Evert Bisschop Boele

*Abstract*¹

Music from all over the world has ever more become part of the Dutch 'soundscape'. Live music from non-European origin can be heard on the streets, in specialised theatres and at big festivals. Every record shop offers a wide variety of 'world music'. In most bigger towns you can learn to play the Indian sitar, Turkish *saz* or Indonesian *gamelan*. Cassettes and videos of all kinds of music can be bought in shops serving migrant groups, or are taken home from holidays. Radio and television offer a wide variety of programs on non-Western musics, and show advertisements using non-Western music to create a certain atmosphere. Those developments are beginning to be reflected in the music lessons in Dutch schools.

This article² focuses on the integration of non-Western music in one part of Dutch music education: for pupils of 12-15 years old. It gives an interpretation of the obligation to incorporate non-Western music in Dutch Basic Education and compares this interpretation with the way non-Western music is used in recently developed or revised teaching materials. I first introduce the Dutch educational system with an emphasis on Basic Education and the specific place of music in it. Then I shall present the music attainment targets of Basic Education, and discuss four topics related to the integration of non-Western music. The incorporation of non-Western music into the music curriculum will be related to the use of non-Western music in recent teaching materials. The article ends with a few statements on possible future developments and on the role ethnomusicologists might play in the process.

The Dutch educational system: General outline and the place of music

The Dutch educational system is divided into three parts: primary, secondary and higher education. Primary education spans eight years from the age of 4 to 12 years. At the age of 12 years pupils enter secondary education. The first phase of secondary education, called Basic Education, teaches children aged 12-15 years for three years on four different levels in a core-curriculum of fifteen subjects and, for some pupils, additional subjects as well. After this children choose one of four levels of examination. The preparation for the examination varies from one to three years.

Depending on the level of examination, pupils can leave the educational system at sixteen or choose some form of further education, ranging from apprenticeships via senior secondary education to higher education (higher vocational education and

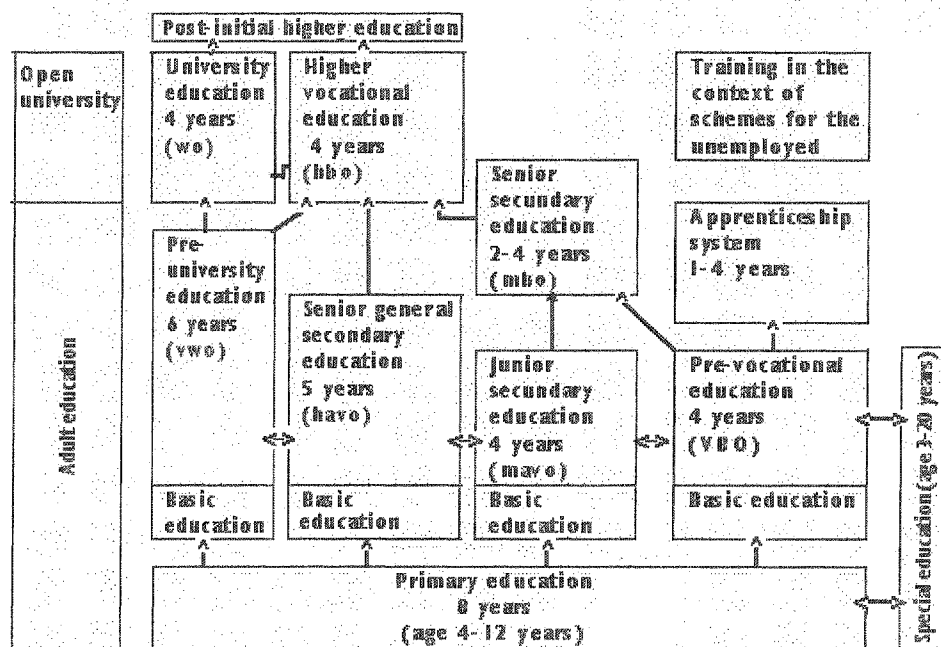
¹ This article also appeared in *Oideion; Performing Arts Online*, issue 2 (November 1997), <<http://www.iias.nl/oideion/journal/issue01/bisschop/index-a.html>>.

² Part of this article is based on papers presented at the 1995 Conference of the European Association for Music in Schools EAS, Cambridge, Great Britain, March/April 1995, and at the 34th World Conference of the International Council for Traditional Music, Nitra, Slovakia, June/July 1997. My visit to Cambridge was possible thanks to financial support of the PLATO-Program of the Dutch Department of Education/European Platform for Education. I thank Mr. Tjeerd Dooijes and Mrs. Kate Buchanan for their help with the English text.

university).

Music is taught at all levels of the Dutch educational system. In primary education music is part of the core curriculum and taught to all. This can take three forms: music can be taught by each regular classroom teacher, it can be taught to all classes by one of the classroom teachers who is a specialist in music, or it can be taught by an expert from outside the school.

In the core curriculum of Basic Education (12-15 years), two arts subjects must be chosen out of four. These four arts subjects are music, the visual arts, dance and drama.



Research shows that about 90 percent of the pupils choose music as one of their two arts subjects (Voogt 1994: 31).

Fig. 1. The Dutch Educational System. Source: Min. of Sc. and Ed., 1994: 5.

In the second phase of secondary education music is an optional subject leading to a final examination. At the moment few pupils choose music. This will change because the second phase is currently undergoing an intensive reform in which the place of music as an examination subject will be diminished for the lower levels of examination but reinforced for the higher levels (Himmelreich and Zitter 1997; Kremer 1995; Lommen 1995). After secondary education, music may be taught in senior secondary vocational education (training for example geriatric helpers or music therapists), in institutes for higher vocational education such as teacher training colleges or the twelve

conservatoires, or in universities in musicology departments and departments of related disciplines such as anthropology (Veenhoff 1996: 46).

To complete this overview, the system for non-professional individual vocal and instrumental training must be mentioned. Unlike e.g. Great Britain, where singing and the playing of instruments is, at least in theory, an integral part of music education at regular schools, in the Netherlands the practical training of vocal and instrumental skills takes place outside school, although many schools have school choirs and school orchestras, and some schools have special facilities for musically gifted pupils.

Traditionally vocal and instrumental training is a task of the (mainly municipal) music schools. Due to severe cuts in their budgets, a growing number of music students is taught by private teachers or in private institutes.

Basic Education and visions of music

Recently the first phase of secondary education in the Netherlands has been reformed, and it is now called Basic Education. Since 1993 every pupil from 12 years to 15 years is taught a core curriculum of fifteen subjects, ranging from languages to mathematics, from science to the humanities, and from computer technology to the arts.

For every subject of the core curriculum attainment targets were formulated (first version issued in English: see Ministry of Education and Science 1994; revised version for music: SLO 1997). The formulation of these targets is very concise. This is due to the fact that Basic Education is the result of a process of political negotiation in which the so-called 'freedom of education'-principle played an important role. As established in constitutional law, the Dutch government subsidises public and private schools (originally non-denominational and denominational schools respectively) on the same footing, and does not interfere with the actual educational processes, apart from maintaining a very general system of quality inspection and controlling the formulation of the final examinations.

The attainment targets can be made more concrete in many different ways, depending on the teacher's preferences and capabilities, the level of his pupils, the inventory of his classroom, the denomination of his school, etc. In fact, the only thing stated in the central goals is that a number of musical activities should take place: singing, making music on (classroom) instruments, composing and improvising, notating music, talking about music, and relating music to other arts. This puts an end to the older practice of music education in the Netherlands, in which nothing was specified and every music-teacher did what he thought best.

You may find the full text of the Attainment Targets for Music, as formulated by the Ministry of Science and Education (see SLO 1997: 173-174) in section 8.

As has been stated above, about 90 percent of all pupils in the first phase of secondary education choose music as a subject. The number of lessons these pupils receive varies because timetables are not fixed but only indicated by the government, and schools may deviate as they wish. About 50 percent of pupils receive 120 hours of music

teaching (roughly one lesson of fifty minutes a week over three years), the other 50 percent receive 80 hours or, in some cases, only 40 hours (Voogt 1995). In the time offered, pupils must reach a level as high as possible in the activities as indicated in the attainment targets. At the end of Basic Education, an examination takes place to measure the level reached by each pupil (CITO 1996).

Basic Education and visions of music

One of the important features of the revised version of the attainment targets for music in Basic Education is that they demand that a varied repertoire is used at schools. The targets say: 'The repertoire must be varied in structure, genre, style, function and cultural background' (SLO 1997: 173; translation EBB).

In the first version of the attainment targets this was more explicitly stated as follows: 'The music offered for listening and the repertory of songs and other pieces must be varied in structure, expression, types and genres, and reflect different functions of music and different - Western and non-Western cultures' (*Ministry of Science and Education* 1994: 79).

The inclusion of non-Western music is, however, not further specified, and leads to a host of questions of varying kinds: musicological as well as didactical, practical as well as ethical. In the following I shall present four of those questions and give a tentative answer. The answers are not 'official' answers, they do not represent Dutch government policies or widely accepted educational axioms. They represent a possible view on a delicate and interesting subject, and are intended to elucidate concepts and tendencies, stimulate discussions and raise further questions.

The first question is a rather general one: what vision of music is expressed in the music attainment targets of Basic Education? As we have seen, Basic Education asks the music teacher to use a varied repertoire. The vision of music should at least not hinder the use of such a repertoire.

In an influential publication (De Vuyst 1982: 35-37) three different currents in Dutch in-school music education are described:

1. the technical-analytical current, which emphasises the way music is constructed;
 2. the artistic current, which emphasises the existential importance of music for the individual;
 3. the current of social criticism, which emphasises the way music functions in society, and aims at individual consciousness of the ways music is used to manipulate people.
- Especially in the technical-analytical and the artistic currents, music education was based on the use of 'artistic valuable music': pupils should learn to listen to 'good' music, to write 'good' music or to play 'good' music. 'Good music' has mainly been interpreted as Western classical music.

The introduction of jazz and popular music in the classroom have over about twenty-five years widened the views on what is 'good music': some sorts of pop music and jazz have become 'good music' too. But little has changed in the centrality of the

concept of 'good music' in the music lesson. This also counts, but in a rather special way, for the current of social criticism: here also there has been a concept of 'good music', but Western avant-garde music usually took the place of Western classical music.

If one carefully reads the music attainment targets of Basic Education (section 8), one notices that none of those visions prevails: they are all present at the same time. In the attainment targets it is stated that pupils should be able to make music (sing, play, compose) and listen to music (transform, notate, verbalise). The music made and listened to should not be restricted to one style or genre, and should be treated in all its dimensions. Not only the formal musical aspects (the core of the technical-analytical current), but also 'meanings' (a problematic concept which deserves further explanation, but is central in the artistic current) and functions (the core concept of the social-critical current) of music should be investigated. On this basis pupils should be able to formulate their own views on music.

This vision of music may be called an existence-based vision of music (Bisschop Boele 1991a: 5; Van der Vaart 1982:61-62). It is not aimed at technical-analytical or individual-artistic skills nor at socio-political awareness, but at a realistic view of the sound, structure, meaning and function of all possible kinds of music prevalent in Dutch society. This last point links music to the general features of Basic Education. One of the three main aims of Basic Education is to 'learn [young people] to function meaningfully in our society' (Ministry of Science and Education 1994: 7), and in the 'TVS'-characteristics of Basic Education elements such as application and recognition are considered central to the educational process (*Procesmanagement* n.d.: 3).

It is tempting to compare this vision of music with the one used in ethnomusicology. The heart of ethnomusicology is often said to be its view on music not as a work of art but as a social practice. Music consists of sound, behaviour and ideas, as Merriam stated more than thirty years ago (Merriam 1964: 30-32), or, as Timothy Rice put it more recently: music is historically constructed, socially maintained and individually created and experienced (Rice 1987: 437). In Basic Education, music is seen in a comparable way: as sound-complexes with meanings and functions in society. This might imply a rethinking of the ideology of music education as arts education or aesthetic education (Elliott 1995). It also implies that ethnomusicologists might have something very important to tell music teachers.

Non-Western music: what is it anyway?

How does non-Western music fit into this existence-based vision of music? To answer this question we must know what is meant by 'non-Western music' in the attainment targets. This question, simple as it seems, has proven to be a complex one. To mention just a few problems: the term 'non-Western' is a negative term, stating that 'something' is 'not something else'; the term seems to divide the musical world in two equal hemispheres, a Western and a non-Western; the term seems to imply that all the musical systems inside the domain of non-Western music have something essential in common;

the term seems to draw sharp boundaries between the non-Western and the Western; and the term stresses the geographical origin of music. All these assertions seem to be implicitly part of the concept 'non-Western music'. When made explicit, they are easily refuted.

That is the reason some have chosen to use the word 'world music' instead, as is for example the case in the World Music department of the Rotterdam Conservatory and the world music schools which are part of many municipal music schools (see Van Amstel and Schippers 1995). However, this alternative offers no real solutions. It is true that world music is not a negative term, as non-Western music, and does not divide the world in two halves. But in theory one would say that all music is world music, while in practice users of the term mostly do not mean all music, but only some kinds of music: some musics are more world music than other musics. The term also implies, like 'non-Western music', a certain unity of its different musical styles. Even more problematic is the fact that, especially in British/American popular music circles, the term world music specifically meant those musics that are fusions of non-Western traditional and Western popular music styles (Sweeney 1991: X), although nowadays the concept world beat seems to gain importance. Recently it has been suggested that all music functioning outside its original context might be termed world music (Schippers 1994: 6). I do not think this offers any solution to the inherent lack of conceptual clarity.

Perhaps it would be wise not to restrict ourselves to the discussion of concepts, but also to look at the context of these concepts. The context of the concept 'non-Western music' is given in the first version of the attainment targets, of which the text has been cited above. In that context the concept of non-Western music is in my view not meant to indicate a 'kind of music' or a collection of different related kinds of music. 'Non-Western music' is explicitly used in combination with 'Western music', and merely points to the fact that music of all different geographical origins should be used in the classroom. The fact that the explicit mentioning of Western and non-Western music has disappeared in the revised version of the Basic Education attainment targets may well find its reason in this line of thinking.

In a didactical translation: each teacher should not restrict his repertoire any longer to the music he always used (be it Western classical, Western pop, jazz, or Javanese gamelan music), but he should use all music that is heard in Dutch society, wherever it comes from. Seen as such, defining 'non-Western music' loses its urgency. Non-Western music, world music or 'music you may hear in the Netherlands but never used in your music lesson' become more or less synonymous.

Multi-cultural or multi-musical?

A third and very important issue is the one that is generally known as 'multi-cultural education'. What is the relation between on the one hand the incorporation of non-Western music in the music curriculum and on the other hand the existence of

various cultural minorities³ in the Netherlands?

It is my experience that those two issues tend to be confused. It is claimed very often that the reason why non-Western music should be incorporated in the classroom in the first place is the presence of many different cultures in the Netherlands. Due to the arrival of people from the Dutch former colonies (Indonesia, Surinam, the Dutch Antilles), of migrant workers (mainly from Turkey and Morocco), and of refugees from various countries, the Netherlands have become a culturally heterogeneous society more so than it was fifty years ago. Together, the 'officially recognised minorities' counted in 1990 about 814.000 people, or 5 percent of the Dutch population (Tesser 1993: 8; for a discussion on terminology see Lucassen and Penninx 1994: 7-17). They brought along their music. To do their cultural background justice and to teach Dutch pupils to appreciate their background, it is argued, we should use their music in our classrooms; hence the obligation to teach non-Western music.

This is a misconception, I think. It is however an understandable one, given the recent popularity in the Dutch political world of ideas on multicultural, intercultural and nowadays trans-cultural education, its supposed positive effects on society, and especially the inherently positive role music could play in it. Also, the way the attainment targets have been developed gives some right to the above-expressed view. In the guidelines of the Ministry of Education to the commission who wrote the first version of the attainment targets for music, it was explicitly stated that the commission should 'do justice to differences between pupils starting from their proper identity. This applies to both the religious and the cultural diversity' (*Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen* 1989: 35; translation EBB). Thus, in the very first version of the attainment targets there is an explicit link between on the one hand the multi-cultural society and on the other hand the place of non-Western music in the attainment targets (*Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen* 1989: 12, 15, 25). This explicit link has vanished in the process of rewriting and condensing the attainment targets (from a document of forty-five pages to the present three pages), but implicitly it stays very much alive in the thoughts of many music educators.

The reason why I think it is nevertheless a misconception lies in the fact that in practice it leads to serious problems. One of the problems is that it is based on a rather superficial idea of what culture is. In ideas on multicultural education, cultures easily tend to be viewed as homogenous, with all 'members' having a uniform musical taste. This may lead to serious problems in the classroom, when individual Moroccan pupils are expected to be 'part' of the 'Moroccan community' and therefore to like Moroccan classical music or Rai. To be sure, some of them do, but even if they do, they maybe do not want to be confronted with it in the music lesson, and some of them like Michael Jackson or Bach better anyhow.

Secondly, the linking of non-Western music with the multi-cultural society might

³ I choose to use 'cultural minority'; it may also be read as 'ethnic minority', or 'migrant groups'.

lead to the idea that teaching non-Western music depends on the actual presence of pupils belonging to a cultural minority in the classroom. This would mean that schools in the poorer parts of the big cities would pay much attention to non-Western music while schools in 'white' neighbourhoods and in the provinces would hardly pay any attention at all. This is hard to combine with the demand that Basic Education should reflect the reality of Dutch society in general.

Taking the existence-based vision of music education described above as a starting point, it seems better to start from the concept of the multi-musical society than the multi-cultural society. The Netherlands have become a multi-musical society, but not only (and maybe even not mainly) because of the immigration of migrant workers and people from the former Dutch colonies. The growing influence of the media and of tourism may well be more important reasons for it. The incorporation of non-Western music in the core curriculum reflects the multi-musicality of Dutch society which in turn has been caused by the growing importance of non-Western music thanks to the media, tourism and immigration.

Non-Western music: handle with care?

The fourth question is: how to incorporate non-Western music in teaching? As has been said, the attainment targets of Basic Education are very concise, and can be interpreted in many ways. During my work within the Music section of the Dutch National Pedagogic Institutes/CPS, which supported schools and teachers at the introduction of Basic Education, we tried to formulate a practical way for the incorporation of non-Western music in Basic Education based on the above stated principles (Bisschop Boele 1991b, 1993a, 1993b). This led us to discern two steps in dealing with the incorporation of non-Western music in schools.

The first step is what we call a 'non-preferential choice of repertoire'. This means that in the classroom, the repertoire comes from various styles and genres, and specific styles and genres are not the main subjects of the lessons. On the contrary, subjects are chosen independent of genres: for example, lessons do not treat 'the Baroque era' or 'the history of popular music', but may focus on the way music is used in media-advertising, the role music plays in the life of children, or the many different ways of using drums. All these subjects enable the teacher to use all kinds of music freely, classical as well as popular music, classical North-Indian music as well as free jazz.

A non-preferential choice of repertoire is especially suitable to open up children's ears to 'strange music'. To put it crudely: if children of about twelve or thirteen years old are confronted out of the blue with a totally unknown kind of music, they tend to listen for ten seconds, conclude it's not Madonna, and start chatting with their neighbour, playing cards under the table or drawing a caricature of their teacher. Therefore we have to lead their attention away from the possible strangeness of this music and into a field they feel at home with or want to know more about. This means that an Arab flute is a flute in the first place, and only secondly Arab. In the long run, children eventually get

accustomed to the fact that music may sound strange but is always in some way comparable to music they know.

As soon as this goal has been reached, a second step can be taken: thematic sections of three to six lessons which centre around non-Western music instead of only touching it lightly. This second phase, in which children get a deeper acquaintance of one or more non-Western musics, may start a year after they start working with a non-preferential choice of repertoire. In this way, we try to reconcile two currents in thinking about non-Western music in education: the one which exposes children to non-Western music without presenting it as something 'different', and the other which gives children a thorough and well-considered musicological introduction to one or more non-Western musics. Both can, and should, exist side by side. None of them excludes the other.

Of course the question remains what to do with 'our' minorities. Are we to pay specific attention to what we consider to be the home cultures of our pupils coming from other parts of the world? If so, how? Do teachers have enough knowledge and skills? Or should we rely on outsiders such as professional musicians or talented parents?

In the Netherlands, this question can only be answered with reservation. Of course, every pupil deserves to be taken seriously in its musical background and interests. However, the field is tricky, because pupils are not always what we think they are. Sometimes a 'Turkish' pupil turns out to be a member of the Syrian Orthodox church, or, maybe even more embarrassing, a Kurd. Knowing a pupil to be Moroccan doesn't mean we know his musical taste: he may like Cheb Khaled, take lessons on *`ud*, be a Berber listening to Rwaiss, a fan of The Fugees or crazy about Beethoven's piano-concertos. And even if we know a particular Moroccan pupil likes Cheb Khaled, this doesn't mean he wants to be known as such in the classroom. Especially for children aged 12-15 years are busy building identities through identifications, in which group-processes are extremely important.

What has to be done with the cultural backgrounds of pupils is so dependent on circumstances that it should be left to the professionals in the classrooms to decide; no National Recipes should be given. But whatever is done with the cultural backgrounds of pupils (all pupils!), it should be done carefully. Prejudices and stereotypes are easily created and much harder dispelled.

Teaching materials for Basic Education

Until now I have interpreted the attainment targets as follows. Music education should reflect the multi-musicality of Dutch society, a result of the influence of media, tourism and the arrival of cultural minorities. Therefore all kinds of music from all parts of the world should be part of it. Music should be seen as sound complexes with meanings and functions in society. In practice teachers may start incorporating small particles of non-Western music in the curriculum, followed by a more extensive approach. The music of cultural minorities in the Netherlands should be handled with care and according to the requirements of the situation.

Educational reforms can only be called successful if they change actual practices in the classroom. The best way to find out whether or not non-Western music has, since the introduction of Basic Education, become an integral part of music teaching, is to look in the classroom. Up till now, this has not been possible on a scale big enough to render reliable results. An alternative would be to interview music teachers or carry out a postal survey. Although plans exist, until now this has not been carried out either. The only way at this moment to get an impression of the state of affairs vis-à-vis the introduction of non-Western music in Basic Education is to look at teaching materials.³

Before the introduction of Basic Education ten different music textbooks existed.⁴ Some of these were recent, others rather old, some were widely, others hardly used. When Basic Education was introduced, six were taken out of print, and three (*Muziek op maat*, *Van laag tot hoog* and *Weten wat je hoort*, the last one appearing under the new title *Muziek*) were revised. Three new textbooks emerged: *Muziekwereld*, *Overal muziek* and *Stemming*.⁵ This makes a total of six music textbooks especially written or revised for Basic Education. A seventh one, *Intro*, is appearing at the moment of writing this article and will not be discussed here.⁶

Of these six, two pay hardly any attention to non-Western music. *Van laag tot hoog* restricts itself to a short chapter on the dance in which some attention is paid to an Amerindian song from Bolivia and a short introduction is given on folk song and dance.⁷ *Muziek* shows no interest in non-Western music at all, unless you reckon the example of Greek *bouzouki*-music (in the teacher's pack announced as 'the sound of the bazookas') to be a non-Western example.

The four other textbooks have all incorporated non-Western music in different ways. This is enjoyable. Compared to the situation before Basic Education the situation has very much improved: of the nine then current textbooks only one (the first version of *Muziek op maat*) paid any attention at all to non-Western music.

Muziekwereld dedicates in each of its three textbooks one thematic section to

³ Part of the following section is based on Bisschop Boele, Sand-brink, and Streefkerk 1995. A first version of this short analysis appeared as Bisschop Boele 1995.

⁴ These are: *Bezig met muziek*, *Hier zit muziek in*, *Klankbord*, *Luisterend leren luisteren*, *Luister-rijk*, *Met de muziek mee*, *Muziek op maat*, *Tijd voor muziek*, *Van laag tot hoog* and *Weten wat je hoort*. See for the bibliographical data the References, Music textbooks for Basic Education.

⁵ In a rather literal translation the titles of these methods read: Music by measure (*Muziek op maat*), From low to high (*Van laag tot hoog*), Knowing what you hear/Music (*Weten wat je hoort/Muziek*) The world of music (*Muziekwereld*), Music everywhere (*Overal muziek*) en Tuning (*Stemming*). See for the bibliographical data the References, Music textbooks for Basic Education.

⁶ Some textbooks appear in different versions for different levels. The version aiming at the intermediate level (for pupils who will eventually take a Junior Secondary Education examination) has been the basis of the present analysis. This means for *Muziek op maat* the A-version, for *Stemming* the vbo/mavo-version and for *Overal muziek* the m/vbo-version. See for the bibliographical data the References, Music textbooks for Basic Education.

⁷ It is fair to say, though, that another revision is planned and the authors have announced they want to incorporate more non-Western music.

non-Western music. In textbook 1, for example, this thematic section, called 'Non-Western Traditional Music', contains chapters on India, Indonesia, China/Japan, the Middle East, South America and Africa. In total, about one fifth of the materials is dedicated to non-Western music, and a nearly global coverage is achieved.

Concerning content, *Muziekwereld* is a problematic book. The book is based on three pillars: it gives information on the music of the area, contains assignments in which some aspects of the information are arranged by topic, and practical materials. The information tends to give an overview of the most important aspects of the main music of the area. Due to its shortness, this leads to a rather superficial, often imprecise and sometimes incorrect presentation. The book moreover quite often chooses an 'us versus them'-style, as in this example from the chapter on the Middle East from textbook 1: 'The Arab violin looks very different from our Western violin. [...] On the photograph you see an old chum from Tunisia playing the instrument. With his fingers he presses on the strings to change the pitch. Naturally this fiddle sounds different from our own Western violin.' (see Figure 2)⁸

Muziek op maat focuses on non-Western music in textbook 2. In the first half, Europe and North America are covered. The second half is dedicated to the non-Western world, and treats the Caribbean world (Cuba, Trinidad, Jamaica), Africa (South, Central, East and West) and Asia (China, India, Indonesia). In some ways *Muziek op maat* resembles *Muziekwereld*: a geographical basis, a tendency to give coverage to a great part of the world (although the Arab world, South-America and Australia/Oceania are absent; the Arab world is reckoned to be part of Asia and is represented by 'Araby' (!) and Turkey), and a lot of information that is not always reflected in practical materials or other assignments. On the whole, however, the texts are more precise and less fragmentary, and the practical material does more justice to the originals.

In *Stemming* non-Western music is to be found in the last chapters (as in *Muziek op maat*; in *Muziekwereld* the thematic sections on non-Western music are always somewhere in the middle of the book). In textbook 1 for example this last chapter contains a musical voyage linking home (techno-house) via African drums, gamelan and Tex-Mex with home again (a compositional assignment to finish the whole book).

⁸ 'De Arabische viool ziet er wel heel anders uit dan onze Westerse viool. (...) Op de foto zie je een oude baas uit Tunesië op het instrument spelen. Met zijn vingers drukt hij de snaren in om de toonhoogte te veranderen. Vanzelfsprekend heeft deze viool een andere klank dan onze eigen Westerse viool.'



Figure 2: 'Arab violin' from Ari van Vliet (1993, *Tekstboek* 1:67)

The main differences between *Stemming* and the two preceding textbooks are the non-geographical ordering and the avoidance of (semi-)complete overviews by restricting itself to one or two very specified topics. Texts, on the other hand, tend to be rather crude. The presentation of African music for example, from textbook 1 par. 5.2, seems hardly adequate:

To make an African piece yourself, one person should play a constantly repeating basic rhythmic pattern. Others play another rhythm that resembles the basic pattern as little as possible.' (see Figure 3)⁹

⁹ 'Om zelf een Afrikaans speelstuk te maken moet één persoon een basisritme spelen dat voortdurend herhaald wordt. Anderen spelen een ander ritme dat zo weinig mogelijk lijkt op het basisritme'.

8 Werkboek

Je hoort nu een intro waarbij op ieder instrument hetzelfde wordt gespeeld. Deze inleiding vormt een soort aankondiging dat het feest gaat beginnen.
Welke instrumenten spelen voornamelijk de inleiding?
Welke instrumenten komen er na de inleiding bij?
Schrijf de antwoorden in je werkboek.

9 Werkboek

Om zelf een Afrikaans speelstuk te maken moet één persoon een basisritme spelen dat voortdurend herhaald wordt. Anderen spelen een ander ritme dat zo weinig mogelijk lijkt op het basisritme.

Basisritme

Maak in je werkboek met een groepje een speelstuk. Zorg ervoor dat het stuk begint met een aantal keren het basisritme en voeg dan de andere ritmes eraan toe. Spreek met elkaar een duidelijk slot af.

Hier tegen in met
naar ritme. Je

Figure 3: African rhythm. From: Arets, Willy, Gérard Holthuisen, Tessa Kraus and Raoul Wijffels (1994:100).

Overall muziek is very different from the other three. It does not contain special chapters on non-Western music, but integrates it in all thematic sections. For example, thematic section 2 of textbook 1, called 'Messages', contains short excerpts of African talking drums and their relationship to tonal languages, of a *vina*-player teaching his pupil rhythms by mnemonics, and, when bells and chimes are the subject, of a gamelan-orchestra. In textbook 3, some larger parts of the book are dedicated to non-Western music, including the music of cultural minorities in the Netherlands.

The occasional mistakes are present as well, but the biggest problem is the way the subjects of the book are arranged. The different thematic sections are based on extra-musical themes. As a consequence, many different kinds of music may figure within one chapter or even paragraph. This sometimes leads to problems when trying to view these smaller sections in the totality of a chapter or a thematic section. In all books, the authors have tried not only to let pupils listen to and talk about

non-Western music, but also to ensure other activities take place. Mostly this is playing and singing. Many problems are encountered here: should we present a gamelan piece on classroom instruments as 'a real gamelan piece'? How can we sing or play Arab music? What role does notation play? Even more problematic (and interesting) are questions concerning other activities, one of the main ones being: can we use non-Western music in composition assignments? To those questions, every textbook has worked out its own practical solutions. Theoretical reflections are rare.

As for the strategy proposed above to start with a non-preferential choice of repertoire and further along the road include one or more special themes on aspects of non-Western music, this seems not to have been implemented yet in any of the text-books. *Muziekwereld*, *Muziek op maat* and *Stemming* all contain special chapters on non-Western music. But without the inclusion of non-Western music in other chapters this may lead to the impression that non-Western music is a special area, a 'Non-Western Reservation'. *Overal muziek* on the other hand consequently uses a non-preferential choice of repertoire, but this leads to a certain superficiality that is in my opinion not really balanced by the somewhat more extensive parts in textbook 3.

The place of the music of cultural minorities in the Netherlands is not reflected in *Muziek op maat*, but it is in the other three. On the one hand this is to be praised, on the other hand it may lead to some problems. Especially the formulation of texts is not always well-chosen, making a difference between 'us' and 'them'. This is not only the case in *Muziekwereld* (as has been shown above). For example, in *Overal muziek*, textbook 3 thematic section 4, it says:

'In our country live many people from other continents. Together they are part of our Dutch society.'¹⁰

Conclusion

In my view the introduction of Basic Education has led to a substantial growth in the share of non-Western music in teaching materials. This is something we should be very happy with. With this growth of the share of non-Western music, serious problems have emerged that should be dealt with. To name a few:

- the way non-Western music is treated is sometimes rather superficial, imprecise or even wrong;
 - the possibilities and problems of dealing with non-Western music in the regular music lesson are not reflected upon theoretically;
 - the question of what to do with the music of cultural minorities is not yet answered.
- These challenges should, in my view, be attacked not simply by the author(s) of a music textbook or by an individual teacher or individual ethnomusicologist, but by a team in which music teachers, ethnomusicologists and educationalists work together. This

¹⁰ 'In ons land wonen veel mensen uit andere werelddelen. Samen maken ze deel uit van onze Nederlandse samenleving.'

presents us with a problem. Basically the relation between music teachers and ethnomusicologists is one of mutual, and often legitimate, suspicion.

The ethnomusicologist quite often observes that the way music teachers use non-Western music in their classrooms is superficial, if not incompetent. On the other hand, the music teacher often finds out that advice given by ethnomusicologists is totally unhelpful - if the ethnomusicologist gives any advice at all; it is not unusual for ethnomusicologists to state that the music teacher should stay out of non-Western music because it can only be taught by specialists.

This last advice denies the very heart of music education: by its nature music education (as every other kind of education) simplifies the world in order to enable pupils to cope with it. The option offered in Van Amstel en Schippers (1995) not to leave non-Western music to the regular teacher but to work together with professional musicians is in my opinion no solution for this particular problem. If non-Western music is to be taught in the classroom music lesson, then it should be done by the classroom music teacher. The handing over of non-Western music to specialists may give exactly the wrong signal: it would set apart non-Western music as extra-ordinary music, as something special. Special programs with qualified musicians must be developed for non-Western music, just as they have been developed for popular music, classical music, avant-garde music and jazz. However, these special programs can not dismiss the music teacher from his task of 'doing something' with all music. The solution should be that ethnomusicologists and teachers work intensively together, both contributing the best of their own specialization without invading the domain of the other. If both sides would accept each other's peculiarities, much would be won.

Although a lot of work remains to be done, the first steps to give non-Western music a place in Basic Education have been made. Developments are not only to be found in Basic Education teaching materials, but also find parallels in other domains:

- in a project from the Institute for Curriculum Development SLO for primary education, an ethnomusicologist currently collects on the basis of the National Curriculum music from all over the world. A music teacher uses this material and the commentaries on it to make concrete teaching materials. This is sent back to the ethnomusicologist, who gives comments on the way the music is represented;
- special projects such as concerts by professional musicians and relationships with municipal music schools have, on the instigation of the Dutch Institution for Art Education LOKV, received much attention recently;
- an introductory book on non-Western music in Basic Education has recently been published (Bisschop Boele 1997b);
- with regard to the revision of the second phase of secondary education, the Dutch Society for Ethnomusicology 'Arnold Bake' has intensively commented on the first drafts of the new Examination Syllabus (Herfs et al. 1995; Bisschop Boele 1996);
- a joint request to the Institute for Curriculum Development SLO from 'Arnold Bake' and the two professional organizations for music teachers to write a Handbook of

world music for the second phase of secondary education has been granted;

- an international project to make an inventory of teaching materials on non-Western music in three neighbouring countries (Germany, Belgium and Great Britain), partly with European money, is in preparation;
- various conservatoires are now offering introductory courses on non-Western music in their Music Education curricula (Bisschop Boele 1997a), as well as refresher courses for those already working in the field.¹¹

The most important problem, however, remains: the working condition of the music teacher. A full-time music-teacher in the Netherlands teaches twenty-nine lessons a week. This may mean: twenty-nine different classes, about nine-hundred pupils every week. After learning their names by heart it leaves very little room to think about non-Western music in music education, let alone the fact that most teachers also have to correct pupils' papers, lead a school choir or a school orchestra, sing the newest pop songs, fight to obtain and maintain their classroom instruments, and change their school books every five years. Music is, in that respect, one of the most demanding subjects in the curriculum. This is not an excuse for not teaching pupils non-Western music, but it is the reason why all those involved should be contented with rather low-key ideals, trying to take small steps while retaining the interest and commitment of the teachers involved.

In this article I showed that the first steps have been taken. However, there is still a long way to go. When everybody takes his own task seriously and, especially, takes everybody else's task seriously, we may get somewhere near our ideal: to give non-Western musics the place they deserve in education, a place together with all other musics, simply as music.

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¹¹ It is a pity we have to notice a contrary motion on university level, where the only existing chair for ethnomusicology in the Netherlands may disappear.

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Appendix: The attainment targets for music in Basic Education (Source: SLO 1997: 173-174)

General Aim

The general aim of music education is that pupils:

- acquire skills in performing and designing music;
- acquire skills in listening to and appraising music;
- acquire knowledge of and are able to apply musical concepts (formal-musical aspects, functions and meanings);
- acquire insight in the functions and meanings of music in society;
- acquire skills and knowledge on the terrain of music in order to be able to take decisions on further education, their future profession, and their social functioning including leisure activities.

Attainment targets

Domain A: Making music

1. The pupils can:

- a. perform a varied repertoire of songs, learnt by ear. The repertoire is varied in structure, genre, style, function and cultural background;
- b. perform the songs in a suitable tempo, in time, rhythmically, in tune, with phrasing, articulation, dynamics and expression.

2. The pupils can:

- a. perform a varied repertoire of song accompaniments and instrumental compositions. The repertoire is varied in structure, genre, style, function and cultural background, and is learnt by ear and/or from notation;
- b. perform the songs in a suitable tempo, in time, rhythmically, in tune, with phrasing, articulation, dynamics and expression.

3. The pupils can:

- a. deliberate with other pupils and work together in order to play song accompaniments and instrumental compositions;
- b. contribute to the evaluation of singing and instrumental playing.

Domain B: Shaping music (composing/improvising)

4. The pupils can improvise/compose music. They are able to complete, vary or shape an (extra)musical given.

5. The pupils are able to:

- a. deliberate with other pupils and work together while executing an improvisation/composition. They pay attention to planning, distribution of tasks, design and execution;
- b. take into account their own possibilities and restrictions when preparing, executing and evaluating compositions/improvisations;
- c. contribute to the evaluation of singing and instrumental playing.

Domain C: Presenting music

6. The pupils are able to present a repertoire in a group to others, e.g. to classmates. The repertoire consists of: songs, examples from their playing repertoire, compositions and improvisations.

Domain D: Listening to music

7. The pupils are able to:

- a. listen to and understand a presentation, lecture or discussion about music;
- b. interpret texts about music;
- c. acquire and process information about music, among other things, from computerised databases;
- d. memorise musical concepts and texts concerning music.

8. The pupils are able to complement, order or change formal musical aspects such as rhythm, tempo, dynamics, timbre, global development of tone-height, and structure in a listening score by means of graphic notation.

9. The pupils are able to distinguish, recognise and name formal musical aspects such as rhythm, tempo, dynamics, timbre, global development of tone-height and structure in a listening score by means of graphic notation.

10. The pupils are able to indicate in their own words meanings and functions of music, if possible referring to musical aspects and associations with extra-musical facts.

11. The pupils are able to represent musical aspects and meanings of music in movement, playing, images or language.

12. The pupils can indicate in their own words how they experience music by referring to musical aspects, meanings and functions of music. They can involve opinions of others in it.

13. The pupils have, among other things, as a result of practical preparatory activities visited at least one musical performance, and have reported on it by means of previously announced points.

TO SEEK BEAUTIFUL DREAMS ROCK IN CHINA

Jeroen de Kloet

*Abstract*¹

In this article I introduce Chinese rock culture, including producers, singers as well as the audience. I shall describe how globally affected processes of transformation have changed and increased the space in which young people in China can construct their identity. The Chinese government as well as educators and parents try to govern this space. The interplay between globalisation and surveillance has resulted in the emergence of a new, exciting youth subculture in China: the rock culture. Here, young people transgress the boundaries as drawn by society through the development of specific styles. The music expresses their current confusion, as well as a longing to make a difference in a society that stresses conformity and obedience.

Foreign investors play a crucial role in the promotion of rock. In their hope on a financially more satisfactory future they continue to invest in rock, thus frequently offering the audience new releases. The audience uses the music to cope with the shared feelings of confusion and fatalism. Through rock they share these feelings with others. They temporarily slip into a different identity, full of energy, giving them a sense of freedom, to be drawn back by a different reality when the music is turned off.

Introduction

...again, history has made an odd kind of swerve, and produced a new shared vocabulary that links the young and their open-minded elders across both cultures, and has proved hard for the repressive forces of the Chinese state to contain. I refer to the vocabulary, both musical and linguistic, of rock-and-roll. Rock became the symbolic language of the Tiananmen demonstrations in 1989, and continues to flourish above and below ground. Once again technology links with language...

Jonathan Spence, NWO/Huygens lecture 1995, The Hague.

The Tiananmen demonstrations in 1989 form a significant turning point in China's ongoing transformation. Since then communist ideology has further lost its importance as a system of meaning for Chinese. Instead, a new Chinese culturalism, with a strong focus on China's unique national characteristics (*guoqing*), brought forward by intellectuals, politicians, journalists as well as businessmen considerably gained importance. Indicative is the cult around Mao in the 90s, the growing popularity of religion as well as the re-emergence of the traditional Chinese values of Confucianism. Despite political

¹ This article also appeared, with audio-visual examples, in *Oideion; Performing Arts Online*, issue 2 (September 1998). See <<http://www.iiias.nl/oideion/journal/issue02/kloet/index-a.html>>

conflicts, references to a 'Greater China', linking together the economies, cultures and languages of Taiwan, China and Hong Kong, are very much *en vogue* now. This focus on 'Chineseness' coincides with a booming economy in the urban areas, which has triggered a rapid commercialisation of the cultural scene. By developing specific policy measures, such as stimulating Taiwanese investments or restricting the outreach of foreign TV channels, the Chinese Communist Party plays a crucial role in these processes of transformation.

Some Chinese search for different routes to construct their cultural identity. The rock culture in Beijing is a particularly salient example of a cultural domain where young Chinese experiment with new cultural identities, that go beyond role models as provided by parents, educators and the state. At the same time, these identities are intertwined with both nationalist and commercialist discourses and practices. Beijing is the centre of rock'n'roll, not only in China, but also in East and South-East Asia. Record companies in Hong Kong and Taiwan are more and more interested in rock from the mainland.

Based on research in Xiamen (Fujian province) and Beijing, this article elaborates on the underlying causes of the emergence of the rock culture in China, on the rock musicians themselves, the record producers and the audiences.² It is argued that for an understanding of the emergence of the rock culture in China theories of globalisation will prove useful to frame the analysis. Elements of sub-cultural theory will be used to analyse the rock subculture in Beijing. Based on interviews with youngsters in Xiamen, I will touch upon the response of the audience on the music. As such, this article aims at introducing the Chinese rock culture, as well as providing some cues with which these cultural practices can be studied.

Imagining the West

Both in China as in the West, Chinese rock is often said to symbolize China's path to 'Westernisation', thereby indicating a profound cultural loss. The caption of a photo of the band Cobra in a Dutch magazine states that 'Chinese youth imitates anything that is Western.' (van der Linden 1995: 22). Western audiences often cannot relate to rock from the mainland, used as they are to the reverse orientalism from the exotic, nostalgic imaginary of, among others, Zhang Yimou (the director of *Raise the Red Lanterns*, see: Pickowitz 1995: 213). In Chinese rock music (*zhongguo yaogun yinyue*), 'The Other' comes scarily close to 'The Self', clear-cut boundaries gradually dissolve in sounds of electric guitars. These opinions are related to the debate on globalisation. This concept refers to 'the processes by which trans-national signs and practices are welded into the

² In this survey questions were asked on music preferences and on the popularity of Cui Jian. In Beijing (spring 1995, winter 1997, summer 1997), apart from visits to concerts, musicians, record-producers and Chinese scientists active in similar research have been interviewed. For privacy reasons, several names of respondents have been changed. Because of my limited knowledge of the Chinese language, an interpreter assisted me during the interviews. I would like to thank both the Amsterdam School for Social Sciences and the Dutch Foundation for Scientific Research (NWO) for their financial support.

diverse cultural configurations, into the contested realities and multiple subjectivities, of most late twentieth-century social scapes' (Comaroff and Comaroff 1993: xiv). Earlier research has shown that the idea of cultural homogenisation as the outcome of today's globalisation, in which the world gradually turns into a singular place where everyone becomes assimilated into a common culture, is incorrect (Appadurai 1990, Hannerz 1987). On the contrary, processes of globalisation increase rather than decrease cultural heterogeneity. Indicative is the current rise and celebration of local cultures.

Apart from being rooted in a naive belief in cultural purity and authenticity, the thesis-thesis is also rooted in simplistic dichotomies like 'the global' vs. 'the local' or 'the west' vs. 'the rest'. One cannot divide the world in a single centre and the periphery. Global cultural flows not only emerge from London or New York, but also from Hong Kong and Taipei (van der Veer 1994:2). Power asymmetries do exist however. Due to static polarities like global/local the complex interaction and mutual interdependence between these terms is ignored. Earlier accounts of the rock culture in Beijing are deeply rooted in the dichotomy West versus China.

Chinese rock musicians constantly negotiate different cultural flows. Different, both in time (through frequent references to China's past) and space (through frequent references to non-Chinese cultures), the music both reflects and reinterprets processes of globalisation. Beijing's rock-singer He Yong calls his music *Qilin*, a Chinese animal that consists of elements of other animals. Although it consists of different parts, it is in itself a specific, unique creature (Sackman 1992). The name of the hard-rock band Tang Dynasty (*Tang Chao*) refers consciously to China's rich musical and cultural history (the arts flourished during the Tang Dynasty). Many bands use traditional Chinese instruments. In the lyrics they reflect upon life in today's China. However, one should not fall into the trap of rigidly separating 'the local' from 'the global' in the music. In fact, the local *is* the global under the current conditions of globalisation (Fabian 1997). Some Chinese rock musicians deliberately refuse to use any Chinese instrument, thereby expressing their annoyance about those Western journalists and academics, who so desperately search for Chinese-ness in the music. Chinese rock is a fluid, creative amalgamation of different cultural flows.

The wider cultural arena in which the rock culture emerged after 1985 consists of tourists and foreign students who were the first to import and distribute musical styles to China that were totally new (ethnoscapes). Images spread by TV networks such as Star TV and especially music channels as MTV and Channel V further introduced life styles, images and musical styles unknown in China (mediascapes).

Technological developments, such as the introduction of the Walkman and the rapid growth of cassette technology, have further opened up the market in China for new musical styles (technoscapes; Friedlander (1991) elaborates on the importance of cassette technology for the development of Chinese popular music). The growing interest of foreign record companies, mainly based in Hong Kong, Taiwan and Japan has accelerated a further commodification of the music (finanscapes).

Ideoscapes is the last domain Appadurai (1990) refers to in his exposé of the scapes that together construct imagined worlds in a highly globalised setting. 'Ideoscape' refers to the imagery and ideology of the state, like frequent propaganda against spiritual pollution from the West, which produces counter ideologies as sometimes expressed in popular music.



Photo 1: Post-punk band The Fly. Photo taken by Xiao Xue

Sub-cultural Theory

The term 'subculture' has been coined in the 1940s and has since then be used to describe and analyse all kinds of social groups (like punks, football-hooligans, male-prostitutes and queers, for an overview see: Gelder and Thornton 1997). The Birmingham Centre of Cultural Studies has set the agenda in the 1970s with two major publications: *Resistance Through Rituals* (Hall and Jefferson 1976) and *Subculture, The Meaning of Style* (Hebdige 1979). Whereas the first predominantly used class as the key to discover sub-cultural meanings, the latter used style and race as their organising principles (McRobbie 1991). Subcultures were seen as symbolical forms of resistance against a dominant culture. Through the development of specific styles (said to 'be pregnant with significance', full of symbols from the dominant culture, that were transformed, given new 'fresh' meanings (Hebdige 1979:18)), subcultures were thought to subvert dominant values and challenge mainstream culture. This 'semiotic guerrilla warfare' (Hebdige 1979:101 quotes Eco here) is doomed to fail, mainstream culture will

either incorporate (and thus destroy) a subculture or the subculture will conveniently be labelled as being too exotic to be taken seriously.

The sub-cultural response is seen as an, albeit imaginative, solution on a perceived problem. This is a functionalist explanation, we might wonder whether there is anything that needs to be solved (as I once remarked 'maybe the one and only reason *is* fun fun fun...' (Kloet 1994)). The argument is also too much based on a rigid hegemony-model. Culture is conveniently categorized; the emphasis is solely on difference, on deviance. A fixed dichotomy 'mainstream culture' versus 'subculture', in which each cultural domain is treated as homogenous and sharply bounded, is problematic. The terms 'mainstream' and 'dominant', which are so often used in these dichotomies, are problematic in itself, as they overemphasize contrasts and differences.

Rather than incorporating and destroying a subculture, commercial institutions from the wider cultural milieu often facilitate the development of a subculture. Broadcasting of Chinese rock on MTV-Asia and Channel V (another music-channel, part of Rupert Murdoch's Star-TV system), has stimulated rather than hindered the development of Chinese rock. Through Channel V, Chinese rock gained considerable recognition in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Japan. Furthermore, both domains are intertwined and overlap each other. 'The relation is subtle, complex and sometimes devious. A subculture will rarely be simply oppositional, precisely because it exists within a wider cultural milieu which affects it and which it in turn affects.' (Bakken 1994: 273). This symbiotic relation between subcultures and its wider cultural milieu as well as the internal dynamics of both cultural domains should be taken into account while discussing any specific subculture.

Finally, the idea of a monolithic subculture creates the myth of a uniform identity for its members. Rather the contrary is the case. People's involvement in the rock culture differ. Some will play in the weekends and go to university during the week, whereas others might be deeper or less involved. Thus, the rock culture of Beijing is a highly fragmented subculture, with multiple relations to its wider cultural milieu and with constantly shifting, permeable boundaries. It is a fragmented cultural practice, both concerning the styles as well as the involvement of musicians and audiences. Before I will elaborate on the music and the musicians, I will briefly touch on some important developments of the wider cultural milieu that have stimulated the growth of rock.

Surveillance in China

The opening of China to the outside world has accelerated processes of modernization and reform. The 1989 demonstrations formed the apotheosis of a period of relative freedom, in which artists and intellectuals vividly reflected and commented on contemporary Chinese culture and discussed their ideals for the future (for an overview of that 'cultural debate', see: Barmé & Jaivin 1992, and Geist 1996). In the 1990s young people have mainly lost interest in Chinese politics. As Ai Lin (female, 20) told me:

'People think politics is like a child; it's always changing and inventing different policies. Young people think it's better to make money and don't care too much about politics.'

With the grand narratives of communism and - as far as most young, urban Chinese concerns - Confucianism (the traditional Chinese ideology with a strong focus on conformity and obedience) gradually fading away, Chinese society has turned into a 'multi-discursive society' (Fiske 1994: 4). Avant-garde painter Fang Lijun refers to the current *Zeitgeist* among urban youth (Zha 1995: 111):

'We prefer to be called the lost, bored, crisis-ridden, bewildered hoodlums, but we will not be cheated again. Don't think about educating us with old methods, for we shall put ten thousand question marks across all dogmas, then negate them and toss them on the trash heap.'

The process of transition causes feelings of uncertainty for many young Chinese. In the words of Wan Dong (male, 24):

'Young people cannot go back to traditional culture; they try to form a new style of culture. But this culture is still not systematic, still on its way. Some young people feel they don't have any direction, they don't know what to do. Traditional culture is already broken up, but we still haven't produced another culture that suits us.'

The Chinese government is aware of the underlying dangers, caused by individualization and cultural pluralism, and has developed strategies to cope with them. Their attempts to control processes of transition are partly focused on the guidance of young people to become respected, honourable Chinese citizens.³

Chinese theories on youth and socialization stress the importance on maintaining order by teaching young people how to behave and obey. For instance, the sociologist Peng Xincan elaborates on dangerous life-styles that are 'adopted or created from the models that are foreign and alien. Identity comes through outward appearance and personal experience more than before. Everything is in flux, youth seek identity in things with no standards, and their behaviour signals disorder and danger.' (quoted in: Bakken 1994:256).

So both the party as well as academics observe, explain and steer the life of Chinese youth. Their gaze penetrates deep into the daily life of youngsters, despite its invisibility. Bakken describes the complex modes of surveillance, for instance, the disciplining of the body through the development of standards for good and wrong standing and sitting positions among school students, as well as a firm control over style (like dressing up and using make up).⁴ These politics of normalisation are also reflected in language.

³ One important process that deserves further inquiry is the current rise of nationalism as the unifying ideology. Nationalist sentiments increasingly link official culture with non-official cultures, like the rockculture. According to Barmé (1995:213) >since 1989 there have been numerous indications of a growing disenchantment with the West.' The nationalism as expressed in the rock from Tang Dynasty resembles today's Party ideology. See also: Jones 1994 and Lee 1996. However, Chinese authorities have very often been cautious about the danger of decadent Western influences (with the Cultural Revolution as an extreme example). Chinese policies towards youth strongly resemble official policies of the former Soviet Union, see: Pilkington 1994.

⁴ On the concept surveillance, see: Foucault 1976, 1983 and Hebdige 1988.

Illustrative is the emergence of a new category in the 1980s: the *liumang*. It is a label with several connotations, like 'criminal' and 'hooligan', but it is also used for rock musicians. It separates the normal from the abnormal. However, others use this label proudly to emphasize their position as outsider. Beijing based writer Wang Shuo is often associated with the *liumang* culture. He has introduced elements of Beijing underground cultures to a wider audience. He is, in his words, 'most interested in the social stratum that [enjoys] a popular lifestyle... that contains violence and sex, mockery and shamelessness' (Barmé 1992: 23).

Surveillance in China involves more factors than the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the Chinese social sciences. The patriarchal Confucian family tradition with its inflexible hierarchical structures, limits the space for young people to shape their life. Therefore Xing Ping (male, 22) envies the Americans:

'I think it's good that American people don't have so much traditional things to save. They don't need to escape, they don't have to fight it.'

The Chinese also have to cope with the network of interpersonal relations known as *guanxi*. One needs *guanxi* to get something done in life, to find a good job or often simply to buy a train ticket. The importance of these 'intermediaries' drag people into complex relationships, full of responsibilities and expectations, thus limiting individual space.

To summarize, globally affected processes of transformation have changed and increased the space in which young people can construct their identity. The Chinese government has developed strategies to govern this space. Apart from the CCP, scientists, journalists and the family are also involved. The interplay between globalisation and surveillance has resulted in the emergence of a new, exciting youth subculture in China: the rock culture.

Living on the Edge

In 1985, China's first and biggest rock star Cui Jian released his top hit 'Nothing 'to my name' (*Yi wu suo you*). The song became an anthem during the 1989 protests. The song marks the beginning of a vivid and diverse rock culture in especially Beijing. (See film fragment of Cui Jian with song 'Nothing to my name' in WWW version of this article, section 5; URL in footnote 1.)

Rock could appear in the 1980s, along with other musical genres, because of the opening of China to the West after 1978. Apart from rock, other genres that can be distinguished during the 1980s are disco (*disike*), Hong Kong and Taiwan pop (*gangtai liuxing yinyue*), northwest wind (*xibeifeng* - folk songs combining both romanticism and realism) and prison songs (*qiuge*) (Micic 1995). According to Micic, 'Unlike the rock movement in the West which has experienced an orderly progression of pop/rock genres from the fifties onwards, singers, musicians, songwriters and their audiences in the People's Republic have been ambushed by these random pop/rock influences virtually simultaneously.' To describe the development of Western popular music as an orderly

progression is highly questionable, but his observation on the rapid and fragmented musical invasion of China during the 1980s remains accurate.

Most rock singers operate even today at the margins of Chinese society. Many bands depend on financial support from family or friends. They write their own songs that are usually banned from television and radio (for a good introduction on the early rock scene, see: Jones 1992, for a brief account on the early days, see Rea 1993).

In an album released in 1992, titled 'Red rock'n'roll' (*Hong se yao gun*) communist songs are transformed into rock. The singer desperately screams 'Socialism is good!' (*Shehuizhuyi hao!*). The music inspires to a wild pogo, instead of to one or another march. Chinese rockers often use symbols from the communist discourse, transform them, and give a new, fresh meaning to them. The hard rock band Tang Dynasty has transformed the grand old socialist classic, *The Internationale*, into a provoking rock song. Cui Jian makes use of the communist vocabulary to express personal feelings, like fear, hope, loneliness and longing (Chong 1991). The events of 1989 have stimulated this focus on the personal. Although most bands avoided direct participation in the demonstrations, it certainly affected their perceptions of contemporary China. As singer Gao Qi explains (Schwankert 1995: 44):

'Pre-89 we were idealistic. Post-89 we are realistic. Since 1989, a lot has changed. I've changed, my music has changed. Some people are still writing songs about the government, but I don't see the point. Now I write about how we can live, what our purpose is.'

But of course the personal is always intertwined with the political. Illustrative is the song 'My dear good child' from the band Zi Yue ('The master speaks,' a reference to the Chinese philosopher Confucius). Singer Qiu Ye tells how his father silences him when he wants to express his discontent and confusion ('But every time before I open my mouth, dad will give me a piece of candy'). The following fragment of the lyrics reflects the conflict between father and son:⁵

That's why I tell you: my child, I am contented, so should you be happy
Don't knit your eyebrows and pretend to be deep in thoughts
The nice things you eat, you drink, you wear are what your old man, me, have spent
my whole life to get

Understand?

I try to bear it but it's unbearable
I have to tell you right away
But before my words come close to my lips
You give me
You give me a big mouth

⁵ Translation of the lyrics of Zi Yue and The Fly by Chow Yui-fai

Then you look at me, angrily
And say: what do you actually want, you bastard!
I say: the piece of candy you give me, dad,
Is not sweet at all

The despair in the voice of Qiu Ye is strengthened by a powerful score full of disruptions. The music enshrines the confusion of today's Chinese youth. It gives expression to personal feelings; it is hard to find explicit political statements. But such a frank expression of gloomy personal feelings does challenge a culture where social harmony and stability prevail above individual well-being. And the voice of a young sceptic vis-à-vis the established order can be read politically (listen to audio fragment of Zi Yue group with song 'My Dear Good Child' in WWW version of this article, section 5; URL in footnote 1).

In recent years, the lyrics of rock bands have become wilder, as this fragment of a song called 'A gun or a bullet' recorded by the post-punk band The Fly shows:

We have sex, so we want to love
We have sex, so we want to adjust (...)
We never deliberately exercise our body
Because making love is our only sport

Only after censoring the printed lyrics could the song pass the censorship department and be released (listen to audio fragment of The Fly group with song 'A gun or a bullet' in the WWW version of this article, section 5; URL in footnote 1).

A small independent Taiwanese record label (MUD records) has released the first CD of The Fly in August 1997. The music is experimental; one can distinguish different styles, ranging from punk, grunge and noise to industrial. The band is inspired by, among other things, Einstürzende Neubauten and Nick Cave, the avant-garde of Western alternative music. The CD jacket is as subversive as the music: it depicts people copulating, and drawings of naked people with despair in their eyes. In this format this CD will certainly not pass censorship of the mainland. The CD can only be bought underground. It might find its way on the Chinese market after severe self-censorship by the band and the record company.

Rock singer Qiu Ye still has to rely on a close friend who supports him, despite a few recordings. He is involved in the rock culture in Beijing for 11 years. Only recently (at the beginning of 1997) has he recorded his first full CD with his band Zi Yue, with Cui Jian as the producer. The record company could finally release it in December 1997 after severe scrutiny from the censorship bureau during which they were forced to withdraw one song.

I had dinner with Qiu Ye on 3 June 1995, 6 years after the Tiananmen crackdown. We tried to find a bar, but because of the anniversary of this crackdown on the 4th of June, they were all closed. Qiu Ye talks about his life as a rocker. It is almost impossible for him and his band Zi Yue to perform live, because of government regulations. Although his family does not understand his lifestyle, they finally accepted it. But others don't...

'As a rocker, they often treat me like a dog, as dregs of society. Why? I only want to make music; I only live for music. I am not interested in money, or in business. Music is an instrument for me to express my feelings, my thoughts.'

Sub-cultural theory can smoothly be applied to describe Qiu Ye's position. He performs underground, his music is aggressive and provocative (The Red Hot Chili Peppers inspired him a lot), and he is highly critical of Chinese society and Chinese politics. One might say that he is part of a subculture, which opposes the dominant culture. It is more complex however. His main purpose is not really to oppose a political system, but rather to make good music. Besides, the rock culture is too diverse and fragmented to take one band as its representative. This became especially clear to me during an interview with Li Jie a few days later.



Photo 2: Qiu Ye (left) and Cui Jian (right) in 1997 (Photo taken by author)

Li Jie has been a successful pop singer before he started to make rock (below I shall discuss the distinction between rock and pop in China). He even joined a pop concert organized by the government, in order to promote national harmony. JVC has contracted Li Jie and his band 'Expression' (*biaoqing*). The band modelled in a Benetton campaign.

Future seems prosperous for Li Jie. He does not feel restricted by Chinese politics or Chinese culture. His music is a hybrid mixture of folk songs from minorities and rock. Apart from making rock, Li Jie is still active as a composer of pop music, thus transgressing genre boundaries that are so often considered crucial. Li Jie is an example of Chinese rock gradually going overground.

China's rock culture has professionalised and diversified considerably the last decade. The music has gradually achieved a measure of international acclaim. Some bands toured through Germany in 1993, both Cui Jian and Cobra have made a tour in the United States and He Yong has travelled to London (Rea 1995). Foreign record companies contract bands, and international music channels broadcast the music. Especially the support of Magic Stone, a Taiwan based sub-branch of Rock records, has further stimulated the growth and diversification of the rock culture. Another record company that invests strongly in Chinese rock is the Hong Kong based label Red Star. The internationalisation and commercialisation of Chinese rock has been fuelled by reforms in China's media policy since 1992. Since then, China has strongly encouraged the commercialisation of the media, which has resulted in an erosion of ideological control in China (Chan 1993: 25.18). The words of record producer Lao Ge from Beijing are indicative (Liu 1995: 28):

'Rock'n'roll has never had a better and bigger market as it does now. It is no longer a strange monster. (...) Chinese rock'n'roll is going to be stranger and stranger, with richer and richer topics. Ideas will get dizzier and dizzier and more and more unexpected, expressing messages that are more and more direct.

But doing business in China is not easy. 'The rock environment of mainland China is still tough. (...) It is hard for us to scheme a long-term project,' according to the manager of Magic Stone (personal correspondence, 1997). Piracy is one huge obstacle record companies face. Artists who do not stick to the contract are another problem. 'Artists simply run away, breaking the contract,' according to Red Star manager Leslie Chan. He is currently involved in a lawsuit against Polygram, who has contracted singer Zheng Jun while he was still under contract with Red Star. 'These practices would never happen in the West, but they can happen in China,' according to him. It has made him more careful. Rather than investing a lot of money in one artist, he tries to spread the risk by contracting more artists. A reason to go on, despite the current losses, is the hope on legal and commercial improvements of the Chinese market. Red Star continues contracting musicians, hoping on better times still to come (interview on July 5th, 1997). Dickson Dee, manager of the independent Hong Kong label 'Sound Factory', expresses similar worries and hopes. 'There is an urgent need for professionalisation,' he argues. 'Bands need reliable managers that prevent them from being ripped off by record companies. They should negotiate about the royalties. And the musicians themselves should learn to stick to the contract.' He is currently managing Tang Dynasty, Wang Yong and Wang Lei. Like Red Star manager Chan, Dickson's hope is on better and more reliable times in the near future (interview on July 6th, 1997).

Record companies from the mainland are more reluctant to record rock music, not only because of the political sensitivity, but also because of commercial reasons. Pop music sells better, according to Sun Yu, manager of the Musician's Sound & Picture Publishing House China. Still, artists like Cui Jian and bands like Tang Dynasty have sold around one million copies (excluding the pirated ones!).⁶ It took Cobra more than seven years to release an album (with Red Star), despite their popularity. They are able to make a living with their music, but not a very luxury one. Chinese rockers do certainly not enjoy the lifestyles of their Western counterparts (Schwankert 1995: 45).

The overall erosion of control over the media might be one of the factors why the government has tightened rather than loosened their policy-measures on those areas they still can control, like live performances. As singer Cui Jian told me at the beginning of 1997:

'It is more difficult to perform now, last week in the Sunflower [a rock venue], the police blocked my performance, it's crazy! The government doesn't understand young people's culture, don't know what is going on.'

Chinese rock is often contrasted with pop music (*tongsu yinyue* or *gangtai liuxing yinyue*). A division that has also divided the music scene in Western societies, particularly during the 1960s (see: Frith 1982: 32-38). Pop music refers, according to Jones (1992) to the products, institutions, ideologies and practices of the popular music industry. The music, mainly produced in Hong Kong and Taiwan, is written, played and sung by different persons who predominantly work independently from each other. The Cantonese pop music from Hong Kong is usually labelled as 'Canto pop'. Pop singers from mainland China belong to a *danwei*, a work unit, and are thus part of the formal structures. The music is often characterized as easy-listening love songs, a description that dismisses the musical complexity of some songs, as well as their poetic, ambiguous lyrics. Friedlander (1991: 67) refers to rock as being a 'more Western-influenced genre' in comparison to Canto pop. Brace (1991: 50) however labels rock, along with the North-West Wind genre, as being more 'indigenous' than Canto pop. Both authors get trapped in the dichotomy 'Western versus Chinese'. And both authors tend to underestimate the quality of Canto pop in favour of rock. The distinction pop-rock is valid as it gives the rock singers, who strongly oppose commercial pop, a strong sense of identity. There are no convincing reasons though to say that rock is indeed better music or ideologically more subversive. If one looks at the lyrics of a Ballad-ballad, titled 'Let's play when the next century comes,' singer Anthony Wong sings the lyrics of Chow Yiufai:⁷

⁶ With a sale of 180 million music cassettes a year China ranks second on the audio-cassette market, after the United States (figures of 1994). The copyright law remains a huge obstacle for foreign record companies to penetrate the Chinese market. The government has initiated policy measures to open the market and to fight CD piracy. In: IFPI Statistical handbook 1995, The recording Industry in numbers 1995, London and: IFPI, For the Record, April 1995.

⁷ Translation by the lyricist himself

Still trying to trace the smells, which are fading away
 Remembering those days when flowers could fly
 When we were playing on this big piece of land
 Gradually forgetting to worry
 Who knows that weather would change all of a sudden

Remember playing with you in the flowers
 Our laughter's so happy, so beautiful
 I remember running with you breathlessly
 Through one hundred years of fragrance and wonders
 And today when everything is about to be forgotten
 Those memories become absurd, but even more beautiful
 And today when both of us are no longer naughty
 Shall we make an appointment and play again when the next century comes

(Audio fragment of Anthony Wong sings 'Let's play when the next century comes' in WWW version of this article, section 5; for URL see footnote 5).

The song presents a longing for the past, expresses a pervasive sense of loss. A theme common in Chinese rock as well. And Hong Kong interpreters have frequently read this song in a political way, like Chinese rock.

Rock as Politics of Identity

Old Wang, police chef and patron of a Chinese rock band, and I talked about Chinese politics. We had dinner. He wrote down the Chinese character for politics (*zheng*) on the table with his chop-sticks. According to him,

'Politics is the dirtiest word you can imagine in China. I am in the middle of it, but I can hardly think of anything worse. If you want to understand Chinese rock, you have to understand Chinese politics.'

His remark denotes the complex position of the rock culture in China. What can we say about the political implications of rock? Wang Shuo, the *liumang* writer, once said that 'What didn't happen on June 4th will happen through rock music.' (Eckhardt 1994: 119). A rather blunt overestimation of its political potential.

My previous description of the rock culture has shown that one cannot easily reduce rock to a political counterculture. Rather than linking it directly to Chinese politics it will prove more useful to link it to surveillance. The globally affected processes of transformation in China have produced new sets of representations with which young people can identify. This has generated new modes of surveillance in China, which have been described previously. Rock singer Chang Kuan refers to this kind of constant surveillance (Jones 1992: 104):

Right next to us are observing eyes. Every action, every move is caught in their staring eyes. When I'm yelling, when I'm dancing, when I'm smiling at a girl. Look behind me, there's someone saying my lifestyle's bad...

These forms of surveillance impose preferred forms of identity on Chinese youth: the good student, the hard worker, and the good son. The sub-cultural response represents a denial of these forms of identity. 'Subculture forms up in the space between surveillance and the evasion of surveillance, it translates the fact of being under scrutiny into the pleasure of being watched. It is a hiding in the light.' (Hebdige 1988: 35). In China, the sub-cultural response of the rock musicians to contemporary Chinese society is neither simply affirmation nor total refusal nor 'genuine revolt'. Outside China, Chinese rock is often seen as a rebellion against the government. In China, it is seen as a modern, Western, danger. Instead, it is a youthful insubordination (Bakken 1994: 272). Aiming at the pleasure of transgression, of moving beyond the traditional role models as provided by the state, the educators and the parents.

Reception of the Music

'Why has Cui Jian received such a warm reaction? In order to understand this, we need to go back and listen to AI have nothing@. When you hear that melancholy, heavy-hearted tune, when you sing along with those disconsolate lyrics, it always feels like you're spilling out the sadness in your guts... What the song exposes is the feelings of a whole generation: their sadness, their perplexity, the feelings that pour out from the bottom of their hearts. The song's use of the deep, desolate tone of the folk music of the North-western plateau, and its coarse rhythms are well suited to this purpose' (Tu, in: Jones 1992: 134).

This interpretation of a Chinese scholar refers to the impact of Chinese rock on the audience. This part of the Chinese rock culture is until now rarely studied. Rock appeals to China's youth, but acceptance is certainly not universal (Schwankert 1995: 45). Commercial pop music is by far the most popular genre in China. Although many young people like Cui Jian (42%), there are also many young people who are not interested in his music (40%), or simply dislike it (16%). Remarkable is the limited popularity of Western pop music; only 6% of the respondents of my survey prefer it above Chinese popular music. According to Jones (1994), mainly university students and young private entrepreneurs are into Chinese rock. But rock also has a strong appeal to teenagers from high schools. Unfortunately, data on its audiences are not yet available. Still, numbers might say something about the popularity of Chinese rock among specific audiences; they remain inadequate to understand its reception.

When writing about the reception (a term that refers to how listeners interpret the music, how they use it in their daily lives) of the rock music, we need to be aware that the lyrics are certainly not the determining factor. Illustrative is the huge impact of techno-music in Western societies, in which lyrics really play a minor role. Wang Hai (male, 20) also referred to this aspect:

'Young people enjoy Cui Jian very much. Sometimes they like it for no reason. Just for fun, because it's very popular. It's true, some people like him because of the content of his songs, but I'm not sure how many.'

Cui Jian's image, including his hoarse voice, his long hair, the rhythm of the music and the use of traditional Chinese instruments, offers a wide array of symbolic material for the listener:

'Cui Jian's songs express something about young people's frustrations.' (Xing Ping, male, 22)

'Cui Jian represents this feeling of uncertainty, his songs reflect the common feeling of young people.' (Jun Xi, male, 22)

'I like Cui Jian, the words of his songs are very honest. The words are not very poetic, it is just how it is, and it is very true. He says what young people think.' (Ai Lin, female, 20)

His music reflects feelings of uncertainty and powerlessness. Young people use his music to cope with these feelings. And the music is the medium through which young people share their feelings with others. Thus, collective identities, though rather vague, inconsistent and temporary, emerge. In the words of Brace and Friedlander (1992:126): 'people are using these empowering moments to give impetus to a new revolution: a kind of affective restructuring, the creation of which does not bode well for the totalitarian goals of the current regime.' Through Cui Jian's music young people are able to express emotions they cannot express in other ways:

'Rock songs give chance to express something that in our daily life we can... some emotions we can express. But we can't tell clearly what kind of emotions.'

The music is used to define more precisely one's position within the society. And it stimulates people, despite the fatalism and despair:

'There is some anger and uncertainty in his songs, but when we listen to his music we feel less... we are happy.' (Ling Ra, Cen Hui, Cai Pai, female, 18/19)

'He makes people excited, motivates people. He's the greatest rock musician.' (Zong Ning, male, 23)

However, others dislike the music. Especially those who are deeply involved into traditional culture, like Wan Dong (male, 24):

'I don't like Cui Jian, I cannot accept their culture. I'm influenced very deeply by traditional culture. This kind of music makes me confused.'

Those whose identity is mainly constructed within the traditional culture will feel confused. Confused by the rock singer who has crossed the boundaries drawn by traditional culture, thus trying to escape from surveillance, aiming to feel the pleasure of being watched. The rock singers laugh at the faces full of confusion.

Towards a new freedom?

Globally affected processes of transformation and related forms of surveillance have influenced the emergence of the rock culture in China. Expression is given to personal feelings, ranging from sadness and confusion to anger and sex. Political issues are hardly ever directly referred to. But through its focus on the individual, rock does challenge a

culture where social harmony and stability prevail above the personal. The quest for authenticity challenges, albeit indirectly, a political system that tries to control and regulate personal life. One cannot speak of direct resistance; it is merely a play of identities, partly aiming to (symbolically) escape from surveillance. The sub-cultural response is a survival strategy for Chinese youth. Only a few people have the possibility to devote their life to rock, others have fewer opportunities. They use the music however to cope with their frustrations, uncertainties and fatalism. Through rock they share these feelings with others. Rock serves as a fruitful source of symbolic material used for constructing (collective) identities. Listeners temporarily slip into a different identity, full of promises, energy, giving them a sense of freedom, to be drawn back by a different reality when the music is turned off.

Despite government disapproval, China's rock culture continues to grow and diversify. New bands use new styles. At the end of 1997 the first Chinese techno song will be released. Radio DJ Zhang Youdai will start a dance label soon. Many groups are recording a new album, and Beijing television is finally producing a special programme on the city's rock scene. A rock music school is operating in the university district of Northern Beijing. And the audience, both inside as well as outside China, is growing (Schwankert 1995: 45). The rock culture is a domain where young people continue to search for new dreams, for new directions...

Take a clear look around, where is the shining star of the past? Why should you still bear that struggle, and all the ugliness? Wave your hands, don't stay and look back. Wave your hands and follow my rhythm. Come with me, towards a new freedom, come with me

(Gao Qi, *The Breathing* (In: Jones 1992: 156))

Conclusion

In this article I presented the current rock culture in Beijing. I argued for an analysis freed from rigid dichotomies such as global-local, East-West and mainstream culture-subculture. Rather than conscious resistance towards Chinese society, the rock culture can better be interpreted as a refusal of prescribed forms of identities. This leads to the concept of identity, a buzzword in today's academic discourses, ridden with ambiguities and multiple interpretations. Still I believe that the concept of identity will provide a useful departure from sub-cultural analyses, in which one often gets trapped into a monolithic interpretation of a cultural practice that is in fact full of differences, internal contradictions and ambiguities.

Identity is not a fixed entity, but rather fragmented, pluralistic and often contradictory. 'Identity refers to a person's sense of inclusion in (or exclusion from) a range of social roles and ways of being, both 'real' (those derived from lived experience) and 'imagined' (those encountered in realms beyond the everyday: tales, religious epics, mass media, etc.).' (Liechty 1995:167). Thus, identities are both lived and imagined. In fact, the distinction between 'real' and 'imagined' is questionable. We might do better to

abandon this opposition and instead understand identity as 'both real and really made-up' (Taussig 1995:396). An identity is constructed within a network of changing and often conflicting representations. Apart from defining oneself as a rocker, people are also linked to other representations, such as student, man, Buddhist (Duara 1995:7). While describing the identities of different rock musicians, one should take the dynamics of the identity formation, in relation to these other representations, into account. As such, one will be freed from the fixed dichotomy mainstream-culture - subculture; the focus will instead be on transgressions, on fluidity.

As for the moment of reception, the dynamics of identity formation, and the role of rock music, is probably even more difficult to grasp. Music is just one of the cultural forms people use to position themselves. Music, literature, TV, movies; all these genres are closely linked and constantly refer to each other. One has to be careful while speaking of 'the rock audience,' realising that the imagery of rock might be strongly reinforced by the imagery of, for example, certain novels or TV series.

For future research of popular music it is important to focus more on its fluidity and elaborate further how it, coinciding with other forms of representations, gives people a sense of identity. Theorizing along this line, one constantly has to be aware not to end up in an essentialized interpretation on the meanings and uses of music, in which people have a stable, fixed identity. In practice this implies a return to a more ethnographic approach (see also: Cohen 1993). The semiotic reading of style, the linguistic analysis of lyrics and the musicological deconstruction of the music all fail to grasp the meanings of the music in the daily lives of both the musicians as well as the audiences. To gain insight in these meanings, classic sociological and anthropological research methods will prove indispensable.

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DAFSÂZ IN TAJIK BADAXSHÂN

MUSICAL GENRE AND RHYTHMIC PATTERN

Jan van Belle

*Abstract*¹

In this article the current form and construction of the circular frame drum, *daf*, in Tajik Badaxshân is briefly described. I also supply some information on its place and function as a percussion instrument in the various musical genres, and particularly in the *dafsâz* genre, in which the circular frame drum is the sole instrumental accompaniment of the human voice. This could give more insight into possible cross-cultural patterns in Central Asia, and shed light on similar genres in neighbouring areas.

The main objective of this article is to discuss the poetical metres and rhythmic patterns in *dafsâz* songs. The rhythmic patterns appear to be more complex than thought at first hearing. The structure of the recurrent rhythmic patterns is defined by the parameter of duration, loudness (accent) and pitch, and cannot be translated into our Western concept of measure in a simple way. The predominance of rhythm, the steady acceleration of tempo, and the transition from asymmetrical to symmetrical rhythmic patterns are also present in specific genres in neighbouring areas, especially in Sufi music. This gives rise to the hypothesis that the original function of *dafsâz* was a spiritual elevation of the audience.

Introduction

Circular frame drums have long been known in Central Asia and are commonly called *daf* or *dâyera* (*doyra*) by the Persian-speaking peoples. Various types of *daf* and *dâyera* of different sizes were already represented in Persian miniature paintings from the Timurid (1370-1506) and Safavid (1501-1722) periods, in court as well as in rural settings, and mostly in combination with other instruments. Today, the instrument is still widespread across the Near East and into India. However, the minor role of membranophones among Turkmen, Kazakhs, and Kirgiz is most striking. In Central Asia *daf* and *dâyera* are generally associated with women, but in Afghan and Tajik Badaxshân, and among Sufi sects in Iran and Kurdistan, these drums are commonly played by men. (Doubleday 1985; During 1985).

Daf and Islam.

According to During (During 1985:561) historically the *daf* was one of the rare instruments considered licit even by the strictest religious Muslim traditions (*hadiths*). It is charged with rich symbolism amongst various Sufi brotherhoods in Central Asia, in the round form and in combination with mineral (jingles), vegetable (wood), and animal (skin) elements.

¹ This article also appeared, with audio examples, in *Oideion; Performing Arts Online*, issue 2 (September 1998). See <<http://www.iias.nl/oideion/journal/issue02/belle/index-a.html>>.

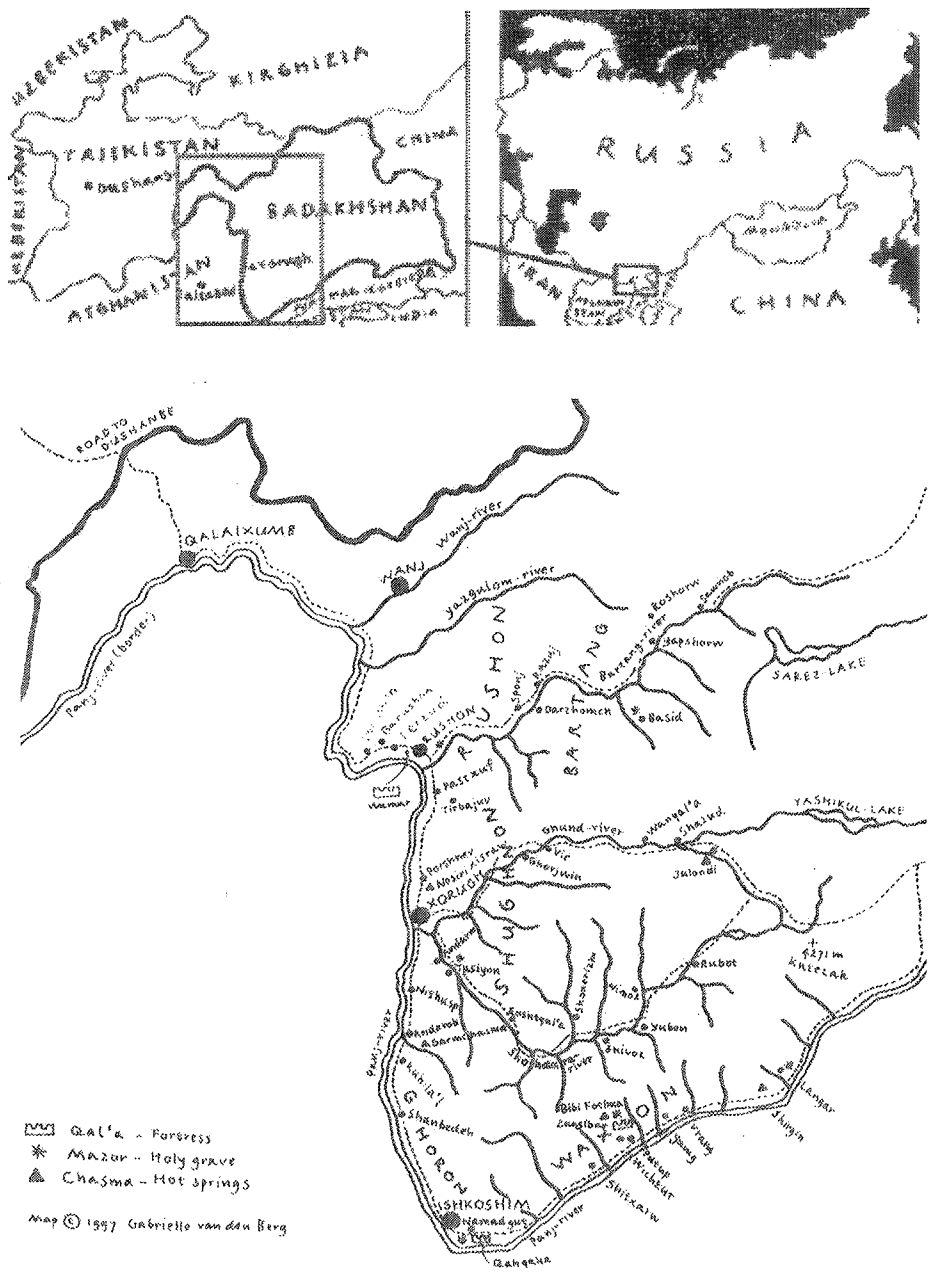


Figure 1: Location of Tajik Badaxshān; maps made by Gabrielle van den Berg

This is also the case amongst the Ismâ'îlî community (a Shî'îte branch of Islam) in Tajik Badaxshân, with the exception that several *daf* players assured us that in religious practices (producing 'music of heaven') only instruments with vegetable and animal elements were allowed, while instruments with mineral elements 'belong to the devil' and can only be used in secular music. This could account for the fact that in religious genres only *dafs* without jingles were used (see also Nasr 1997).

Daf in Badaxshân In the Pamir Mountains of Badaxshân, the eastern part of Tajikistan, the one-headed frame drum is the major percussion instrument and is generally called a *daf*. The Pamir *daf* is made in different sizes, although it is usually relatively large with a diameter varying between 40 and 60 cm and a frame up to 6 cm deep, often made of willow wood. The head of the drum is made of goat or sheep skin, sometimes painted with ornamental figures, often in the form of floral designs. It can produce a loud, deep sound. Contrary to tambourine-like forms of frame drums in Tajikistan and neighbouring areas and countries - where small metal disks are arranged around the rim of the frame - the Pamir *daf* may be provided with metal rings on the interior surface of the frame. In older forms there are square tin plates bundled together in slits cut into the frame. In many cases the Pamir *daf* does not have jingling elements, especially when played by men. For instance, the *dafs* as used in the *dafsâz* genre discussed below are not provided with jingles.

Daf played by women and men

As mentioned before, in Badaxshân for centuries the *daf* is an instrument associated with women, and usually also made by them.² Among the various forms of instrumental folk music and folk theatre of the Pamirs, in which the *daf* is used in all kinds of combinations with plucked lutes and other instruments, there are specific forms of public *daf* performances by women only. In the Muslim world this is quite exceptional, because in most Islamic countries women are restricted to a domestic setting and are only allowed to sing or play on typical family occasions like a birth, the birthday of a child, a wedding or a wake.

² See Karomatov and Nurdzhanov (1978:8) for a detailed description of the construction.

During public *daf* performances the female ensemble consists of four to ten players. They are divided into three groups, each playing different rhythmic formulae (*usuls*) on different sizes of *dafs*, and thus creating a poly-rhythmic pattern.³ Apart from this, women use the *daf* for accompanying the songs sung in a domestic setting, using the same *usuls*. During weddings *dafs* are played by a group of women to announce the arrival of the groom at the house of the bride (*daf-i shâdi*, *daf* of joy) accompanied by specific songs.⁴ When a performance takes place to announce the death of a member of the community it is called 'daf of sorrow' (*daf-i gham*).



Photo 1: Women playing *daf*

Women normally play the *daf* in a standing position, holding it upright with the left hand, in front of the face, and the resonator (skin) turned to their right. The rhythm is beaten with the right hand, using the palm and the fingers. This does not mean other playing positions cannot be adopted, especially in the case of distinguished virtuoso female players, who often lead a group and use various playing techniques with both hands. See Photograph 1; note that the woman at the far left side is left-handed. Women may also, rarely, play like men (see Photo 1).

³ See Karomatov and Nurdzhanov (1978:9) for a detailed description of such public occasions, and an example of the rhythm used.

⁴ During weddings in northern Afghanistan women gather, separate from the men, in a room of the bride's house to sing and play frame drums in honour of the married couple; this performance is called *dâyera zani*.

Daf played by men

The way men play the *daf* varies considerably in the different cultures and areas of Central Asia. This is equally true of the technical and rhythmic complexity of patterns. In Uzbek and Tajik professional and classical music, the frame drum is mostly played in a standing position, and the players use both hands to play complex, long rhythmic patterns and virtuoso solos. Mnemonics are used to learn and memorize these patterns, often starting at a very young age (Beliaev and Slobin 1975:209; Spector 1967:455).



Photo 2: Men playing *daf* and *rubab*

In contrast to this, the *daf* in the villages of the Pamirs is used to outline basic rhythmic units in recurrent, repetitious patterns. Unlike the women, the men invariably play in unison. Generally the *daf* is played when sitting, mostly cross-legged, with the *daf* in an upright position in front of the player and resting on the floor or on the left upper leg. The drum is held by the left arm and hand, resting on the top of the frame; the left thumb is held inward for support while the fingers play at the periphery of the skin near the frame and producing treble pitches. The right hand is the main playing hand; it is kept in the 'three o'clock' position from the player's view. The right thumb is used as a pivot for the fingers; it produces treble pitches near the frame as well as bass sounds on the centre of the skin (see Photograph 2).

In some areas of Badaxshân this way of playing is called 'to play the *daf* in the same manner as the *dâyera*' (*bo daff dorya zadân*).⁵ During a recording session of a folk music ensemble in Faizabad in Afghan Badaxshân (1996), a male performer played a frame drum provided with jingles in the same way as the women: in an upright position and moving the drum energetically from left to right, obviously to obtain acoustic effects. During various public performances, Pamir men generally play the *daf* drum as accompaniment to instrumental music, songs, dances, and theatre, in court music as well as in a more rural setting. However, there are some genres in which songs are accompanied exclusively by *dafs*. During (1992:284) describes a performance of songs by men only in the northern part of Badaxshân, which is accompanied by *dafs* and called 'drums for entertainment' (*bazmî dâkira*). The term *bazm* stands for an evening with refreshments, singers, musicians and dancers in springtime; which are also held in Afghan Badaxshân.

In this article I shall deal with a specific performance genre called *dafsâz*, recorded during research trips in 1992 and 1993 in central and south Badaxshân in Tajikistan, in collaboration with Gabrielle van den Berg, a specialist in Tajik languages and poetry (Berg 1997).

Dafsâz

Little is known about the history and function of the *dafsâz* genre. We could not find the genre mentioned in any written documents. According to statements of various musicians, *dafsâz* seems to belong to the oldest musical forms of Badaxshân, dating from the times in which the *daf* was probably the sole existing instrument to accompany the human voice. Some musicians assured us that *dafsâz* is currently performed during weddings and on other merry occasions, as part of a larger musical performance; see also the above-mentioned description of a *dâyira bazmî* performance in During 1992. Other performers, however, told us that *dafsâz* is a distinct way of singing *ghazals* and folk songs and thus stands apart as a specific genre. I shall adopt this latter suggestion as a working hypothesis, for reasons given below.

A *dafsâz* performance usually consists of a series of *ghazals*, folk songs or short love songs (*muxammases*). The main part of the poems is sung by a solo singer, and this is alternated with a chorus of men (the *qâshiqân*) singing the refrains (*qâshiqs*). Most of the singers also play the *daf* and are called *dafzan*. The number of *qâshiqân* and *dafzan* may differ, depending on the availability of performers and *dafs* in a village or area. It seems that at least three persons are necessary to perform *dafsâz*. The *dafs* are not provided with jingles of any kind and they are usually large, with a skin diameter between 40-60 cm; the different *dafs* do not necessarily have the same size.

The four *dafsâz* performances we recorded invariably followed the same pattern: the lead singer starts solo in a slow, reflective mood, and in an *ad libitum* style; in some cases



⁵ See Slobin (1976:264-7) for more details.

after a few soft opening beats on the *daf*. The *qâshiqân* and/or *dafzan* sit around him and sing the refrains, while the *dafzan* sets the pace for a rhythmic pattern, mostly in a rather 'hesitant' way, not yet fully synchronized, as if he is searching for the right mood. During the whole performance the alternating solo-refrain pattern is strictly maintained. Soon, after having performed some stanzas of the first poem, the players find each other in a fixed rhythm and tempo, although the solo parts are still freer and slower than the refrains. From this moment onwards the voices and *dafs* develop a long and steady *accelerando* and *crescendo* towards the end, putting the lead singer gradually in the same pace.

The *dafs* become even more dominant, never restricting themselves to a modest accompanying role, but strongly outlining the basic beats of the musical phrases of the songs. The voices are moving around a fixed pitch in a small ambitus, never extending the interval of a third. Although the melody undergoes variations and accent changes, owing to the different metres of the poems follow each other without interruption, the *dafs* continue their rhythmic pattern imperturbably with a growing density in the rhythmical space. The intensifying effect is reinforced by the shortening of the refrains. Towards the end, pauses or instrumental interludes between the parts of solo singer and *qâshiqân* are no longer observed. In all recorded *dafsâz* performances *ghazals* predominate and the preference for classical *ghazals* composed by Hâfiz and Hilâlî is remarkable. Apart from the folksongs, most poems have a fixed poetic metre.⁶

Rhythm

Notational problems arise in establishing the rhythmic pattern of *dafs* in a *dafsâz* performance, due to the following problems:

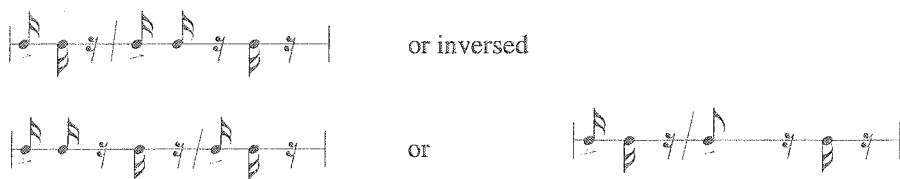
- beats are not played in strict metronomic units;
- the rhythmic pattern is divided into two asymmetrical parts, consisting of 2 + 3 or 3 + 2 beats, but shifting towards two equally long parts in the second part of the performance;
- accents are laid on the high beats:  (on the rim of the skin) in the first part and shifting to the low beats:  (near the centre of the skin) in the second part;
- there is no strict first beat

Pertinently, the Badaxshân folk musicians we recorded learned the rhythmic patterns by ear and could not, or did not want to, answer theoretical questions about the names and origins of the rhythms they played or the possible relationship with art music. An important step in the analysis of asymmetrical rhythms in Central Asia has been made by During (1997). In his analysis fairly precise notation could be obtained by more

⁶See Berg 1997:341-50 for a sequence of *ghazals* in *dafsâz* and analysis of the poetry used in *dafsâz*.

sophisticated computer measurements with the *Sound Edit Pro* sound-processing programme.

At this moment the main problem in analysing our DAT recordings of *dafsâz* is to separate the sound of the *dafs* from the voices, and no fully satisfactory results so far have been obtained. With the help of high and low-pass filters we obtained an, as near as possible, notation of the fixed rhythmic pattern and its variants in the refrains during the first part of *dafsâz*, divided into two asymmetrical parts and of unequal duration:



This pattern is based upon the corresponding poetical feet and strictly maintained in the four *dafsâz* recordings we made in the villages of Rubot, Nimoz, Shanbedeh, and Derusjon; see map of Badaxshân in Section 1, and Musical Examples 1a-1d : *Dafsâz* examples.

However, poems or poetical feet do not necessarily start on the first beat of a rhythmic pattern and it seems logical to connect the *thesis* with the first beat of a rhythmic pattern and also with the low sound:




This led to representations, corresponding to those in earlier publications. After further analysis I had to revise my observations (and hope to give a more exact notation in the near future) for the following reasons:

- There is sometimes an introductory *daf* pattern before the *qâshiqs* started with the pattern:



and its variants.

- Invariably the accent on the first beat coincided with a high sound 
- The *qâshiqân* appeared to adapt the different poetical metres to the rhythm of the *dafs* in order to let the poetical feet correspond with the rhythmic pattern.

In examples 1b, 1c, and 1d the *Muzâri* metre is identically interpreted with all half-*misrâs* (half-verses) starting on the accentuated high beats. Because of the asymmetry of the feet, concessions have to be made in the second and fourth feet, where the first long and short syllables correspond to the rhythm:



Dafsâz examples 1a and 1b

- 1a. Rubot; poetical metre: Xaffî; $_o_ _ | o_o_ _ _$;
 genre: Ghazal (stanzaic poem) by Hâfiz; Qâshiq (refrain); first poem; total duration: 20' 15"

1a

1st mizrâ

sar w - i bā lā ba - land // xush raf - ta r (e)

2nd mizrâ

dil - ba r - i nâ - za - nin // gul - rux - sar(e)

- 1b. Nimoz; poetical metre: Muzârî: $_o_ | _o_o_ | o_o_ | _o_ _$; total duration 16' 15"
 genre: Ghazal by Hâfiz; Qâshiq; first poem

1b

1st mizrâ

(o) (ey)sâ - qi ba nur - i bā - da // bar af - ruz(e) jam - i mâ

2nd mizrâ

(o) ey mu - trib bi - gu ki kar - i // ja - hân shud ba kam - i mâ

Dafsâz examples 1c and 1d

1c. Shanbedeh; poetical metre: Muzârî;
genre: Ghazal by Hilâfî; Qâshiq; first poem

total duration 8' 35"

1c

(o) _ _ o _ o _ o // o _ _ o _ o _ (o)
(ey) su-yî shî - kâr ay but - i ra'nâ chi mē - ra - wi _ _ _

1st mizrâ

(o) _ _ o _ o _ o // o _ _ o _ o _ (o)
(ey) shahr-i kha-râb-i tu - st(e) ba sah-râ chi mē - ra - wi - (ye)

2nd mizrâ

1d. Derusjon; poetical metre: Muzârî;
genre: see Nimoz; Qâshiq; first poem

total duration: 10'00"

1d

(o) _ _ o _ o _ o // o _ _ o _ o _ (o)
ey sâ - qî ba | nur - i bâ - da | bar af - ruz(e) | jam - i mâ - (ye)

1st mizrâ

(o) _ _ o _ o _ o // o _ _ o _ o _ (o)
(ey) mu-trib bi - gu ki kar - i | (ey) ja-hân shud(e) ba | kam-i mâ - (ye)

2nd mizrâ

Musical Examples 2a -2c

2a. Dafsâz Nimoz: 3rd poem; ghazal; Hâfiz; poetical metre: Munsarihi; duration: 2'00"

$\text{♩} = 88 - 108$

(ey) say - yi d khil - wat nish - in (e) dush ba may - khâ - na shud

qâshiq

2a

dafs

solo voice

2b. Dafsâz Nimoz: 4th poem; muxammas by Qudrat-i Shughnânî (stanzaic poem)
poetical metre: Sarî duration: 4'00"

$\text{♩} = 108 - 116$

(ey) chehr - i gul-i nar ku-jâ me - ra - wi

qâshiq

2b

dafs

solo voice

2c. Dafsâz Nimoz: 5th poem; ghazal by Qudrat; poetical metre: irregular; duration: 4'00"

$\text{♩} = 118$

(ey) rû - ze kha - yâl kar - dam

qâshiq

2c

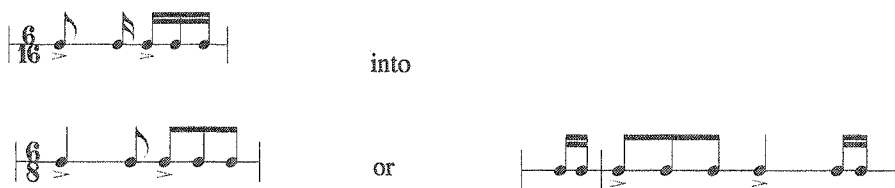
dafs

solo voice

The *qâshiqân* have a tendency to 'symmetrize' the half-*mistrâs*, either by adding exclamatory diphthongs like 'ey' at the beginning of the *mistrâs* or by adding rests between the two half-*mistrâs* in order to adapt the feet to the rhythmic pattern of the *dafs*. In Example 1a the order of both parts of the rhythmic pattern is inverted, and strictly adapted to the feet of the poetical *Xafif* metre.

Although accentuated high beats do not strictly correspond to short or long syllables a consistent factor in all performances is the correspondence of long syllables with low beats in practically all cases. For an exception: see Example 1a, first foot of both *mistrâs*.

A change in rhythm takes place in the second half of the *dafsâz* performances, where a gradual accelerando leads to a tempo nearly twice as fast as at the beginning of the piece. Gradually the rhythmic pattern changes into two parts of equal duration, while the accents shift towards the low beats, and here represented as a 6/8 beat for the sake of convenience



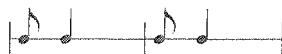
In this second part the rhythm is beaten with the right hand only and more towards the centre of the skin on one constant pitch.⁷

I shall take the last three poems of the Nimoz performance of Audio Examples 1 and 2 (in the WWW version of this article; see footnote 1) as examples for this process. See Musical Examples 2a - 2c.

The *dafzan* are shifting towards a steady *trochee* rhythm:



while the *qâshiqân* and solo singer are alternating *trochee* rhythms with *iambic* patterns:



It is hardly accidental that in this part there is a tendency to choose poems with metres in which all feet start with long syllables (like Sarî' and Mutâqarib) in order to maintain, or more pertinently, reinforce the correspondence between accentuated beats and long

⁷ During (1997:20) says the acceleration of the beats naturally leads to the loss of subtle distinctions in rhythm

syllables, that is, between the feet of the poetical metre and the rhythmic pattern. The trochee rhythm of the *dafzan* is also observed in folk poems without a strict poetical metre or in *ghazals* with no regular 'arûz metre during this second part of the *dafsâz* performance.

Apart from the preference for the *ghazals* of Hâfiz and Hilâlî, there are no further indications for a fixed corpus of poems or a thematic order in the contents of poems in *dafsâz*. Worldly, transcendental, and ecstatic love are the major themes of the poems. To date no information could be obtained about an average duration of a *dafsâz* session; on the basis of our four recordings no conclusions could be made in this respect, because the musicians performed *dafsâz* at our request, out of context.

In the WWW version of this article (see footnote 1) you may listen to Audio Example 1: Beginning of *dafsâz* performance, and Audio Example 2: End of *dafsâz* performance, recorded in Nimoz, 26 July 1993.

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WHAT PRACTICE? WHOSE PRACTICE?

Hanne M. de Bruin

Abstract

The essay¹ explores the possibilities and problems of the application of a 'practice approach' to the live performing arts of Asia in order to enhance our understanding of the complex operation of these arts and their embedding into the lived-in world. It argues that the focus on practice influences the kind of data we choose to collect, the analytical categories we decide to work with, the emphasis we place on each of these categories and their relationships, as well as our definition of and location of practice within the current theoretical models of language and culture. The way in which our emphasis on a particular analytical category or agent informs our concept of practice is illustrated by the example of professional performers of a South Indian theatre form. As the result of the social and economic contexts in which their theatre developed, the praxis of these performers is inherently flexible and oriented at the maximization of their own interests.

The essay proceeds to discuss theatre praxis in relationship to theatre's ambiguous 'reality status'. This status evolves from the complex relationship between the theatrical event and the world - a relationship that tends to be perceived differently in rural South India and in the West. Such differences in perception, which are informed by the different aims and practices underlying the professions of South Indian performers and Western researchers, create differences in appreciation of experiential data generated by theatrical events. Consequently, a practice approach to the live performing arts of Asia is confronted with the formidable challenge of processing and externalising data, which in their 'original' setting are embodied and internalised, and in translating them from one culture to the other.

Introduction

Stanley Fish, commenting on the relationship between literary theory and the critical procedures which researchers apply to texts and its readers, writes that:

'the field of inquiry is *constituted* by the questions we are able to ask because the entities that populate it come into being as the presuppositions - they are discourse-specific entities - of those questions' (Fish 1980:1)

In the nascent discussion about a methodology of practice which can be applied to the live performing arts of Asia this observation is highly relevant.

The objective of a 'practice approach', as I understand it, is to bring out the highly complex nature of the performing arts of Asia and to understand more effectively their subtle operation in the social world in which they are embedded by taking *practice* as a point of departure for our research. But which practice? And whose practice? Of the performers? Of the spectators? Of the patrons? Or of ourselves - academic *bricoleurs*?

¹ This article also appeared on the Internet in *Oideion; Performing Arts Online*, issue 3 (July 1999), <<http://www.iias.nl/oideion/journal/issue03/bruin/index-a.html>>

The location of practice

The current focus on practice in the academic field can be seen as a response to earlier formalist and relativist approaches towards language and culture. These approaches selected respectively the (written) text and the performance event in context as their main foci of analytic activity. But it was felt that the dichotomy between an idealised system and its many contextualised events failed to address, analyse, and predict the complexities of the real world adequately, both in a diachronic and synchronic perspective. Whereas the dichotomy between system and events has remained largely valid, the academic focus has shifted towards practice as a means to explore the relationship of the event with the world.

Practice is brought into play by agents during the actualisation of an event and it helps negotiate its form, content, and direction. The question of where we would like to situate practice is not easy to answer. Does (potential) practice form part of a structure underlying events, or does it, in view of its pivotal role in shaping actions, exist only in the 'doing' of the event? Or is it perhaps situated at the opaque interface between system and event? The many possible answers to this question - none of which will be the 'right' one and all of which may be helpful in furthering the academic discourse - greatly determine the selection of particular analytical (cognitive and observable) entities as databases for our research. Unless we are able to work out a more holistic approach towards performing events, the location of practice in, or in between, the conventional analytic entities of system and contextualised events and their association with individual and collective agents and carriers, such as the performers, the performance itself (comprising form and content or medium and message), and the consumers (human and non-human spectators and patrons), will predominate in determining the formulation of a methodology of practice.

Practice approaches, as proposed by Pierre Bourdieu and others, seek to combine the formal properties of systems with the dynamics of events shaped by and embedded in the social and historical reality of the world. In his theory of practice, Bourdieu has attempted to delineate an objective 'system' which underlies the transmission and actualisation of practice(s) and perceptions. He uses the concept of *habitus* to refer to this system, which he defines as 'durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them' (Bourdieu 1993:5; also Bourdieu 1977:72-95). Bourdieu's work has focussed especially on the formation and operation of dominant forms of practice within the field of cultural production, as can be seen from the notions of *symbolic power* and *symbolic capital* which he developed (Bourdieu 1991).

Building on the work of Bourdieu and Foucault, Michel de Certeau has emphasised the subversive practice(s) or tactics employed by the weak, the subordinated, to succeed in everyday life. These are oriented towards a 'redirection' or 'subversion' of dominant

practices - within their own established frameworks - in order to serve the interests of the weak without antagonizing (too much) the established order. De Certeau's aim is 'to make explicit the systems of operational combinations (*les combinatoires d'opérations*) which also compose a "culture", and to bring to light the models of action characteristic of users whose status as the dominated element in society (a status that does not mean that they are either passive or docile) is concealed by the euphemistic term "consumers".' (de Certeau 1984:xi-xii) In order to highlight the differences in the ways of operating of the 'strong' and of the 'weak' he distinguishes between *strategies* and *tactics*. Strategies command a place of their own which serves as the basis for generating relations with an exterior distinct from it. They belong to a subject of will and power (for instance an enterprise, a city, a scientific institution) which has been separated from an 'environment'. In contrast, a tactic is a calculus of force-relationships which cannot count on a spatial or institutionalised localization. It operates within the place of the other, without taking it over in its entirety.

According to De Certeau, a strategy is the victory of space over time, whereas a tactic depends on time: it depends on 'opportunities' which have to be seized, that is propitious moments when the agent, combining heterogeneous data into an intellectual synthesis, takes a decision of what to do and how to do it (de Certeau 1984:xix). Being dependent on time, subversive tactics are characterised by a degree of uncertainty and indeterminateness. In addition, tactics, when perceived as a kind of liminal (for instance, Turner 1982:28-9). On the other hand, in exceptional cases, such as famine, war, or the oppression of a particular (ethnic or religious) group by a bureaucratic regime, the tactics of the subordinated, rather than having an innovative impact, are governed by the basic instinct to protect their own lives.² Especially in the case of institutionalised violence, these survival tactics may take the shape of a (seemingly) complete subordination by the utterly vulnerable individual to the form of the dominant social order and to the regularities of its practices. In order to survive under circumstances of extreme insecurity and anxiety, the co-operation and reciprocity with others, who are competitors for the same basic needs and physical safety, may become limited to a minimum. Such conditions where people experience a total break down of social or normative order carry in them features of a dangerous, destructive form of *liminality* (Turner 1982:46-7).³

² This is tellingly illustrated by the following account by Samuel Pissar: '... Nous sommes parqués dans un baraquement spécialement gardé d'où, une fois que nos numéros matricules auront été relevés, nous serons conduits par camions vers les chambres à gaz. Les condamnées échangent en silence des regards fous, traquées, où la rage de ne pouvoir agir s'ajoute à l'effroi de la mort imminente. Au fond de la pièce: un baquet en bois, rempli d'eau, et une brosse. Au milieu du désarroi général, de la paralysie de chaque âme, je m'accroupis. Je rampe vers la bassine. Je commence à frotter le plancher avec toute la vigueur du déporté actif, docile, qui cherche à s'acquitter au mieux d'une tâche qu'on lui aurait imposée. Ne négligeant aucun recoin, j'accomplis mon travail avec régularité et application, tout en me rapprochant, lentement, de l'entrée...' (Pissar 1979: 80)

³ See, for instance, Handelman 1990, who cites the case of the Ik in Northern Uganda whose social system broke down after the Ugandan government placed them in a reservation area (Handelman 1990:72-76).

The different perspectives of Bourdieu and De Certeau with regard to forms of practice and their utilization could be seen as complementary: representing aspects of the same phenomenon they share a common ground (the *habitus*). Thus the practices of the 'strong' and the 'weak', competing for the same limited sources generated by the field, are engaged in a polemic. The dynamics of this polemic should be investigated as it accommodates and provides, or so it seems to me, the seeds and means of a culture's creative and rejuvenating, as well as its destructive powers. From this it follows that practices, the forms they take, the logic(s) they reproduce, and the uses to which they are put are crucial in the ongoing contestation of culture and in processes of cultural innovation. They become powerful instruments in the negotiation and implementation of differences, such as those between 'high' or elitist and 'low' or popular cultural and artistic traditions, and in the construction of identities (Poitevin 1998:14).

The different ways in which these two important exponents of a practice approach have filled in the notion of practice and the different perspectives they take with regard to its (potential) utilization, its (potential) users, and its (potential) effects, illustrate the range of conceptual and ideological problems which, I feel, a methodology of practice has to address. For not only does the selection of practice as the focus of research influence the kind of data we choose to collect and the analytical entities with which we decide to work, the emphasis we place on each of these entities and their interrelationships as well as our definition and our (theoretical) location of practice reflect our own implicit and explicit ideological perspectives which colour our academic work and practice. The formulation of a methodology of practice should be concerned, therefore, as much with the making explicit of our own position with regard to the axioms underlying Western academic practice, as with the bringing to light of the practices and their underlying systems encountered in the academic study of the other. Consequently, a methodology of practice should be able to account for the translation between practices, which by nature are specific to a culture or a subculture.⁴

Praxis and flexibility

Praxis. In the case of the performing arts the notion of practice assumes special relevance in its more specialised sense of *praxis*, that is 'the practising of an art' by its exponents (*The Concise Oxford Dictionary* 1976:868). While some work has been carried out on studying the praxis of South Indian performers,⁵ a similar approach to the practice of spectators at artistic performances and its interplay with the praxis of the performers of these events has not been developed. Hampered by lack of sufficient, concrete data on audiences and audience practices in my area of research, the following discussion will be limited to the performers' praxis.

⁴ See on the problem of 'translation' between culturally determined practices of 'producing science', Kersenboom 1995:211-225.

⁵ For instance, Blackburn 1996; de Bruin 1994; Frasca 1990; Kersenboom 1987, 1995; Zarrilli 1984.

The praxis of professional performers of Kattaikkuttu or Terukkuttu, a rural theatre of Tamil Nadu in South India, can be defined as 'the mastery and application of technical and strategic skills, performance conventions and experience which performers require to successfully practice their profession in the lived-in world' (De Bruin 1998:22). I have distinguished praxis from more general forms of practice, such as those related to codes of dress, bearing, body posture, and physical and verbal manners, which have to be acquired by all full-fledged members of a culture in order to succeed in life (Bourdieu 1977:87-95). Praxis, represented at the level of the individual by a performer's stock of practical knowledge, is deeply rooted in memorization and physical training. The application of this embodied 'practical knowledge' requires physical competence acquired through practice - or 'repeated exercise' - and has to be accompanied by an intimate familiarity with the milieu in which the theatre is embedded (Kersenboom 1995:144-145).

Flexibility. The praxis of Kattaikkuttu performers is governed by a high degree of flexibility, which operates within the more or less fixed boundaries of the genre, and by pragmatic motivations directed towards making the performance 'work' in accordance with the demands of the occasion rather than by static rules and prescriptions which tend to impede such practical efficacy (De Bruin 1998:22-23). This flexibility is reflected in an important Kattaikkuttu convention which says that every performance should be *kiramattin istam* - modelled on the wishes of the village (audience) (De Bruin 1994:37-38). In the opinion of my performer-informants, technical performance skills alone were not sufficient to make a performance 'work'.⁶ They said that considerable experience as well as 'on-stage' and 'off-stage' social skills were required, in particular on the part of the leader of a company, to evaluate situations relevant to the performance. Using all heterogeneous 'information' available to him in contextualised action (speaking, behaving, acting and directing the company), he has to try to harmonize the different demands and expectations which exist with regard to the performance among a village audience. The implicit objective of this aspect of performers' praxis is to manipulate the situation in such a way that the performers' short term and long term interests (money, prestige, future invitations to perform), which are at stake in every performance, are maximised. The essential criteria in handling this dimension of praxis were sometimes described by performers as *itam porul eval*, a short-cut to indicate the need for competence to evaluate the location (*itam*) and the (subject) matter or the significance of the moment (*porul*) in order to arrive at the appropriate action (*eval*).

The flexibility of Kattaikkuttu's praxis, as expressed in the structure of the theatrical medium and in the modes of operation of the performers, is directly linked to the low status of the theatre and its exponents in the Tamil society. Because of the performers' subordinated position they cannot afford to antagonize (potential) audiences and patrons,

⁶ These skills were sometimes referred to as *cey murray*, 'practice by/of doing' (for instance, *peccu murray* or '(knowing) how to speak'), as opposed to *urimai murray*, 'practice related to (hereditary) rights' (for instance, *uravu murray*, practice governed by blood relationship').

but they can manipulate the dominant cultural and social economy to adapt it to their own interests and needs. The social skills required of performers to 'practise' this manipulation, qualify - in De Certeau's terms - as tactics rather than strategies.

Praxis and theatre's ambiguous reality status

While the social status of Kattaikkuttu in Tamil society helps shape the modes of operation of its exponents, praxis is also inspired and delineated by the ambiguous nature of the phenomenon 'theatre' itself. This ambiguity evolves from the complex relationship between the theatrical event and the world - a relationship which has intrigued research students of the fine arts and philosophers throughout the ages. This relationship is determined by the perspective one chooses to take with regard to the 'reality status' of a particular theatrical event as compared to other events in everyday life (Goffman 1974:3-introduction).

Kattaikkuttu performers like to play on the ambiguous status of the event - and perhaps this is what theatre is all about. The ambiguity of theatrical events is reinforced by the fact that these are 'framed' or 'keyed' or set apart - but never totally isolated - from other everyday life practices through a spatio-temporal frame and through a number of verbal, musical and visual markers and conventions.⁷ While performers and spectators would not deny the reality of the physical qualities of the event or their own 'presence' in it, nor the reality of their emotions arising from it, performers frequently and deliberately tease out the theatrical event's likeliness to events of the real world (Greenblatt 1988:11). This tactic includes the ultimate possibility of an outright denial of the event's reality - what is presented on stage is 'only' make believe. The practice of performers of recombining and reinterpreting heterogeneous experiential data and the ambiguous reality status of a performance provide theatre with the potential to produce alternative versions of reality. Theatre's claim to be *real* and *not real* at the same time contributes to the generation of humour and helps performers to get away with erotic and political allusions - delightful to the spectators, but usually not acceptable in 'normal', everyday life.

In addition to performers' deliberate obscuring of the reality status of a theatrical event, the perception and appreciation - in terms of *real* and *not real* - of the total event or particular moments in the event by the spectators, but also by the performers themselves, depends on the role and function of the theatrical event in the society which produced and supports it. Here it is important to realize that Kattaikkuttu, in spite of the far-reaching social and economic changes which the Tamil countryside has witnessed during the last hundred years, has preserved an 'organic' relationship with important social and ritual processes which pervade the everyday life of many rural Tamils.⁸ This

⁷ For instance, Bauman 1977, 15-24; Calame 1986, 127; Goffman 1974, 123-155 and *passim*; Huizinga 1937, 13-46; more recently, Bauman and Briggs have used the term *entextualisation* to denote the 'special' status of the theatrical event (Bauman and Briggs 1990, 72-78).

⁸ 'Organic' is used here, not in a nostalgic sense to refer to a 'paradise lost' (for instance, Clifford

relationship is mediated in particular through the Hindu folk religion which, especially in its expressions at village level, maintains a strong division between the sacred and the profane. In the case of Kattaikkuttu, which centres on the acting out of antagonistic conflicts involving life and death of the narrative characters, the ultimate equation of the theatrical event with reality carries in it the risk of the effective realisation of the story. Consequently, the praxis of Kattaikkuttu performers is oriented towards exploiting the power of performance, grounded in its ambiguous reality status, as fully as possible. This power is generally believed to be able to influence the human world as well as its essential relationship with the non-human worlds. However, the performers are careful not to transgress the thin line which separates the event from real-life reality, because the coalescence of the performance with reality could create a life-threatening situation for themselves and their audiences: acted-out violence would become real violence possibly resulting in real death. The praxis involved in the impersonation process of a Kattaikkuttu character by an actor offers us a glimpse into the subtle conventions and tactics used by performers to create a theatrical reality and to attune and contain it within the everyday world (De Bruin *in print*).

In contrast, in the West several different historical reasons have contributed to an effective separation of the legitimate fine arts from both the conditions in which they originated and from other normal processes of living (Dewey 1934:3-19).⁹ This has resulted in the development of a concept according to which the aesthetic was to be appreciated in terms of its 'transcendent' qualities - as something spiritual, with little regard for the capacity for aesthetic perception in the concrete (Dewey 1934:10). Artistic expressions have become 'objects' or 'products' which, like other articles, are for sale in an impersonal world market. The compartmentalization and segregation of the legitimate fine arts from everyday life resembles the process of 'Sanskritisation' or 'Brahminisation'. This practice, which was first described by M.N. Srinivas in his study on the religion and society of the Coorgs in South India, aims at improving the social and ritual status of a group of persons or an art form through imitation of the life-style, religious codes, and ideas of the highest (Brahmin) caste in India (Srinivas 1952, 30-31 and *passim*). It requires separation of the group or the art form - ideally as far as realistically possible - from the tensions and interactions of mundane, everyday life existence. Instead of the actualisation of the divine or demonic 'presence' in the here and now of the performance, which is an essential function of sacred theatres such as Kattaikkuttu and an instrument to enhance and manipulate everyday life embedded in the broader context of cosmic forces, Brahmanised art forms tend to emphasize the

1986:113), but in the sense in which Victor Turner has used it to refer to the division between societies before and societies subsequent to the Industrial Revolution (Turner 1982:30-1). Despite processes of modernization, rural South Indian society has retained to a certain extent, especially in its expressive cultural and religious forms, the distinction between sacred and profane work characteristic of Turner's pre-Industrial, agrarian societies.

⁹ Among the different historical reasons which contributed to this separation Dewey singles out in particular the rise of nationalism and imperialism or militarism (Dewey 1934:8).

transcendent quality of the performance which is located outside the realm of everyday experiences.¹⁰

The division between (more) 'sacred' and (more) 'secular' theatrical events and genres, which occurred in Asia and the West, appears to me a pivotal issue in the development of a practice approach, because of its enormous impact on performers' praxis and its audience's reception. As long as theatrical events maintain an organic relationship with other human experiences which determine the participants' daily welfare and well-being, their power includes the potential for influencing the participants' state and their situated-ness in the world. Embodied praxis, and the degree to which practical actions are flexible or fixed, have a direct consequence for human life. But when theatrical events become dissociated from this organic embedding into the social and ritual world of their participants, as has happened in the West, they appear to lose this essential role. Praxis is transformed into 'rules', which begin to live a life of their own.

Theatre and academic practice

Like many art forms, Western science appears to have become dissociated from everyday life and from human experience, too. In contrast to Tamil cultural and religious traditions,¹¹ Western rationality and science do not seem to be able to appreciate and handle experiential data which arise from 'tasting' (*racittal*) the performance. These data defeat the scientific aims of objectification and externalisation of information and they remain inaccessible to most of the research methods propagated by anthropology, sociology, Indology and related disciplines. Therefore, Western academic practice has great difficulties in describing and representing the theatrical event; it has no satisfactory methodology to deal with the 'unique' and the 'subjective' embodied in its producers and consumers (Kersenboom 1995:5).

The essence of an artistic performance becomes available to a person only through his or her physical and mental involvement in the event and his or her acquisition of experiential knowledge; it cannot be expressed in words or represented satisfactorily in any other medium than the human body. However, physical and mental involvement in the event transgresses the framework of Western academic practice, which is borne witness by the stigma attached to a researcher's 'going native'. Involvement remains taboo, in spite of the propagation of research methods, such as that of participant-observation and learning by performing, which appear to be based on

¹⁰ Matthew Allen, writing about the 'Brahminisation' of South Indian music and dance, indicates that the 'reclamation' of the spiritual, transcendent status of music and dance formed a primary objective and method to implement this process (for instance, Allen 1997:68, 79-85); also Peterson 1998:59.

¹¹ As an example I cite the wide-spread Indian practice of explaining, commenting, and expanding on religious stories. Such oral exegesis, supported by the organic intertwining of religion and everyday life, provides a powerful interactive interface between the performance and the mundane world within which the complex constituent of the social world can be evaluated and re-arranged, thus creating alternative realities which facilitate participants to 'make sense' of their everyday life existence.

exposure rather than on involvement (for instance, van Zanten 1991:53-61). It threatens the foundations of a science directed at objectification, externalisation, and universality.

Furthermore, theatre's ambiguous reality status, that is its ambiguous relationship with the world, provides a double paradox to those subscribing to the objectives of Western science. Being by nature real and a representation of reality - a status which is exploited and magnified through performers' praxis - rational science does not know how to deal with the event. In order to bypass this problem, academic practice has chosen to base its analyses of artistic performance, not on the real event itself, but on representations of the event in the form of audio or audiovisual recordings, written transcriptions of a performance, and the textual traces which have come down to us and which we call 'literature' (Greenblatt 1988:3). These 'artefacts', representations of representations, of which the temporal dimension and usually many other dimensions and details have been removed, became substitutes for the real events - a reduction and a transformation which will have to be acknowledged by and accounted for within a methodology of practice (Kersenboom 1995:5).

I do not have ready-made answers to the complex theoretical and methodological problems which surface in the development of a methodology of practice which can be applied to the performing arts of Asia. However, I believe that a focus on practice offers a vast potential by which to describe theatrical events and their exponents from 'within' and on the basis of their own terms, without falling in the trap of reinventing the 'authentic', or a nostalgic (and therefore perfect) past (Clifford 1986:114). Contemporary Western social science refutes deep involvement in a non-Western culture, because it lacks the means to translate, interpret, and accommodate experiential data derived from such an involvement within its own culturally defined, theoretical models and to represent them adequately in its most important medium of expression: the printed word. If, for these practical reasons, at present we cannot become deeply involved in a culture and its artistic expressions at an experiential level, we could as well stop pretending that we are representing and analysing the 'real thing'. Perhaps this would help us to accept more easily the many local representations *about* the theatrical event as important sources of information in addition to representations *of* the theatrical event. These local representations are embodied in human participants in the event. They are expressed in the form of critical accounts of recent performances and expectations with regard to future performance events, both of which are placed against the horizon of the participants' memories of earlier events.

Accepting that the first-hand, subjective and unique experience of performance events will remain forever untranslatable because they belong to a unique individual, we could still ask ourselves why such events are meaningful in a given culture and how they become invested with the power to 'affect' people, to confer pleasure, excite interest, or generate anxiety: people produce and consume theatrical events because these 'do' something to them and to the social world of which they form part. This requires the translation of experience from one culture to the other so as to make sense of other's

behaviour in terms of our own.

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DETAILS, DETAILS: METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES
AND PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN A STUDY OF BARIKAN,
A CIREBONESE RITUAL DRAMA FOR WAYANG KULIT

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*Abstract*¹

In recent years, coinciding with an increased interest in presentations and representations of culture, anthropologists have frequently turned to theatre and theatrical types of performances as models and mirrors for understanding culture and society at large. This paper argues for the importance of developing a distinctively anthropological approach to theatre, that most social of art forms, with an emphasis upon the interaction of performance with the pre- and post-performance domains of audience expectations and memories. Understanding audience participation is crucial in the study of Asian theatres, which typically are characterised by either a lack of, or relative de-emphasis upon, written scripts. Theatre can in such cases be an important site for the evocation of communal memory and the production of locality. Performers enact theatrical productions and audience members receive, decode, interpret, and reflect upon performances with diacritically-sensitive eyes for what Petr Bogatyrev called 'the details' of performances. Emergent details, always highly contingent and spontaneous, make theatrical productions locally meaningful and resonant and account for the continuing importance of live theatre in an age of electronic reproduction.

The paper turns to a particular case, a communally-sponsored ritual drama for 'shadow puppet theatre' (*wayang kulit*) known as Barikan, performed annually in the town of Gegesik and surrounding villages in north-coastal West Java, Indonesia to examine a 'detailed' performance venue. This ritual drama is little-known outside of this area, but plays a critical role in the definition of local identity. A careful look at performances of this ritual drama and the comments of audience members and musicians occasioned by puppeteer dialogue, will bring out how Barikan performances enact timely local concerns at the same time as marking continuities with imagined pasts and larger socio-cultural realities.

A practical starting point

From a methodological perspective, the study of oral art is still in its infancy. *Methods* for transcribing oral art and studying its production and reception have been developed and implemented, but *methodologies*, that is to say theories of such methods, are generally weakly implicit or altogether lacking. This is apparent from Ruth Finnegan's *Oral traditions and the verbal arts: A guide to research practices*, which served to define the state of the art of the field when it was published in 1992. (With a few exceptions, the field has not changed much since.) The 'teaser' emblazoned in bold capitals on the back cover, 'Can oral forms be studied in the same way as written texts?', is answered on page 176 of the text. Finnegan states that 'insofar as instances of oral tradition or verbal art are considered forms of literature, they can be approached through any, perhaps all, of the established methods of literary analysis' (Finnegan 1992: 176).

¹ This article also appeared on the Internet, with audio examples, in *Oideion; Performing Arts Online*, issue 3 (July 1999), <<http://www.iiias.nl/oideion/journal/issue03/cohen/index-a.html>>

Indeed, as Finnegan's thorough summary of methods of studying oral art demonstrates, nearly all major literary theories have been applied to oral art in the past. And with some exceptions, these theories have failed to show what makes oral art in performance experientially riveting and potentially maddening as an object of scholarship: its combination of 'liveness' and detailed particularity.²

My understanding of 'liveness' is indebted to Philip Auslander, who in turn is indebted to Jean Baudrillard. 'In a special case of Jean Baudrillard's well-known dictum that "the very definition of the real has become *that of which it is possible to give an equivalent reproduction*," ' says Auslander quoting Baudrillard, 'the live' has always been defined as that which can be recorded' (Auslander 1996: 198). The recognition of liveness is thus for many scholars of oral art an artifact of the observer. Prior to the advent of technologies such as photography and phonography, 'there was no such thing as the "live," for that category has meaning only in relation to an opposing possibility,' continues Auslander. The scholar who struggles over how to capture the 'live' quality of performances, as many of us working on oral traditions and verbal art in performance do, is thus inevitably struggling with the media by which he or she has recorded them..

A methodology of studying oral art, as opposed to methods of recording it, must take into account just this issue of performance artifactuality. Performances exist in a unique moment of time, never to be repeated. But scholars such as myself approach performances through its remainders: transcripts, photographs, notes jotted down on the spot or afterwards, newspaper reports, physical materials such as masks or props, memories, recordings of post-performance discussions, and so on. These physical and mental artifacts have distinct properties of their own, which have to be accounted for (perhaps taking inspiration from the field of material cultural studies) in order to say something meaningful about a performance.³

The second, related methodological consideration involves a performance's contingent details. 'Details, details.' 'A pedantic attention to details.' 'Small or secondary parts of a work of art, especially when considered or represented in isolation.' The associations with the word 'detail' in both ordinary language use, and in the technical vocabulary of art criticism suggest that in a focus upon details, one misses the main point. But the idea which I would like to drive across is quite the contrary. In oral art, particularly in performances of works already familiar to audiences, the development of details is precisely the major point of performance, not at all small or secondary in significance. Oral art demands a paratactical analysis, in other words.

² For an important critique of the direct application of literary theories to oral art, see Sweeney 1994.

³ The study of artifactuality and verbal art has been taken on by literary theorists (Ezell and O'Keeffe 1994) and linguistic anthropologists (Silverstein and Urban 1996), but has so far been generally ignored in the field of performance studies, perhaps because it runs contrary to some of the basic ontological pinnings of the field. On the ontology of performance, see Phelan 1993. This essay does not discuss the performance artifactuality or 'liveness' of *Barikan* in detail. A planned future essay revolves around this theme, with particular reference to a 1962 radio broadcast of *wayang* and its performance artifacts.

A starting point for this notion is practice theory, particularly Michel de Certeau's *The practice of everyday life* (1988). De Certeau suggests that a practice-oriented approach to the study of oral narratives must grasp the historicity of a tale's telling, what he characterises as 'the operations of speakers in particular situations of time, place, and competition' (p. 20). He expands upon this as follows. 'The significance of a story that is well known, and therefore classifiable, can be reversed by a single "circumstantial" detail. To "recite" it is to play on this *extra* element hidden in the felicitous stereotypes of the commonplace. The "insignificant detail" inserted into the framework that supports it makes the commonplace produce other effects.' Finally, he states that 'It would be interesting to examine more closely the turns that transform into occasions and opportunities the stories of the collective treasury of legends' (p. 89). De Certeau's comments are suggestive of an axiom: the more familiar the tale, the more sensitive a listener or audience member is to circumstantial details that are particular to a telling *and* the more powerfully meaningful such detailed variations are.

The importance of details in well-known plays has been noted by a number of anthropological students of folk theatre. In the *tol pava kuttu* shadow puppet theatre of Kerala, India, two puppeteers representing Brahmins converse with each other about matters related to the play at hand as a prologue to the action that follows.

'We can watch the great battle between Rama and Ravana, but exactly how it will end we can't say.' 'True. We know what to expect in general, but not the details.' 'So let's wait here and watch what happens on the battlefield' (Blackburn 1996: 96f).

These Brahmins represent an audience position: the *Ramayana* story enacted in *tol pava kuttu* is intimately familiar to all participants, but the lengthy philosophical dialogues that are the heart of the epic's theatrical realization can go in novel and unexpected directions.

The Russian ethnologist and Prague School member Petr Bogatyrev likewise suggests that it is precisely 'the details' of performance that are of greatest interest to informed audience members of East European folk theatre, who see certain plays over and over again.

"A characteristic feature of the audience of folk theatre is the fact that they do not hanker after plays of new content, but year after year watch the same Christmas and Easter plays, as for example the play about St. Dorothea, and so on... The spectator watches these plays with extraordinary interest although he knows them more or less by heart. And it is herein that lies the basic differences between the spectator at a folk theatre and the average visitor to our theatre... In view of the fact that the spectator is well acquainted with the contents of the play being performed, it is not possible to surprise him with the novelty of plot development, that novelty which plays such an essential role in our theatrical performances. For this reason *the focal point of a folk theatre performance lies in the treatment of detail.*"

(Bogatyrev, cited in Honzl 1976: 80; emphasis in the original.)

A detail-sensitive or practical approach to oral art thus might be characterised as non-formalist. It does not look at the coherence of the narrative, or the strategies used to develop themes or characters over time. Rather, a practice-oriented scholar must account for the tactical operations producers use to bring historicity to a tale in its details, as well as observe how these details are apprehended by spectators. Details can be inscrutable. They are often surreptitious and can be easily overlooked. But for many spectators, they are of inestimable significance, signalled sometimes by a laugh, a pained look, a sigh, or impassioned memories. Details can be particularly significant for performers, whom, as de Certeau suggests, are involved in competition with other performers, and must distinguish themselves by way of nuance and various interpretive tactics in order to establish and maintain a place in a competitive performance market.

Barikan in summary

The importance of details in live performances of oral art can best be demonstrated by way of an example, one I draw from my ongoing work on the performing arts of the Cirebon region of north-coastal West Java, Indonesia.

Over the last several years, I have been studying a ritual drama for *wayang kulit* (shadow puppet theatre) that is performed annually in a number of the wards of the town of Gegesik and surrounding villages.⁴ This ritual drama, known as *Barikan* (a name derived from the Arabic word meaning 'blessing'), is of critical local significance. It is performed at a communal ritual event by the same name, which might be described as a variant of a pan-Javanese ritual called *Baritan* or *Bebarit*. *Barikan* is related in complex ways to notions of local history and sacred topography. It is what Richard Schechner (1988: 117-120) calls a 'transformance,' both theatre and a rite of village purification, an enacted story-cum-ritual actions that defines the boundaries between our dimension and the neighbouring domains of spirits. The ritual intent is to expel hordes of *siluman*, a type of malevolent spirit, from the space of a village or town ward. Wards and villages, acting collectively, go to some expense to insure that *Barikan* is performed. It is frequently the object of discussions among townspeople and villagers and the subject of many works of visual art by Gegesik artists.⁵

⁴ I have seen in all seven performances of *Barikan* in the Gegesik area and had many conversations, discussions, and interviews on the topic. My annotated translation of this ritual drama in a 1994 performance by Basari and his *wayang* troupe, *Langen Suara*, is forthcoming from the Lontar Foundation. A paper written in collaboration with Tim Behrend and Tom Cooper on a large-scale painting on cloth of *Barikan* created circa 1940 by the Gegesik artist Sitisawan (d. 1948) is to appear in *Archipel* in 2000.

⁵ In many ways, *Barikan* is comparable to the more widely performed *Ruwatan* ritual drama, featuring the play *Murwakala*, which has been studied by generations of anthropologists from W.H. Rassers through Ward Keeler and John Pemberton. Indeed, some puppeteers consider *Barikan* to be of the same genre as *Ruwatan*, describing it generically as *ruwatan desa* (village purification), just as the *nadran* ceremony sponsored by fishing villages, which features the *wayang* play *Budhug Basu*, is described by some as a *ruwatan laut* (sea purification). But unlike the well-known *Ruwatan* play featuring the story of *Murwakala* (Origin of Kala), the object of the performance is not to liberate an unfortunate individual the evil influence of Divine Kala, but rather to expel the hordes of *siluman* from a village or town ward.

Understanding the significance of the details of any narrative realization of *Barikan* requires a basic grip of 'the story.' Therein lies a basic methodological problem. How can one present a 'neutral' version of the tale, not already adjusted to the circumstances of a telling? For the case of *wayang* as practiced in the Cirebon area, fortunately, there is a culturally specific answer.

The influence of *bangsawan*, the so-called Malay opera (Tan Sooi Beng 1993), and *komedie stamboel*, a Eurasian theater form strongly influenced by European melodrama (Manusama 1922), provided Cirebon's *wayang* tradition in the first decades of the twentieth-century with a critical apparatus for representing performances in an abstract mode. Stories (*lakon*) are said to be composed of *drip*, from the Dutch word *bedrijf* meaning 'dramatic act' (compare Kleden-Probonegoro 1996: 33-8). Entire stories can be written down in outline form, a process of abstraction called inscribing a 'story' (*lakon*) in which 'the scenes are simply outlined' (*drip-dripe bae*). These abstract stories, in performance, are filled out and elaborated upon by the use of oral formulae and *estra*, or contingent details. The word *estra* is derived from the English word 'extra.' Originally referring to the 'extra turns' or song-and-dance routines that were performed during scene changes of *bangsawan* plays, the term took on an extended use, referring to aspects of performances that are '“temporary only” (*sementara saja*)' (Tan Sooi Beng 1993: 58).

Many puppeteers, particularly during their early training, make it a practice to write down new stories they have seen, heard, or composed themselves, generally in *drip-dripe bae* form. Entire exercise books, referred to usually simply as *buku* (books) but sometimes by the archaic term *lontar* (palm-leaf manuscript), are filled with stories: they serve puppeteers as *aide-mémoires*. Cirebonese story summaries are closely related to the Central Javanese form known as *pakem*, which A.L. Becker has described as 'an interesting Javanese genre of models for shadow-play performances. Sometimes they are quite abstract, other times... rich with detail and very lively vocabulary' (Becker 1995: 74).

A story outline of *Barikan* is included in a collection written by the puppeteer Suwarta in 1984. Suwarta's story-summary tends towards the abstract side of this scale. As a professional memory aid, the summary assumes considerable knowledge on the part of the reader.

1. The Hermitage of Gong Spring: *Begawan* [The Reverend] Jojoan, with *Dipati* [Lord] Arjuna before him. Dialogue: Arjuna is about to ask for aid, but the sage already knows [what Arjuna wants] and is prepared [to assist]. Arjuna is told to depart first. They will meet again in [the capital city of] Ngamarta. (Ngamarta at this time is suffering from a plague.) *Dipati* Arjuna departs.

2. On the way: *Dipati* Arjuna meets with Semar and his children [who act as Arjuna's clown-servants]. In the middle of this interchange, two ogre-ish brigands arrive-- si Kored and si Bacin, [from] Penaragan and from Krawang-- along with two demons. They are intent upon obtaining people to serve as the escort for a bridal couple and

volunteer labourers [for an upcoming wedding]. They are refused, [leading to a] battle. The two ogres [si Kored and si Bacin] are defeated, but Gareng is carried off. Arjuna returns to Ngamarta.

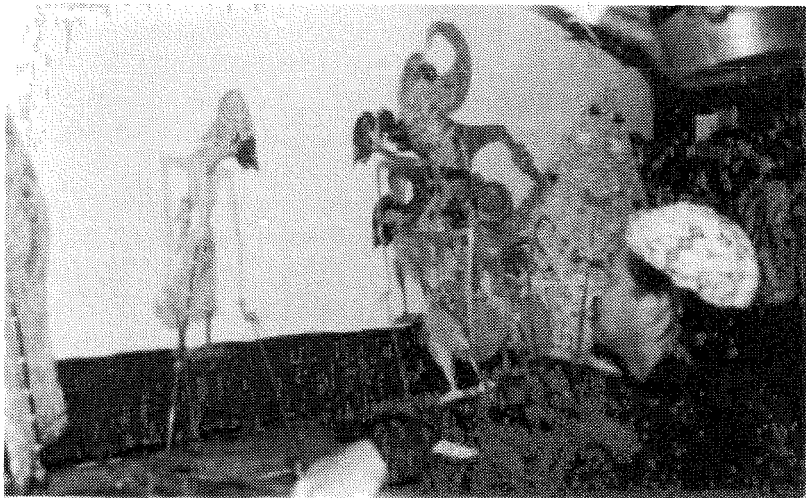


Photo 1: Begawan Jojohan (left) and the five virtuous Pandhawa brothers (right): Darmakusuma, Bima, Arjuna, Nakula, and Sadewa. The Pandhawa are from the Sanskritic Mahabharata epic, while Jojohan is a local culture hero.

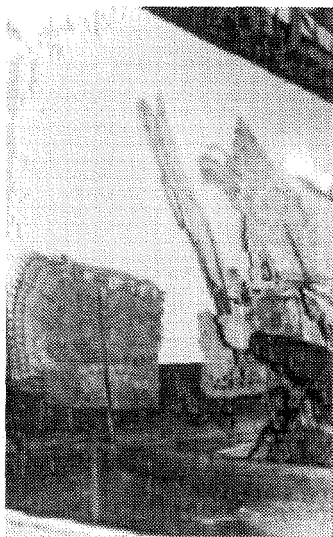


Photo 2: Gatotkaca and Antartja carry the Split Steel banners (represented by the spade-shape *gunungan* puppet) past a brigade of soldiers (far left) and the bridal couple, who are riding a chariot with Irawan and Abimanyu as their escorts.

4. The portal of Thunder, [guarded by] i. Anterja, ii. Gatotkaca. [Both are sons of Bima.] Lady Rarakala arrives, [both] are overpowered, and both are carried off. Lady Rarakala arrives at the hall of treasures, but is powerless [to enter]. In the end, she returns.

5. The royal court of Ngamarta: King Darmakusuma with his associates, [including] Lord Kresna. Then, Dipati Arjuna arrives and reports his success [in obtaining Jojoan's aid]. Begawan Jojoan arrives and then speaks. Those given missions [to retrieve the Pandhawa's children and subjects from the clutches of the spirits] are: 1. Lord Kresna, 2. Arjuna, 3. Semar. The sage asks for permission to leave. All depart immediately [to Tunjung Karoban].

6. The royal court of Tunjung Karoban. King Larang, in an audience with Banyak Grantang. Nyi Rarakala and Wirageng arrive. They present what they have collected [i.e., Abimanyu, Gatotkaca, etc.]. Banyak Grantang is told to make *interlokal* [long distance] calls to all the invitees and future in-laws.⁶ The invitees then arrive. After being treated to appetizers, they are then told to be sure that everything proceeds in an orderly fashion. Everyone then promptly sets out to march in the bridal procession. The bridal couple's escorts are Sir Irawan and Sir Abimanyu. The banners named Split Steel are carried by Gatotkaca and Anterja. Gareng enacts entertainments.

7. The forest of Tunjung Karoban: Lord Kresna, Dipati Arjuna, and Semar, looking for their children. There are sounds but no forms. *Begawan* Jojoan arrives and advises them that if they wish to be able to see [the invisible], Kresna should recite the incantation of Pengrawangan, Arjuna should use his ring, Ali-Ali Ampal, while Semar should pluck a hair from his forelock and rub his eyes with it. *Begawan* Jojoan exits. Lord Kresna and his associates are all able to see [the invisible spirit kingdom as they have followed the instructions of Jojoan]. They are able to cause Gatotkaca and Anterja to stop and desist [in their acts] by the incantation Sadat Galuh. Gatotkaca and Anterja throw away the banners of Split Steel. Gareng is wrapped up in a sarong [by his father, Semar]. The forces of Tunjung Karoban are in an uproar. Arjuna is stopped. They argue and this escalates into a battle. The forces of the *siluman* are defeated by [Arjuna's dagger] Pancaroba. King Larang advances into the fray. Arjuna is hit by a blast of force and flies away. He is caught by *Begawan* Jojoan. *Begawan* Jojoan then advances into the fray. *Begawan* Jojoan is surrounded by the forces of the *siluman*. In the end, the forces of the *siluman* are struck by an incantation. The forces of the *siluman* beg for mercy, are restored to health, and finally each and every one is placed in his or her proper abodes. The end.

⁶ The presence of long distance telephone technology in a *wayang* performance may at first appear anachronistic, but is not experienced as such by audience members. Puppeteers in past generations had *wayang* characters telegram one another. This was signalled by the sounding of a special bell that is still to be found in some Gegesik puppet chests.

The details

The continuity of *Barikan*, practised year after year in Gegesik and surrounding villages, makes it a privileged form for the assignation of meaning. Wittgenstein provides us with an apt metaphor: 'If I want the door to turn, the hinges must stay put' (Wittgenstein 1972: 44e). Numerous detailed moments in the *Barikan* story yield occasions and opportunities for the application of operations to draw relations to the historical particulars of the time and place of realization. The position of the door varies with respect to each occasional turn, though the narrative hinges remain relatively constant.

The fixity of the hinges of the *Barikan* drama is due to the nuts and bolts of ritual. In order to be efficacious, to work as a transformance, some elements need to be constant, at least in principle. As is often the case for ritual drama, performers tend to be more creative than experienced, generally conservative audience members (Radin 1957). Warsad, the elderly head of one of Bayalangu's *brai* societies and a respected authority on mysticism, was shocked after a performance of *Barikan* by Basari that the puppeteer did not place Jojoan precisely in the middle of the screen during the climactic moment when he encounters the *silumanic* hordes and recites his magical incantations. 'When I saw this mistake, I got goose pimples,' Warsad recalled. 'The Reverend Jojohan must be in the centre of the screen. He is the navel of the world.' Through his central position, he achieves balance and control. 'If a mistake is made, this leads to madness. Jojohan is the absolute centre, like the...' And at this moment in our conversation, Warsad pointed to his penis, the centre of the body and a vital source of power according to mystical traditions.

After the performance, he castigated Basari, accusing him of being *sembarangan* or 'haphazard.' Another *wayang* fan insisted that Djublag (d. 1986) met his end because instead of performing *Barikan* himself when he was supposed to at Astana, he delegated the responsibility to another puppeteer. At a gathering in my house in 1997, this fan went up to a young puppeteer and told him that he must never delegate *Barikan* performances. Puppeteers who recite the incantations at the wrong time, or omit scenes are also critiqued by expert audience members.

This fixity in performance practice means that it is possible to compare different performances of the story, with an eye for details. I would like to focus on three moments of *Barikan* which provide opportunities for the elaboration of circumstantial details that are recognised by puppeteers, musicians, and experienced audience members as significant. Such moments can potentially be found in each scene of Suwarta's story outline. But certain storytellers, puppeteers, and painters will choose to focus on particular moments, and gloss over others. This is dependent on a combination of the circumstances of realization and personal proclivities of the narrator.

It is commonly the case that audience members will be very familiar with the performance style of the puppeteer enacting *Barikan*. This is certainly the case for Basari's performance of *Barikan* in the ward hall of Gegesik Lor in 1994. Basari had

been performing annually the *Barikan* ritual drama in this ward hall annually since the early 1970s, and his audience was readily familiar with his approach to the drama.

Nonetheless, he managed to find numerous opportunities for comedy and topical referents which made this performance timely and engaging.

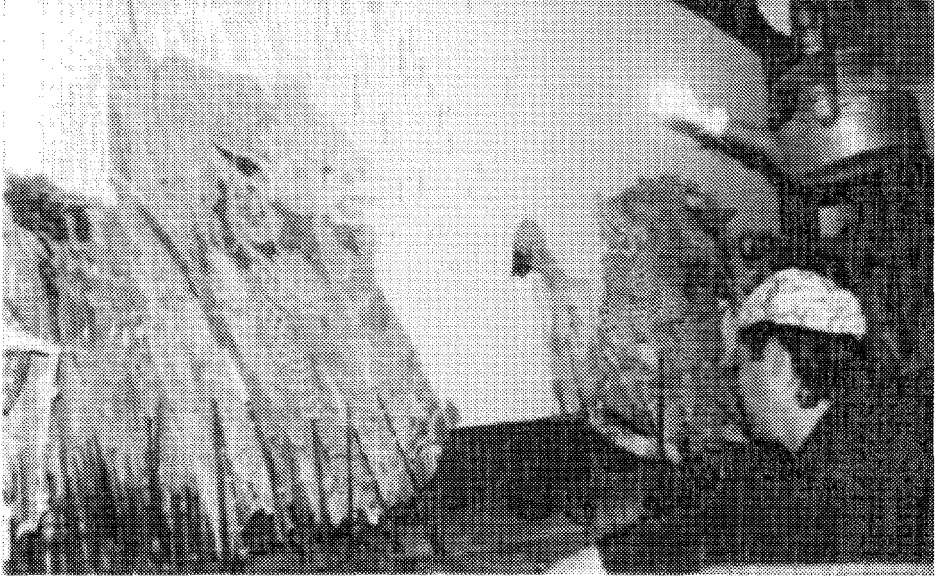


Photo 3: Jojohan standing in the midst of the *siluman* kings, who have been vanquished by his incantations

Gatotkaca's abduction

One moment occurs when Gatotkaca is abducted by Rara Kala and Wirageng, the spirit envoys from the kingdom of Tunjung Karoban, corresponding to scene four of Suwarta's outline. In Basari's performance, Jojohan had told Arjuna in the first scene that the *para putra* or Pandhawa's progeny are in danger as they are not conscientious. 'All misfortunes that befall humans arise from their own deeds.' In the fourth scene, Basari details the remarkable powers and abilities of Gatotkaca at length but notes in a narration that nonetheless Gatotkaca 'falls perforce under the terrible influence of the *siluman*.' The puppeteer explains. *Gatotgaca kancane, bature niku kakehen buta, kakehen denawa*. 'Amongst Gatotkaca's associates and friends are too many ogres, too many trolls.' Thus, according to Basari, it is Gatotkaca's position as king of Pringgandani, a nation of ogres and trolls that he inherited from his mother, the ogress Arimbi, which makes him vulnerable to *silumanic* influences. While Gatotkaca himself is a paragon of virtue, his association with crude ogres marks him as vulnerable to the goading of demonic spirits.

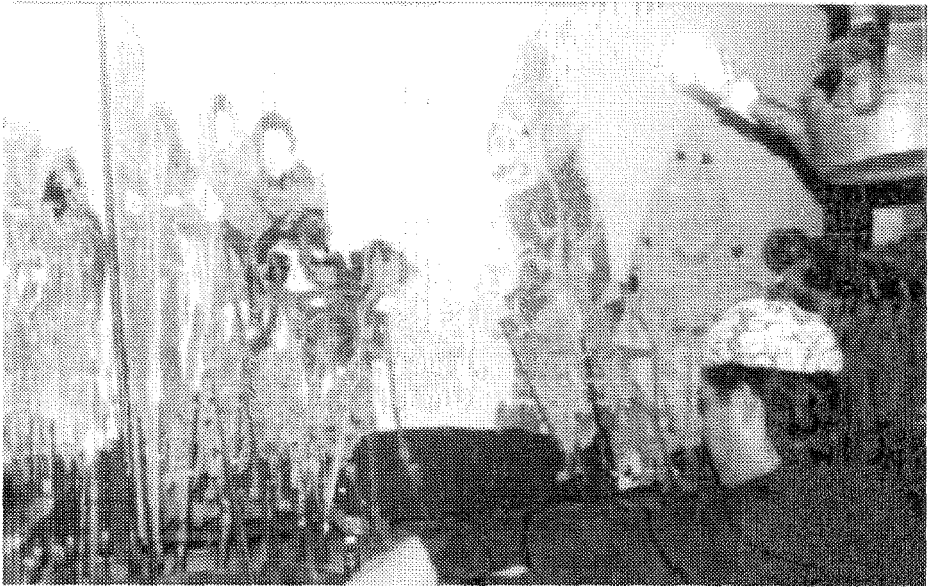


Photo 4: The *para putra* (left), enthralled by *silumanic* magic, are presented by Rara Kala (centre) to King Jaka Larang (right).

This is a disguised piece of social criticism clearly, regarding the importance of a person's *lingkungan* or 'environment.' I have heard various puppeteers voice similar sentiments on more than one occasion. It is possible that this critique was directed particularly at one audience member, Basari's son, Herman, who at the time of this performance was considering following in his father's footsteps as a puppeteer. Basari frequently expressed his concern about the company that Herman was keeping and the moral influence of these acquaintances upon his son.

My puppetry teacher, SAA (who is also Basari's uncle), in his performances of *Barikan* in the past, would use this detailed moment of Gatotkaca's capture to expound on a quite different matter. In performances, Saal described at length the process by which Rara Kala, accompanied by Wirageng, would seize the *para putra* and spirit them off to Tunjung Karoban. They grabbed hold of the big toes of the Pandhawa's progeny and then shoved them into a *kanthong baruba*, a magical sack that is said to be commonly owned by spirits. That is why, according to Saal, that if someone is on his / her death bed, one should feel the person's big toe. If it is throbbing, one can be sure that the death will be long and painful as the person is being disturbed by *siluman*. In such a way, a single occasion of *Barikan* can serve as an opportunity for the exploration and explication of notions in folk medicine as well as morality.

Enter Lady Rarakala

A second moment of some interest occurs also in the 'scene four' of the Suwarta outline. This is the moment described in the Suwarta outline as follows: *Lady Rarakala arrives at the hall of treasures, but is powerless [to enter]. In the end, she returns.* For many puppeteers and knowledgeable spectators, this is a critical point in the performance. Lady Rarakala, having abducted the Pandhawa's progeny who live in the back section of the palace, is intent upon entering another part of the palace. However, for reasons not apparent in the Suwarta outline, she is unable to enter. In performances of *Barikan*, however, a reason is inevitably suggested. Basically, there are two major variants here.

In performances of *Barikan* by many puppeteers of past generations, including Maruna (1923-1991), Lady Rarakala does not attempt to enter the Hall of Treasures at all, but tries to gain egress to the main section of the palace. She is unable to do so because the palace walls are protected by Langgur, a *baureksa* or supernatural guardian. This guardian was a forest spirit who was originally the guardian of the forest of Amer, before it was cleared by the Pandhawa brothers in the classical *galur* story, *Babad Alas Amer* (Clearing the Forest of Amer). Before the catastrophic War of Victory between the Kurawa and the Pandhawa, Langgur is offered a human sacrifice to insure victory. Antarya, the son of Bima, the second-born of the Pandhawa, is offered as an *ala-alaan sewu*, a cooked offering chopped into a thousand pieces. It was said by puppeteers such as Maruna (and is said by his child, the puppeteer Ismail and Maruna's pupil, the painter Rastika) that in order to defeat a powerful supernatural entity such as Rarakala, it is necessary to engage, a kindred, though 'older' (that is more powerful), entity: fire fights fire. Indeed, Langgur himself originally submitted to the Pandhawa and became the guardian spirit of the palace of Ngamarta through the engagement of yet another spirit, the powerful Gandarwo who was also a forest spirit turned palace guardian.

Basari rejects this interpretation and performs another reason. Many other Gegesik puppeteers have followed in his footsteps. (In point of fact, Basari claims that it was not he who rejected this version, but his grandfather the puppeteer Suwara. But in any case it was Basari who popularised the alternate version.) Basari claims that the Pandhawa have no truck in tutelary spirits and the like. The guardian spirit Gandarwo is associated with the palace of Ngastina. But Ngamarta has no such spirit. Rather it is the talisman of Kalimusada, which guards the Pandhawa from Rarakala.

NARRATION: From the progeny's quarters she goes directly to the hall of treasures.

MUSICIAN 1: Eh, what is this hall of treasures?

MUSICIAN 2 (to Musician 1): What is it, gong player?

NARRATION: The hall of treasures is the building where the powerful heirlooms and ancestral objects are kept.

MUSICIAN 3: Powerful heirlooms.

NARRATION: Inside is the powerful heirloom, the Kalimusada epistle. Because of its force, Lady Handmaiden becomes powerless. Before she takes a step, she looks this way and that, her eyes roll.

MUSICIAN 1 (referring to Musician 3): His eyes role, when he looks at a woman.

NARRATION: For this reason.

MUSICIAN 1: What reason is that?

NARRATION: Stepping into the hall of powerful heirlooms amounts to the same thing as stepping over the powerful heirloom of the Pandhawa, the heirloom named the Kalimusada epistle. She feels a great heat, her body trembles, resulting in her taking a step back.

MUSICIAN 4: Steps back.⁷

In Islamic Java, the Kalimusada epistle is an heirloom belonging to Darma Kusuma, king of Amarta, upon which the Islamic statement of belief in God ('there is no God but Allah') is written. It is a major source of Darma Kusuma's power. (In pre-Islamic Java, Kalimahosyadha referred to a 'powerful and awe-inspiring instrument from Kali', also known as the goddess Durga.) A well-known story from the area of Cirebon, set in the fifteenth-century of the common era, describes the transmission of the Kalimusada from the ancient 'Buddhist' king Darma Kusuma to the friend of God and Islamic holy man, Sunan Kalijaga. Kalijaga explains the meaning of the epistle to Darma Kusuma and they both chant the Koran together. Darma Kusuma subsequently is converted to Islam by Sunan Jati (the first sultan of Cirebon) and finally is able to die, going to heaven as a Muslim. Lady Rarakala cannot approach the Kalimusada talisman for two reasons: first, because of its Islamic power and second, because of a Javanese taboo against stepping over revered objects such as gamelan musical instruments, puppets, graves, or precious heirlooms.

This revisionary shift of the story's register from the spirit realm to the realm of Javanese Islam opened Basari to much criticism by experienced *wayang* devotees. Basari is aware of this audience antipathy caused by his Islamic proclivities. In another context, Basari told me that 'personally speaking, Islam is necessary in order to shake people up.' He said that three things are required in *wayang* performances: 'philosophical content, political struggle, and Islam.' Critics tell Basari that the Kalimusada epistle is not stored in the Hall of Treasures at all. It is always stored away for safekeeping in Darma Kusuma's tresses. (It is for this reason, exegetes tell us, that Bima always sits directly behind his older brother in assemblies, with his nose placed directly against Darma Kusuma's hair. The Kalimusada is Bima's source of guidance, and he never wishes to be far from it.) Basari responds by saying that the Kalimusada is indeed normally stored in

⁷ In Cirebonese *wayang*, musicians act as the puppeteer's interlocutors. Compare Blackburn 1996 on the concept of 'internalised audience' in a South Asian shadow puppet theatre.

Darma Kusuma's hair, but it had just been ritually washed in the Hall of Treasures and Darma Kusuma had yet to retrieve it.

Despite, or perhaps because, of the audience protests that Basari's revision has caused, the puppeteer has not changed his practice. Instead, what he does is to defuse the situation by comedy. In Basari's 1994 Barikan performance, Wirageng, another powerful spirit, accompanied Rarakala in her mission to Ngamarta. Realising that she cannot enter the Hall of Treasures, she turns to him.

RARA KALA: I just thought of something. Here we are, the two of us, alone together.

MUSICIAN 1: Yes.

RARA KALA: Now I admit we've got a mission.

MUSICIAN 2: But?

RARA KALA: You know... Hanky panky!

MUSICIAN 3: Well, it [having sex] is important.

Again, the reference is occasional, an allusion to the sexual habits of musicians. Musicians are known to often take advantage of their own 'missions,' which involve lots of time on the road away from their wives, to seek sexual adventures. The musician-interlocutors immediately comprehend the link of the theatrical scene to the real world. 'Musician 3' clearly takes the reference to heart, justifying his own hanky panky by saying that it is 'important.' The puppeteer thus uses this moment, which he knows demands audience attention due to his long-standing revisionary swerve, in order to critique sexual promiscuity.

The parade

Perhaps the most 'detailed' moment in performances, and the most interesting for many of the participants, is to be found in the sixth scene of Suwarta's summary: the bridal procession. Parades, *ider-ideran*, are greatly beloved by people in the Cirebon region. They happen all the time. Pre-pubescent boys are paraded before their circumcision, to the accompaniment of entertainments such as *singa depok*, *reog*, or *genjring*. During the month of Muludan, in honour of the birthday of Mohammed, there are mass parades in various locations in the Cirebon region, including the town of Gegesik, involving hundreds or even thousands of participants including musicians, dancers, and clowns. A typical feature of *unjungan*, a village-wide ceremonial commemoration of the ancestors held in or adjacent to ancestral graveyards, is a parade. During the hours before dawn in Ramadan, the month of the fast, *obrog-obrogan* groups, such as pick-up musical ensembles or martial arts and drumming groups, parade through the byways and alleys of villages and hamlets, playing music, dancing, and shouting out *saur! saur!* (breakfast! breakfast!) and 'it's time to get up and make the pre-fast meal!'

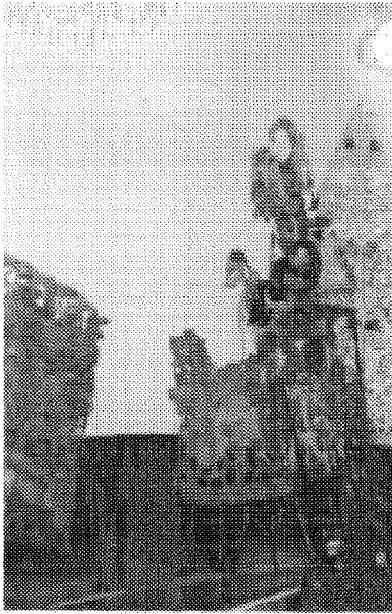


Photo 5: The bridegroom Lugas Buwana (far right) and his bride Antarawelan, riding a carriage during their bridal procession, escorted by Abimanyu and Irawan.

The grand bridal procession in *Barikan* can be a veritable showcase of Cirebon's art forms. The *gamelan* orchestra commonly is called upon to play special musical pieces associated with the repertoire of other artistic forms, such as *genjring* or *topeng*. Often, the entertainments included are related to the pragmatics of a particular ensemble, or the personal tastes of the puppeteer. The puppeteer Ismail regularly includes an excerpt from *brai*, an esoteric Islamic chant form, in his renditions of the parade scene. *Brai* is hardly a parade art form, performed as it is mostly for the sake of private meditation or *dzikir*, and with much less frequency at large-scale religious festivals at the royal graveyard complex of Astana Gunung Jati and the ancestral burial site of Trusmi. But one of the regular musicians of Ismail's ensemble is also a member of a *brai* society from Bayalangu Kidul. The incorporation of such an esoteric performance genre as *brai* into the *Barikan* parade allows Ismail to demonstrate his own ensemble's virtuosity and links to other performance genres.

Some puppets have constructed special puppets, such as a miniature hobbyhorse, which they use only for this one scene in this play. It is typically an opportunity for puppeteers and musicians to comment reflexively upon the cultural field of production. The details of the parade reveal much about the way that different performing art forms are viewed. Take the following moment from a 1994 *Barikan* performance by Ismail in the ward hall of Gegesik Kulon.



Photo 6: A musician sings a *brai* song as the songstress looks on.

WIRAGENG: *Wa.... Hey, soldiers of Tunjung Karoban!*

SOLDIERS: *Yes, sir!*

WIRAGENG: *Listen to what I have to say. I, Wirageng, have been appointed as 'the head of the arts unit' [seksi kesenian].*

MUSICIAN 1: *Right!*

MUSICIAN 2: *What kind of arts?*

MUSICIAN 3: *These kinds of arts!*

WIRAGENG: *I have been instructed to provide entertainment for the groom from Tunjung Karoban...*

MUSICIAN: *Tunjung Bonang-player!*

WIRAGENG: *...my lord King Larang's son named Lugas Buwana...*

MUSICIAN: *Yes.*

WIRAGENG: *...who will marry the daughter of Nagawiru, from Ocean's Bottom, named Lady Antarawelan.*

MUSICIAN: *Oh...*

WIRAGENG: *If there is no genjring dodog to be heard after the procession has ended, it wouldn't seem quite right. Is there a genjring dodog troupe here?*

MUSICIAN 1: *There is, sir.*

MUSICIAN 2: *There is.*

WIRAGENG: *Oh, is this genjring dodog troupe a female one or a male one?*

MUSICIAN: Female.

WIRAGENG: Oh, nowadays male genjring dodog troupes are no longer popular, huh?

MUSICIAN: They're not popular.

WIRAGENG: What's popular are female genjring troupes.

MUSICIAN 1: Female.

MUSICIAN 2: Female performers.

In Barikan performances I saw in the Gegesik area during 1994 and 1995, the cultural forms represented in the procession exist on the ground in Gegesik and environs. The names of the groups and actual performers mentioned commonly referred to organizations and artists well known to performers and audiences alike. For example, in Basari's Barikan, the obese female servant puppet known generically as Temblem or Jumbleng is used to represent Narsiti, an overweight 'mask-dancer' (*dhalang topeng*) from the village of Kalianyar, who is the classificatory niece (*ponakan*) of Marsina Kamsina, one of the musicians accompanying the performance. Paingan bapak, 'that makes sense: she's pleasantly plump', commented one of the musicians.



Photo 7: A plump dancing girl (left) dances in front of the tigrous Wirageng (right).

It is not uncommon that the real life prototypes of the characters represented at the screen are in fact present at performances, and might even shout out comments, adding to the vitality of performances.

A botched *renteng* excerpt in this same performance is taken not as a sign of Ismail's own musician's difficulty in playing this now rare musical genre, but in the lack of practice of real-life *renteng* groups.

WIRAGENG: Wa... The reason why your playing is so stiff is because you don't get hired to perform even once a year.

MUSICIAN: It's not popular.

The Javanese original of this exchange is ambiguous: the possessive pronoun attached to 'playing' and which group doesn't gets hired can refer to the present company, *renteng* groups in general, or a particular *renteng* group from the town of Gegesik. The ambiguity is intentional and part of the fun.

SAA explicitly framed the reason for this reflexive turn: a puppeteer performing Barikan must be sensitive to local tastes. When SAA performed Barikan in the village of Bayalangu in the past, he said he would inevitably include a scene in which the abducted clown-servant Gareng performed *genjring* as this [popular entertainment] is what the people of Bayalangu enjoy (*kesenengane wong Blangu mengkonon*). Indeed, Bayalangu has been the base of Kuda Kecil, currently the most popular *genjring* troupe in the Cirebon region, since the 1930s. The evocation of *genjring* serves to hold the attention of Bayalangu audiences and makes the performance meaningful at the local level.

But there are other possibilities for the treatment of the details of the parade than topical reflexivity. Some puppeteers depict the procession as an image of the world-upside-down. Semar's description of the procession in Basari's 1994 Barikan performance is characteristic of this interpretive move.

SEMAR: Incredible: there's a horse riding a horse.

MUSICIAN: What else?

SEMAR: Well I'll be. A guinea pig riding a buffalo.

MUSICIAN 1: Wow.

MUSICIAN 2: Go on.

MUSICIAN 3: Somebody's riding a person.

SEMAR: Well I'll be. There's an ant riding an ant. My word my word my word.

MUSICIAN: Wow, a person's riding a person.

In a 1994 Barikan performance in Gegesik Wetan by Timbul, the 'cultural performances' or 'entertainments' (*tontonan*) that were included in the bridal procession was the suffering of the Pandhawa's subjects, a radical revisionary swerve of normal performance practice, interpretable perhaps as indictment of the sadism of authority in Indonesia during the New Order.

Extrapolations

Hans-Georg Gadamer, discussing Hegel's aesthetic theory, characterises Hegel's position on the historicity of art as a reversal of Schleiermacher's 'prescription for historical preservation.' This is Gadamer on Hegel: 'The search for the occasional circumstances that would fill out the significance of works of art cannot succeed in reconstructing them.

They remain fruit torn from the tree. Putting them back in their historical context does not give us a living relationship with them but rather a merely ideative representation' (Gadamer 1995: 168).

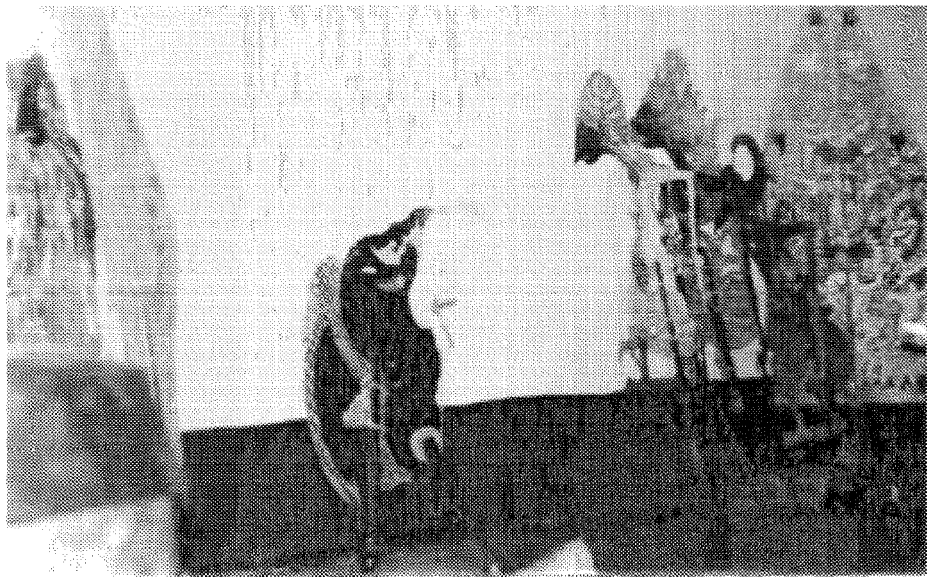


Photo 8: Semar (left) sits respectfully before Jojohan, Kresna, and Arjuna on the border of Tunjung Karoban and the world of actuality.

Studying the details of performances of *Barikan* brings an understanding of just how utopian the goal of 'understanding the meaning' of a presentation as complex as ritual drama. The constantly shifting interpretive ground precludes the possibility of ever 'reconstructing' in entirety the historical circumstances of performance. However, such a methodological exercise as the one I have performed should also not be taken as futile or as 'merely ideative representation' as Gadamer-on-Hegel would have it. For at its base line, a detailed or practical approach to theatre differs from the historical preservation-reconstruction methodology opposed by Gadamer's version of Hegel. This difference is located in the location of performance and interpretation. Gadamer's Hegel speaks of a historically remote object, isolated from its generative context(s). *Barikan* as I have approached it is intimately linked to a *living* community. Questions of meaning and significance can be turned back to the producers.

Words puzzle me, and my co-transcribers, in the process of transcription.

JOJOHAN: For this --if I am not mistaken-- is no ordinary epidemic.

MUSICIAN: What is it then?

JOJOHAN: It is a penyakut caused by the torment of siluman minions.

Penyakut, according to an Indonesian language dictionary, means coward, someone fainthearted, timorous (Echols and Shadily 1989: 544). This makes no sense at all, however, in the current context. So I ask Basari, the puppeteer, what it means. He explains to me that it is between *penyakit* (illness, plague) and *takut* (to be afraid), or what I ended up glossing in translation as 'a frightening plague.' But the explanation does not stop with this. Basari tells me that *penyakit* refers to an illness due to natural causes such as food poisoning while *penyakut* refers to an illness of plague caused by malevolent spirits.

Later in the drama, a related 'problem word' crops up. In the narrative coda that follows the defeat of the *silumanic* hordes and the rescue of the Pandhawa's subjects, the puppeteer says the following.

NARRATION: This epidemic was an epidemic caused by siluman. It is known as the ain epidemic.

I am working with two people on the transcription of this performance: my long-time assistant Purjadi and Herman, Basari's son. All of us hear different things in the slot where the neologism *ain* (pronounced eye-eeen) is located. In the first draft of the transcript, prepared by Herman, the word is transcribed as AIDS, pronounced 'ides' by people from Gegesik. The AIDS epidemic has just made it into the Indonesian mass media in 1994. A handful of cases have been reported in Indonesia, mostly among homosexuals in Bali and Jakarta. For most people in Java, it seems quite mysterious. In *wayang*, it is occasionally the subject of humour. In the midst of a battle scene, one character approaches a second to engage him in combat. But the second character avoids battle, fearing contamination by AIDS. This is considered funny.

But Purjadi, when we are correcting Herman's transcript (it was the first one he had ever made and is very rough in places), heard something different. He said it is not AIDS that Basari has said, but *aeng* (supernatural). To me, the word sounds like none of the above, but I am at a loss to transcribe it, let alone interpret or translate it.

And thus, we again turn to Basari for help. Basari says the word is *ain*, another word for an illness caused by supernatural and usually invisible causes, such as *siluman*. Again the relevant contrast is with mundane illnesses caused by food poisoning and the like.

The bafflement over *ain* is not simply a by-product of a scriptural or perhaps logocentric fixation of having to write down one word for each 'word' uttered by the puppeteer. It was shared in the performance by a musician (Damun), who made his confusion into a joke immediately following Basari's utterance of *ain*.

MUSICIAN: I thought it was O.D.D.

O.D.D. stands for *ora duwe dhuwit* or 'without money,' a perennial problem for musicians. This 'condition' is often likened, humorously, to an illness.

Studying the details of a performance, from a practice point of view, means more than linguistic interpretation. It is an active engagement with the producers and consumers of verbal art. This is related to the point I hope I have succeeded in putting across; the elaboration of details is what makes an oft-repeated ritual drama continually engaging *as* drama. The heavily oiled door hinges of the *Barikan* story allow the door (the enactment) to be easily adjusted to any angle relative to the door frame (the time-space of a performance).

These details also point to one of the main reasons why live oral art forms such as *wayang* remain popular and of significance in this age of electronic reproduction. This is the engagement of art forms such as *wayang* with the world of their audiences. In my puppetry lessons and practice sessions with SAA, he was always encouraging me to speak 'naturally.' A television broadcast by the popular puppeteer Anom Rusdi was heavily critiqued by puppeteers in Gegesik and elsewhere for its first scene, in which Sumbadra and Arjuna get into a marital squabble in front of Sumbadra's brother, Kresna. Knowledgeable viewers saw this as a terrible violation of etiquette. Would a man in real life fight in front of his brother-in-law? And if a couple did get into a fight, would the brother-in-law just sit there? Mythic performances are judged to be probable or convincing based upon similarities to actual social life (compare Veyne 1988).

Basari concludes his 1994 *Barikan* performance with a statement about the significance of the ritual drama.

NARRATION: There is no deep meaning to all this. It constitutes an allegory for the lives of human beings.

The narrative is mythic, and the transformative intent ritual, but in the practical working out of the story, in particular details judged important by participants, the omni-temporal becomes locally meaningful and resonant. Likewise, it is through a detailed appreciation of details that we can begin to think about the development of a specific methodology for the study of oral art.

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FOOD FOR BODY AND SOUL MEASURING THE DIALECTICS OF PERFORMANCE

Hae-Kyung Um

*Abstract*¹

In this article I will attempt to illustrate the interrelationships between what performance practice is, the processes of performance, a model for studying the performing arts and its associated methodological instruments, by focussing on my own research on *p'ansori*, a form of traditional Korean musical drama.

This will be done by first reviewing some of the different concepts of performance practice as found in ethnomusicology and secondly by describing a theoretical model comprised of a set of concentric circles that brings together these various concepts.

Having dealt with the theoretical side, I will describe a particular *p'ansori* performance in detail in order to illustrate the artistic processes of composition, performance, and transmission, their associated aesthetic values and the historical, social, cultural, and political forces that all help to give shape to the performance. These include, for example, the personal and artistic background of the performer, the performance setting, social institutions associated with recruitment and training of artists, various systems of patronage and questions of identity.

Fourthly, by employing the analytical framework of the theoretical model all aspects of the creative process will be related through the model from a specific *p'ansori* performance to the broadest of historical events by moving from the centre to the periphery and back.

Finally, I will review the various research methods and instruments that are required to describe each element in the model as used in my own analysis of *p'ansori* and address some of the methodological and practical questions that arose from my own research in Korea and the Korean migrant communities in the former Soviet Union and China.

Concepts of performance practice

The term 'practice' in ethnomusicology has several different meanings. Firstly, 'practice' refers to 'performance practice' of music in contrast to theories about musical systems. It is the way, or ways, in which musicians make use of given technical devices, such as melodies, rhythms, texts, bodily movements, and the like, in their composition and performance. The artistic creativity and technical competence of the artist is thus realized in performance practice. However, performance practice is located in and identified with the music system of the given genre or form of which it is a part.

Secondly, 'practice' is related to the concept of 'bi-musicality' which was put forward by Mantle Hood in the 1960s. As a theory this 'bi-musicality' advocated a study of music 'in its own terms' (Hood 1960). As a methodology it emphasized the importance of learning to perform as a student and musician rather than as a simple observer. This approach to music stands in contrast to Alan Merriam's anthropology of music (Merriam 1964), which views music as culture. The method of participant

¹ This article also appeared on the Internet, with audio-visual examples, in *Oideion; Performing Arts Online*, issue 3 (July 1999), <<http://www.iiias.nl/oideion/journal/issue03/um/index-a.html>>

observation was to be employed but learning to perform was not always necessary.²

These two different approaches, which are now over three decades old, can be understood in terms of a dialectic relationship rather than as being in opposition just as much as the dichotomy of emic versus etic or subjective versus objective is similarly understood (also see Rice 1997 for his discussion of 'dialectic strategy'). In fact, many ethnomusicologists, especially anthropologically trained ones, who set out with the music-as-culture metaphor often participate in musical performance and/or composition in the field, for example, Steven Feld (1982), Anthony Seeger (1987), and Timothy Rice (1997) to name a few.

The dialectic nature of music and of the study of music is further emphasized by John Blacking who argued that:

"Music" is not only reflexive; it is also generative, both as cultural system and as human capability and an important task of musicology is to find out how people make sense of "music" in a variety of social situations and in different cultural contexts, and to distinguish between the innate human capabilities that individuals use in the process of making sense of "music" and the cultural conventions that guide their actions (Blacking 1995:223).

A model for an analysis of performance

All these concepts of performance practice can be analysed using a theoretical model comprised of concentric circles as illustrated below.

In the diagram, the '*sub-culture of performing art*' refers to the arena of interacting individuals involved directly in the creative process of performing art in a particular genre or form. The '*sub-cultures of related genres*' indicate any other cultural arenas that are associated with the given genre or form, for example, literature, music, dance, theatre, ritual, and the like.³ The '*local/regional culture*,' here, represents any regional variation within the geopolitical boundary of the given country or culture under examination. '*Wider society*' refers to social institutions in general, social and cultural systems, and their historical context in the appropriate period. Finally, '*outside wider society*' in the diagram relates to any external influence on the cultural and social life of the given country or culture (Um 1992, 1994, 1996).

These social and cultural forces that give shape to the performing arts are represented by concentric circles with the more distant and less direct elements on the outside and the more direct and interpersonal elements on the inside to create a spectrum

² Merriam makes the argument that: "The ethnomusicologist is not the creator or the music he studies, nor is his basic aim to participate aesthetically in that music (though he may seek to do so through re-creation). Rather his position is always that of the outsider who seeks to understand what he hears through analysis of structure and behaviour, and to reduce this understanding to terms which will allow him to compare and generalize his results for music as a universal phenomenon of man's existence. The ethnomusicologist is sciencing about music" (Merriam 1964:25).

³ It should be noted that 'sub-culture' as it is used here does not imply any notion of marginalisation that is sometimes associated with the term and its use in Cultural Studies.

of influences equivalent to Hood's 'G-S line' (Hood 1982:56) that range from the general to the specific.

The model is necessarily inclusive of individuals and social institutions, such as performers, audiences, mediator and patrons, education system, etc., whose various contexts also generate systems of aesthetics and values. In this sense the whole set of concentric cycles represents what Bourdieu termed 'social space,' or a series of fields of forces, whereas each circle in the model corresponds to Bourdieu's concept of a 'field' of dynamic forces (Mahar, Harker and Wilkes 1990:8-9).

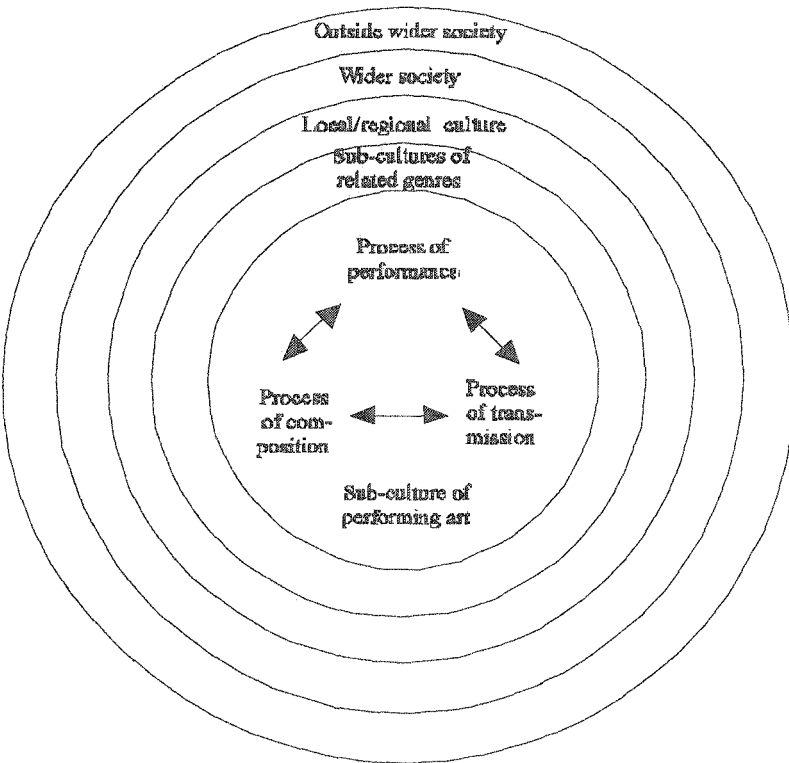


Diagram: Processes of Performing Arts-Making

However, I do not wish to suggest that each circle in the model is self-contained or that its boundaries with the adjacent circles are fixed. On the contrary, they are flexible and interrelated with each other, producing the subsequent dynamics. Additionally, the

symbolic or material power relationships between the inner and outer circles are not necessarily hierarchical in their position because 'power,' as Foucault (1981) defines it, is a 'discursive field' in which the 'multiplicity of force relations' are confronted by a 'multiplicity of points of resistance'.

Additionally, I would like to suggest that within the '*sub-culture of performing art*,' there are three interrelated processes of performing art-making, namely, the *process of composition*, *process of performance*, and *process of transmission*. The operational mechanism of these processes are similar to Bourdieu's concept of '*habitus*' (Mahar, Harker and Wilkes 1990:10), or a set of dispositions.

Description of a p'ansori performance

P'ansori is a form of traditional Korean musical drama which has been developed by professional folk musicians since the beginning of the eighteenth century. At that time *p'ansori* musicians were itinerant entertainers who generally performed in an open space such as a market place or the courtyard of a wealthy patron, in association with other entertainers such as acrobats, tumblers, clowns, and tight-rope-walkers, or sometimes in the sitting-room of a wealthy patron.⁴ *P'ansori* slowly became independent of these other forms of entertainment, and from the turn of this century it was brought on to a stage in indoor settings such as a concert hall or auditorium (Yi Po-hyông 1982a:245-246).

The prefix '*p'an-*' refers to a place where people gather together and the suffix '*-sori*' means a sound indicative of a singing voice or song. It is performed by a solo singer, either male or female, accompanied by a barrel drummer. The singer presents a dramatic story through songs or *sori*, narrations or *aniri* and gestures or *pallim* using a fan and handkerchief as symbolic props.⁵ Before the start of the *p'ansori* proper, which may take several hours, or as much as eight to ten, the singer sings an introductory song with a lyrical text or *tan'ga* as a warm-up exercise. In performance, both the drummer and audience make calls of encouragement or *ch'uimsae* at appropriate phrase endings. The role of the audience in *p'ansori* performance is so indispensable that the traditional saying 'First comes the drummer and second the singer' is sometimes rephrased as 'First comes the audience, second the drummer and third the singer' (Um 1992:310).

In this paper I will describe a *p'ansori* performance from the gala concert 'Sound of Millennia'. This concert was performed in Los Angeles and New York city, USA, in September 1991 to celebrate Korea's entry to membership of the United Nations. Both traditional and contemporary Korean music and dance were presented by various performing arts groups. In this gala concert a few excerpts from the two best known *p'ansori* pieces were performed. They were: 'the song of the secret royal inspector's

⁴ They were also called *kwangdae*, which refers to folk performing artist(s) in general including *p'ansori* singers, acrobats, actors, jugglers, tight-rope-walkers, etc.

⁵ *P'ansori* was performed exclusively by male singers until the second half of the nineteenth century. The first female singer was Chin Ch'ae-sôn [1847-?] (Chông No-sik 1940:234). Since then progressively more female singers have joined in this performing art. Currently female singers outnumber male singers

appearance' and 'the love song' from *Ch'unhyang-ga* or the Song of *Ch'unhyang* and 'the boat song' from *Simch'ông-ga* or the Song of *Simch'ông*.

The first piece, *Ch'unhyang-ga*, was presented in the traditional *p'ansori* style.⁶ The performers were the male singer Cho Sang-hyôn (b. 1939), who is best known for his dynamic 'gifted voice' or *ch'ôn'gusông*, and the female singer An Suk-sôn (b. 1949), who is currently the most popular female *p'ansori* singer in South Korea. Their singing was accompanied by the drummer Chông Hwa-yông (b. 1943). See video examples on the WWW version of this article:

- 'The song of the secret royal inspector's appearance' from *Ch'unhyang-ga* or the Song of *Ch'unhyang*, performed by Cho Sang-hyôn (Film 1);
- 'The love song' from *Ch'unhyang-ga* or the Song of *Ch'unhyang*, performed by Cho Sang-hyôn and An Suk-sôn (Film 2).

The second *p'ansori* story, *Simch'ông-ga*, was presented by the National Theatre Troupe with a large cast of chorus and dancers.⁷ This theatrical version, which included scenery, is a relatively new style and is called *ch'anggûk*. See video example on the WWW version of this article: 'The boat song' from *Simch'ông-ga* or the Song of *Simch'ông*, performed by the National Theatre Troupe (Film 3).

The gala concerts from the two different venues were filmed and edited into a 59-minute video programme with an English introduction and titles. The production of this audio visual material was sponsored by the Korea Foundation which has distributed the tape to various overseas academic and cultural institutions in order to introduce

⁶ The Song of *Ch'unhyang* is a love story of a young maiden, *Ch'unhyang*, the daughter of a retired female entertainer and a young man, *Mongyong*, the son of the magistrate of *Namwôn Prefecture*, *Chôlla Province*. The outline of the story is as follows although some details may vary depending on the version used. On a beautiful spring day *Mongyong* meets *Ch'unhyang* at the *Kwanghan Pavilion* and falls in love with her. They are unofficially married by *Ch'unhyang's* mother, *Wôlmae*, since the legal marriage procedure of the time did not allow the daughter of a female entertainer to become the wife of an aristocrat's son. Their happiness is shattered when *Mongyong's* father is summoned to the capital *Seoul* and *Mongyong* has no choice but to follow his own family leaving *Ch'unhyang* behind in *Namwôn*. The new magistrate, *Pyôn Hakto*, refuses to recognize *Ch'unhyang's* marriage to *Mongyong* and demands that *Ch'unhyang* be his concubine. *Ch'unhyang* refuses and is cast into prison after brutal torture. In the mean time *Mongyong* passes the highest civil examination in *Seoul* and is appointed a royal secret inspector. He returns to *Namwôn* in the disguise of a poor man. After discovering the situation he punishes the wicked magistrate and rescues *Ch'unhyang*.

⁷ The Song of *Simch'ông* is a story about a young girl, *Sim Ch'ông* and her blind father *Sim Hakkyu*. *Sim Ch'ông's* mother died in childbirth and *Sim Ch'ông* is brought up by her blind father. As soon as *Sim Ch'ông* is old enough she looks after her father with outstanding sincerity and devotion. One day *Sim Hakkyu* falls into a ditch and is rescued by a Buddhist monk who tells him that Buddha would restore his sight if he donates three hundred bags of rice to the temple. When *Sim Ch'ông* learns that some sailors are looking for a virgin sacrifice to the Dragon King at any price, she offers herself for three hundred bags of rice. After being tossed into the sea *Sim Ch'ông* finds herself in the underwater palace of the Dragon King who was deeply moved by *Sim Ch'ông's* filial piety. He puts her inside a lotus flower and sends it to the pond of the royal palace. The emperor finds *Sim Ch'ông* in the lotus flower, falls in love with her and makes her his empress. The empress later holds a great banquet for all blind men and women in the country in a hope of finding her father. When *Sim Hakkyu* arrives at the banquet and learns that his daughter is alive and is also the empress he suddenly regains his sight through the shock and joy.

Korean culture to Western audiences. In this paper I will focus my description and analysis of *p'ansori* on the first two excerpts from *Ch'unhyang-ga* as follows.

An analysis of a p'ansori performance

My analysis of this particular performance of *p'ansori* in relation to the model will begin from the centre of the model as follows.

'*Sub-culture of performing art*'. The *process of composition* is interrelated to the *process of transmission* insofar as the different stylistic conventions of various *p'ansori* schools prescribe the text, music, and dramatic gestures used by the two singers. For example, the male singer Cho Sang-hyôn learnt from Chông Ung-min (1894-1961) who transmitted *Ch'unhyang-ga* in the style of Kim Se-jong (ca. the late 19th century) from the Eastern School which is known for its majestic and energetic singing style. This stylistic convention of the Eastern *p'ansori* School developed in contrast to the elegant and elaborate style of the Western *p'ansori* School.

The re-interpretation and re-creation of the compositional elements of *p'ansori*, such as melodies, rhythms, and textual content, also takes place during the process of transmission. For example, the female singer An Suk-sôn learnt from Kim So-hûi (1917-1995) who had combined the two different styles of the Eastern and Western Schools in her *Ch'unhyang-ga* singing (Um 1992:199, 203).

This *process of composition* is related to the *process of performance* in the sense that the *process of composition* can only be fully realized in a *p'ansori* performance, either live or recorded, because the singers have the final control over composition. At the same time the gender of the singer, plus the setting, time limit, and type of audience also give shape to the outcome of the performance. For example, in this performance the male and female singers had to adjust to each other's vocal range-especially when singing in duet. The two excerpts from *Ch'unhyang-ga*, namely, the energetic and powerful 'song of the royal secret inspector's appearance' and the lyrical and romantic 'love song,' were probably chosen because of the effectiveness of their contrasting dramatic and musical contents. However, these two highlights were presented in a reverse order. The first excerpt, sung by the male singer, Cho Sang-hyôn, was, in fact, from the finale whereas the second excerpt, sung in duet, was taken from the beginning of the original story as it is normally performed. Quite apart from the reversal of the order, the narrations and dialogues from each scene were entirely omitted, while a greater emphasis was given to the dramatic gestures by the two singers. This was done because of the time limit and the fact that many members of the audience would not understand the Korean language. Finally, melodies were also added between the two songs by the female singer, An Suk-sôn, in order to bridge the two dramatically unconnected songs musically.

In the model the *process of performance* is also interrelated to the *process of transmission*. This relationship is illustrated in our example by the fact that the different stylistic conventions from which the two singers came prescribe their own singing style which, in turn, influence each other's style as the two singers perform together. It should

be remembered that this performance may become a model or point of reference for other *p'ansori* singers and students and so influence their performance in practice.

'*Sub-cultures of related genres*'. These three interrelated processes are linked to the '*sub-cultures of related genres*,' such as literature, dance, and theatre. In fact, the origins of *p'ansori* cannot be explained without including its relationship with other genres (Kim Tong-uk 1976, Chông No-sik 1940, Yi Hye-gu 1955, Yi Po-hyông 1982b). The shamanist chant from the southwestern province of Korea is known to be a predecessor of *p'ansori*, and *p'ansori*, in its turn, influenced shamanist chants in the late nineteenth century (Walraven 1985). With regard to the textual material, both oral and written Korean literature and Chinese classical literature influenced *p'ansori* (Kim Tong-uk 1976). Some of the musical sources were also taken from other musical genres, such as Korean classical vocal genres (Han Man-yông 1972) and folk songs from various regions (Yi Po-hyông 1971, 1972).

This type of interaction with '*sub-cultures of related genres*' often results in changes within the given genre or even in the creation of a new genre. For example, the new genre *kayagûm pyôngch'ang* - singing accompanied by a twelve-stringed zither - developed at the beginning of the twentieth century as a result of a 'marriage' between *p'ansori* and instrumental music.⁸

As well as this, the theatrical adaptation of *p'ansori* gave rise to a new genre called *ch'anggûk* at the beginning of the twentieth century. Whereas *p'ansori* focuses on a lineal representation of the story delivered by a solo singer, *ch'anggûk* emphasises a realistic representation of the story through a multiple cast of singers, dancers, acting, costumes, and stage settings as well as an elaboration of the musical medium with an orchestral accompaniment and chorus. Conversely the visual performance style of *ch'anggûk* is sometimes introduced into *p'ansori* performances, as was done in this concert by the two singers who performed with more elaborate dramatic gestures characteristic of *ch'anggûk*.

'*Local/regional culture*'. These interrelated processes are also influenced by and/or are a product of '*local/regional culture*.' For example, although *p'ansori* is now performed all over Korea, this genre has always been associated with the regional culture and identity of the south-western province where it originated. Most *p'ansori* artists, including the two singers in this gala concert, are from the south-western province. The language used in *p'ansori* is an archaic form of the south-western dialect and the majority of *p'ansori* melodies are also composed in the folk song style of the region.

'*Wider society*'. All these interactions take place in contact with the '*wider society*.' Social institutions, such as the system of patronage, recruitment and training of musicians, the role of mediators and modern technology (Wolff 1981) all influence *p'ansori*. This is particularly true of the new system of state patronage, namely, the scheme of 'Preservation and Promotion of Cultural Assets' which is closely related to the

⁸ The female singer An Suk-sôn is also a well known *kayagûm pyôngch'ang* performer.

construction of national identity in modern Korean society. Distinguished artists have been designated by the Ministry of Culture as the 'holders of the artistry of Korean intangible cultural assets', also known as 'human cultural treasures.' In return for this official acclamation, these artists are expected to transmit their artistic skills to a privileged and select number of students. In fact, the professional careers of the two singers, namely, Cho Sang-hyôn and An Suk-sôn, have been closely associated with this official patronage. This state cultural scheme has also created new types of mediators. For example, the academics specializing in Korean arts who provide their expertise to the procedure of the selection, evaluation and recommendation of the genre and artists to be designated 'human cultural treasures.'

In addition to the contemporary influences of changing institutions, the social and cultural system of Korean society, associated with patronage and the flow of economic and political power throughout Korean history, has also influenced *p'ansori* (Cho Tong-il 1969; Kim Hûng-gyu 1974, 1978). For example, in the second half of the nineteenth century, upper class patrons, who held the economic and political power, had considerable control over the text and repertoire of *p'ansori*. Their preoccupation with 'appropriate' *p'ansori* texts contributed to the refinement of the literary content of *p'ansori*, in opposition to the interests of lower class audiences and *p'ansori* musicians. Unfortunately this process also led to the decrease of the *p'ansori* repertoire: those pieces of *p'ansori* with obscene and vulgar texts and themes did not survive Confucian censorship. The main themes of the five remaining traditional *p'ansori* pieces coincide with the five ethical codes derived from Confucian ideology, namely: 'loyalty to the King', 'filial piety to parents', 'fidelity to husband', 'brotherhood', and 'sincerity to friends'. Amongst the five *p'ansori* pieces *Ch'unhyang-ga* has been most highly esteemed because it touches on nearly all these themes (Um 1992:108-109, 1993a).

The cultural values of Korean society permeate both the text and music of *p'ansori*. For example, various style registers (Giles and Powesland 1975:15-23, 36-146), which are found in both *p'ansori* texts and the modern Korean language, may be examples of a socio-linguistic expression of a hierarchical social structure. Some musical elements in *p'ansori*, for example, *cho* (mode or melodic type), have been developed in association with socially and culturally defined concepts (Um 1993b). For example, *cho* derived from the classical genres tend to be related to domains such as male, the upper class, power, majesty, elegance, calmness, and the like; whereas the folk counterparts tend to be linked with their opposites, such as female, the lower class, provinciality, vulgarity, cheerfulness, etc. These associations have probably been constructed by a process, which Barthes calls 'the second order semiotic system' (Hawkes 1977:130-132).⁹

'*Outside wider society*'. Sometimes the influences on *p'ansori* come from '*outside [the] wider society*' of Korea. For example, the rise of *ch'anggûk*, or *p'ansori* theatre, is related to the internal and external socio-political change at the turn of the century. With

⁹ For a further discussion see Chapter Three, 'Music and Text' in Um Hae-kyung (1992)

the Japanese occupation of Korea in 1910, the Chosôn dynasty disintegrated and *p'ansori* musicians had to adapt to the change of patronage from the upper class in traditional society to the middle class in modern society. The influences of Chinese opera and Western-style theatre on the rise and development of *ch'anggûk* also came about as a result of contacts with the outside world.

The gala concerts described in this paper were presented to promote Korean culture and to celebrate Korean nationhood associated with Korea's entry into the United Nations. Shortly after the gala concerts in the United States one of the performers wrote a travelogue. According to her description (Yi Chi-yông 1991:30), these concerts were successful in several ways. The performers and other staff (about 150 of them) felt that through the concerts the essence of the cultural and artistic heritage of Korea was presented to a wide range of audiences, both Americans and American Koreans. She also reports that after the gala concert, in New York city, a Korean American woman came up to the cast to express her appreciation of the successful performances, her sense of national identity evoked by the concert and pride at being Korean. Pertinently, modern technology and globalisation now make it possible for anyone to view a recording of the performance at anytime anywhere in the world.

Research methods and instruments

The research methods and instruments which I used to describe and analyse *p'ansori* performances include learning by performing, participant observation, recordings, structured and open interviews, archival research and historical scholarship. All data were analysed using various methods and theoretical perspectives developed by scholars in various disciplines such as ethnomusicology, musicology, sociology, comparative literature, linguistics, semiotics and social linguistics, which, in turn, were combined in the context of the theoretical model used here.

In this case the model is used to illustrate my study of *p'ansori*, *Ch'unhyang-ga* in particular, in relation to the full spectrum of influences that range from the specific to the general. It included detailed descriptions and analysis of *p'ansori* texts, music, *p'ansori* terminology, individual styles, schools, various performance settings, aesthetics and relationships with other related genres. It also covered a variety of wider contexts such as social institutions associated with various systems of patronage and education, political, social and historical changes and cross-cultural influences. This was done in an attempt to understand the relationships between the processes of 'making music' and 'making sense of music' in different social situations and cultural and historical contexts (Um 1992).

Mantle Hood's theory of 'bi-musicality' is a useful methodological tool in the study of music. However, the notion of 'practice' is not limited only to the performers who make use of their technical devices and artistic knowledge in their creation of a particular performance. It is, likewise, found in the audiences who participate in this performance event because the audience also 'performs' as noted by Blacking (1987:35). It follows,

therefore, that theories of practice posited by Bourdieu and de Certeau could also be used as one of the methods and analytical tools for studying the performing arts of Asia-or anywhere else in the world. Moreover, as illustrated in my analysis of a *p'ansori* performance, practice can be located in all the mediums of expression such as music, text and bodily movements as well as various agents and contexts such as musicians, dancers, audiences, mediators, social institutions, the wider society and outside world. These mediums, agents and contexts associated with the processes of production and consumption of performing arts interact, appropriate, compete and negotiate with each other, producing multiple layers of practice.

However, some questions still remain to be addressed. How is practice associated with the performing arts different from everyday practice as understood by Bourdieu and de Certeau? And if there is a difference are there certain specific patterns to be found in practice associated with the performing arts that distinguish them from everyday practice? And if there are differences-why?

It is also important to note that researchers, either as outsiders or insiders, can never place themselves completely outside of the dialectic processes. Ethnomusicologists and anthropologists often become a part of the processes of composition, performance, and transmission. For example, Steven Feld (1982) composed and performed Kaluli songs which he studied. Kay Kaufman Shelemay (1997) also reports that her academic research and recordings of musics from the Syrian Jewish community in New York city were often used by this migrant community to transmit their music to their younger generations. *P'ansori* scholars are also part of the processes which they study. During my fieldwork in the Korean communities in the former Soviet Union and China I was often asked to perform traditional Korean music by these Korean migrants. I have given lectures on traditional and contemporary Korean music to the students and teachers of the College of Arts in Yanbian, where I undertook fieldwork in 1998. So I have become their informant who performs and transmits my cultural knowledge of Korea and other Korean migrant communities in the former Soviet Union and the United States.

Conclusion

In this paper I described and analysed a *p'ansori* performance using a theoretical model that illustrates how the process of performance is related to all aspects of a performing art from a particular performance to the broadest of historical events. By employing various research methods and instruments it was possible to understand the complex nature of performance and its associated contexts. The concept of practice, either as a theory or as a method, is both a useful perspective and research tool. However, it is important to note that practice associated with the performing arts must also be located in relation to a variety of mediums, individuals, institutions and their contexts. A performance is built upon these multiple layers of practice with various aims and purposes, whose interactions, in turn, produce different meanings, values and identities.

All too frequently the processes of data collection and analysis are limited to different techniques that are required by the nature of the discipline and topic of investigation. In the case of the performing arts, a comprehensive understanding of research topic demands both a broad perspective and intimate knowledge of the minutest technical details of the genre or form under examination. However, as James Clifford (1986:7) pointed out, ethnographic truths are 'inherently partial'. In this sense our own descriptions and analysis are subject to 'blind spots' which may even include ourselves as we are very much part of the processes of 'making' and 'making sense' of the performing arts which we study. However, by using a theoretical and methodological framework that spans all of the disciplines these gaps in our knowledge can hopefully be identified and become the focus of future research with a view to achieving a better understanding of the relationship that exists between performance and artistic creativity in the human context.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Barta Rövekamp, *Levende muziek in Amsterdamse cafés* [Living music in cafes of Amsterdam], Hilversum, The Netherlands: Dennis Music, 1992. 243 Pages, including black-and-white photographs, bibliography, song texts and music notations. ISBN 90-6679-019-9.¹

ELISABETH DEN OTTER

'Living' (*levende*) music in the cafés of Amsterdam: a title to prick up the ears of ethnomusicologists! Not 'live' music, but 'music of life' (*levensmuziek*) or 'lively' (*levendige*) music. Terms which indicate that music is seen as a part of daily life and analysed as such. The emphasis is on the social context of the music, proving that ethnomusicologists and music anthropologists can work towards the same goal: music as a reflection of society.

The book appealed to me for another reason as well: I live in the 'Jordaan', the old central city area which is referred to many times in the book. One of the cafés, 'De Twee Zwaantjes' (The Two Swans) is just around the corner. Often, when passing by, I hear strains of music and song issuing forth and can see people inside having a good time, which is the idea behind the title 'living music'.

The research -for an MA thesis- was done in the very city in which the author lives. Anthropological fieldwork is the base from which Ms. Rövekamp started: she visited a number of cafés regularly, between 1977 and 1982, talked with the musicians, the bar-owners and the public, made sound recordings and took photographs. Basically, she deals with cafés where accordion players perform, sometimes together with a vocalist. Famous accordionists and vocalists are featured, like Johnny Meyer and Manke Nelis. The café life is introduced in Chapter 1: 'An Evening in Café Bolle Jan'. It is run by a family of father, mother, and son. (The latter, René Froger, is nowadays a very popular singer.) Bolle Jan ('Fat-faced John') Froger is famed for his 'dirty' songs. The family is 'Jordaan' born and bred and the café is on the edge of the district. People come from far and near to listen to the music in this café. An elaboration of this chapter is found in Chapter 5, which describes visits to thirteen accordion cafés, conveying their sounds and atmosphere.

Chapter 2 deals with the history of living music in the cafés of Amsterdam, since the fifteenth century on, with background information on the development from travelling music makers to post-World War II times, via the popular theatres, fairs, street music, and cabarets. Special attention is paid to accordion cafés and accordion players in Chapter 3.

¹ This review also appeared in *Oideion; Performing Arts Online*, issue 1 (December 1997), <<http://www.iias.nl/oideion/journal/index-j.html>>

The Jordaan quarter and its accordion cafés are described extensively in Chapter 4, highlighting the street singers and their songs, as well as the street organs to which people used to dance. Being one of the oldest and poorest popular quarters of Amsterdam (1612), it has a long history of (protest) song and music. This music is heavily romanticized nowadays, and the Jordaan is becoming a fashionable quarter. Many of the original inhabitants have moved away, and as some say: 'The Jordaan is not the Jordaan anymore'. Still, many of the songs are a reflection of the solidarity and social control which was (and is) to be found in this once isolated community. Johnny Jordaan and Tante Leen were well known for their 'songs of life' (*levensliederen*), describing the life of this popular quarter and the people in the Jordaan are still a sentimental lot.

The repertoire is analysed in Chapter 6, divided into repertoire from the Jordaan, from Amsterdam and from countries outside the Netherlands (USA, France, Israel). On page 143 a 'hit parade' of 27 items is compiled, with 'Aan de Amsterdamse grachten' (The Canals of Amsterdam) by P.Goemans and 'Bij ons in de Jordaan' (With Us in the Jordaan) by L.Noiret/E.v.d.Brande-Henvo in the top-five. Potpourri's (medleys) are very popular. A short analysis of scales, rhythms, tempo/ vibrato/ glissando follows. Chapter 7 is called 'The last round' and describes events between 1980-1986, mainly outside the accordion cafés. The summary and conclusions are to be found in Chapter 8, followed by an extensive list of literature, song texts and notations, as well as a description of the tape recordings.

Although the book gives an excellent description of living music in the cafés of Amsterdam -at times perhaps a little too much- it lacks depth. If the material had been linked more closely to sociological theory, it might have been a PhD thesis. Also, a cassette with live recordings made by Ms. Rövekamp would have been a desirable addition; however, since much of the material is available commercially, the author and the publisher decided against it. Now that this book on the autochthonous popular music of Amsterdam has appeared, we are eagerly awaiting publications on the music of the Turkish, Moroccan and other peoples living in Holland.

Saskia Kersenboom, *Word, sound, image; The life of the Tamil text* Oxford/ Washington: Berg, 1995. 259 + xx Pages, bibliography, glossary, index. ISBN 0-85496-424 (cloth), 1-85973-008-6 (paper). With CD-i *Bhairavi Varnam*, Eindhoven: Philips/ CODIM Interactive Media.²

DIRK NIJLAND

In 1980 Leiden University presented an honorary doctorate to the French anthropologist and filmmaker, Jean Rouch, for his important work in the development of ethnographic

² This review, including audiovisual examples, also appeared in *Oideion; Performing Arts Online*, issue 2 (September 1998), <<http://www.iias.nl/oideion/journal/index-j.html>>

filming. Preceding Rouch's public lecture, during the ceremony at which the honorary doctorate was conferred a few of his films were shown, including *Funérailles du vieil Anai* (1972), about the funeral of a chief of a Dogon mask society. In the discussion after the public lecture Ed van der Elsken remarked that the myths that were told in the film as a kind of commentary did not do very much to elucidate the visual images. Why had Jean Rouch chosen this approach? Rouch answered that an approach using 'normal' explanatory comment would not have added many new viewpoints. Cultural anthropology needed new viewpoints, because it had almost reached a dead end.

Pertinently, who was he, Rouch? He did not know all there was to know about the Dogon. That is why he had chosen this approach: the selected non-verbal and verbal materials concerned the same thing and came directly from the Dogon themselves. Even more important was the fact that the public became *bouleversé*, confused, and were now forced to think in other ways about the ritual.

In 1995 Saskia Kersenboom's book *Word, sound, image; The life of the Tamil text with the accompanying CD-i Bhairavi Varnam* was introduced in the *Soeterijn* of the *Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen*, Amsterdam. Bruce Kapferer, one of the speakers, pointed out that an ethnographic film or video could only present complex non-verbal phenomena in a linear way, that is, a number of aspects can only be presented in a particular order and therefore represent only one viewpoint. However, a CD-i makes it possible for the user to view a number of the aspects presented in the order he or she prefers. Hence the exposure to the phenomenon, or rather to those parts of it that are represented, can assume quite a variety of forms. In this way, the reflection on the phenomenon could become richer. With this remark Kapferer underlined one of the central theses presented by Kersenboom in her book. Like Rouch, and post-modernists after him, she realizes the great importance of new ways of thinking in anthropology, the thinking 'laterally', as Picasso seems to have called it.

Cogently, Kersenboom does not want to contribute to these new viewpoints in any rather loose or artistically inspiring manner. On the contrary, it is the unique complexity of the phenomenon she studied that makes it impossible to translate or reduce its essence. It necessitates that the 'lateral thinking' concentrates itself on the intrinsic character of the phenomenon itself, led by the participants who are fully aware of its unique complexity. An optimal knowledge and experiencing of the phenomenon complete with all its associations is only to be obtained by intensive participant observation and living through the same kind of experiences.

Kersenboom mentions that she practised Tamil dance for twenty years, accompanying this by the study of Tamil literature and music. A report about this research, using the standpoints within the particular culture as much as possible bolstered by an additional interactive medium like the CD-i or CD-ROM, is a good introduction. However, although it takes into account all the verbal and non-verbal expressions by the participants during an event and is supplemented by the researcher's comments, it is not the ultimate source, Kersenboom believes.

Kersenboom does not say anything about intercultural comparison, which is difficult to do if we want to retain the unique characteristics, but according to most anthropologists still the essence of cultural anthropology. Nevertheless, she presents us with a thorough discussion of the problem of cultural anthropology: translating texts, in which 'text' is taken in the broader sense. In a scholarly way she discusses many authors: Steiner, Bourdieu, Said, Ricoeur, Holton, Brodsky, Smith, Foucault, Peirce, Jacobson, Whorf, Huizinga, De Saussure, Trubetzkoy, Levinson, Eco, Tedlock, Lévi-Strauss, Seeger, etc. In the end, the conclusion is that reduction or translation is not possible without destroying the essence. For Kersenboom there is a new aim for science after Post-Modernism. We should come to a new, radical form of hermeneutics by living intensively through the cultural aspect researched through participation. Only by taking part in practice we will be exposed to and set up a real dialogue with the 'Other', through sharing time and place and paying real attention to each other. Probably one has to imagine this intensive participant learning, building upon understanding which is obtained by a series of long periods of fieldwork in several decades. We should not hunt for universal truths, but try to experience the infinite variety of existing truths.

The essence of the book is the description of structure and meaning of traditional Tamil poetry called *Bhairavi varnam*. This could be considered a complex sacred text, existing in manuscript form, but which only flowers into its value and full meaning for gods and human beings when this text with all its verbal, but especially also its non-verbal, aspects is brought to life by a devoted dancer with the music that belongs to it.

As early as the sixth century AD the Tamils were describing their holy language, *centamil*, as threefold, *muttamil*, encompassing word, music, and danced mime, and which can generate the presence of the god and his/her power. The female temple dancers, *devadasi*, have been accomplishing this communication with the gods for the king and his people for two millennia. It is 'embodied knowledge' that can only be transferred by the female dancer to the public as a sensual experience. Central in all this is the *varnam*, a literary form expressing love for, and eventually unification with, the god. The *varnam* text consists of three lines, but it is introduced and developed by the dancer using several mime figures in an improvisation. In the end, the public is immersed in this experience of love for the god. They experience harmony with the essence of being and well-being: bliss.

The book *Word, sound, image* presents elaborate descriptions of the different performing aspects of the *Bhairavi varnam*. Kersenboom divides these aspects into form and content. The *FORM* discusses aspects of the performing, the language used, and music and dance figures. The *CONTENT* deals with the associations of these expressions with Tamil thinking. In both sections there is a frequent reference to the CD-i.

After the introductory text there are about forty topics that can be chosen. The first menu shows '*varnam*', 'performance', 'form', 'content', 'help', and 'exit'; see Plate 1.

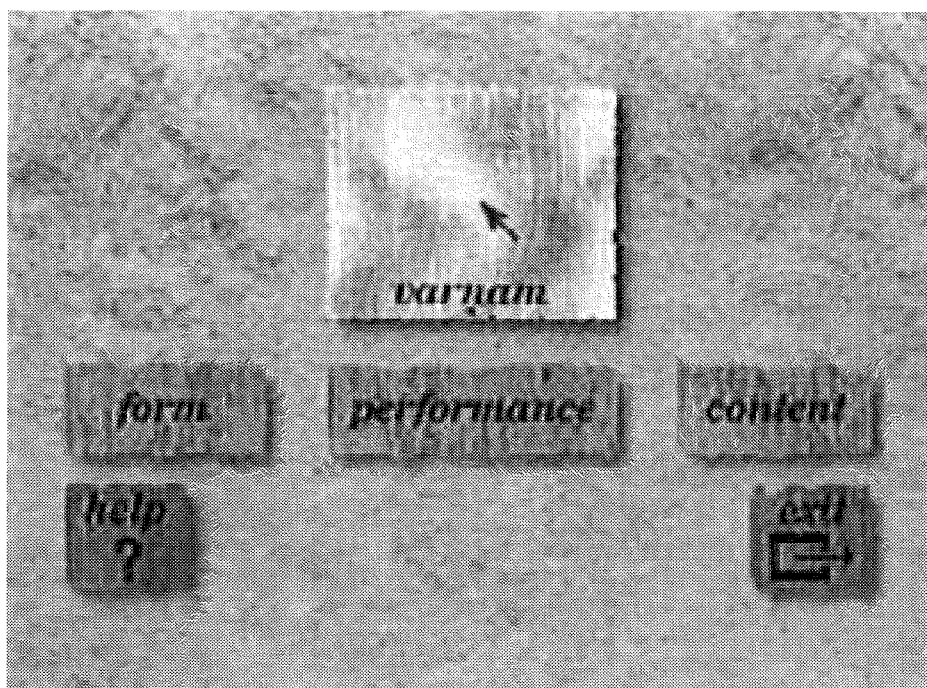


Plate 1: The first menu on the CD-i.

Clicking on '*varnam*' will give a 4.5 minute video showing the dance, of which a short section is given in Video Example 1 in the WWW version of this review (see footnote 2). '*Varnam*' shows a 4.5 minute part of the Bharaivi varnam, danced by Saskia Kersenboom in a studio. On a 34cm monitor (27cm x 21cm) this is presented as an image of 19cm x 19cm.

'Performance' allows the possibility for musical analysis ('sound') or the analysis of the sung text and the meaning of the performed dance movements ('word/image'). In both cases the 4.5 minutes of '*varnam*' is shown again, but now the size of the images is 8cm x 8cm; underneath the musical analysis or the translation of the sung text with the meaning of the dance movements moves from right to left. See Video Example 2 in the WWW version of this review (URL in footnote 2).

If things go too fast, it is possible to stop sound and image for a moment at any point. Going back a few seconds was not possible on the apparatus I used (Philips cdi 470). However, any subject could be started anew at any moment. FORM and CONTENT both have a menu of eighteen subjects (see scheme below). In both cases the unit consisting of verbal text (word), music (sound), and dance mime (image), together forming the *Bhairavi varnam*, is central in the presentation. In both FORM and CONTENT these aspects are subdivided into 'space' and 'time'. In FORM there is another subdivision into 'drills', 'skills', and 'competence', in which respectively basic units, compositions, and

larger performance complexes are discussed. In CONTENT there is another subdivision in to 'text', 'world', and 'performer'. These subheadings respectively indicate notation systems, information about the world view as expressed by the *Bhairava varnam*, and information about the performance and the performers of the *Bhairava varnam*.

Scheme of the classified information

FORM						
Space				Time		
Word	Sound	Image		Image	Sound	Word
letter	note	hand	<i>drills</i>	beat foot	beat hand	letter
prosody	scale	gesture	<i>skills</i>	step	cycle	prosody
line	phrase	mime	<i>competence</i>	salvo	cluster	line
CONTENT						
Space				Time		
Word	Sound	Image		Image	Sound	Word
text	mood	suggestion	<i>text</i>	notation	codification	manuscript
context	melody	frame	<i>world</i>	mimesis	recitation	recitation
characters	interpretation	impact	<i>performer</i>	role	part	post

The ordering of the CD-i is reflected in the ordering of the book. The different subjects on the CD-i take between half a minute to more than four minutes. In this way the user can obtain information about the different non-verbal aspects in an 'encyclopaedic' way, not possible when using the medium of writing. The CD-i is extremely informative and contributes to a large extent to an audio and visual image in which, for instance, also the motor system (rhythmic movements) and emotion will be addressed.

There are of course a few shortcomings. I could not find the improvised text, depicted by the dance, on the CD-i in the book. Also, in the book there is no clear

of this we need the support of audiovisual apparatus in research, with, among other things, the need to include long video shots, analysis of the registered actions, generation of questions, feedback from the participants by showing them the recordings and posing these newly formulated questions, together with interpretation of the actions analysed by making use of our scientific theory. The audiovisual report will play an important part together with the monograph.

There are already quite a few monographs published with an accompanying ethnographic film or video. Saskia Kersenboom has gone a step further in the right direction with this book and the accompanying CD-i. I strongly recommend this twofold publication, all the more so as it will refresh your mind.

Antoinet Schimmelpenninck, *Chinese folks songs and folk singers; Shan'ge traditions in southern Jiangsu*, Leiden: CHIME Foundation 1997. 442 + xvi Pages, musical transcriptions, appendices, song texts in Chinese, bibliography, glossary, index. ISBN 90-803615-1-8. With CD *Folk songs of Southern China*, Leiden: PAN Records 1990AS.³

WIM VAN ZANTEN

This book + CD is a comprehensive study of the lyrics and music of *shan'ge* songs in the rural parts of the Wu area, Jiangsu Province. It is very well documented, and the focus of the study is concentrated on the following issues (p. x):

- occurrence of 'monothematic' tune areas, that is, areas where only one or perhaps a few tunes dominate the repertoire;
- meaning of the term *shan'ge*, and its relation to the monothematic areas in the Wu area;
- short phrases and motifs which constantly recur and which function as essential building blocks in the song structure.

The book starts with an overview in Chapter 1, 'Folk song studies in China - A general perspective'. In this part the reader will find sections on song collections in and outside China, a brief description of ethno-musicology in China and Western research, and a discussion of the term *shan'ge*. In the Wu area studied, the word *shan'ge* covers a wide range of 'songs'. The vast majority of these songs is based on a very limited number of tunes, to which hundreds of different texts are sung (p.21).

The second chapter is called 'Introduction to the Wu folk song culture and fieldwork experiences'. It presents a description of the Wu area and its inhabitants, a review of earlier studies of Wu songs, and a fairly detailed account of the fieldwork methods and techniques applied by Antoinette Schimmelpenninck and her companion Frank

³ This review, including audiovisual examples, also appeared in *Oideion; Performing Arts Online*, issue 2 (September 1998), <<http://www.iias.nl/oideion/journal/index-j.html>>

reference to the sources used for all kinds of pictures and objects presented on the CD-i. Besides this, I missed recordings of a female dancer with orchestra, and with public. The latter especially, in its own context, seems essential for a good understanding.

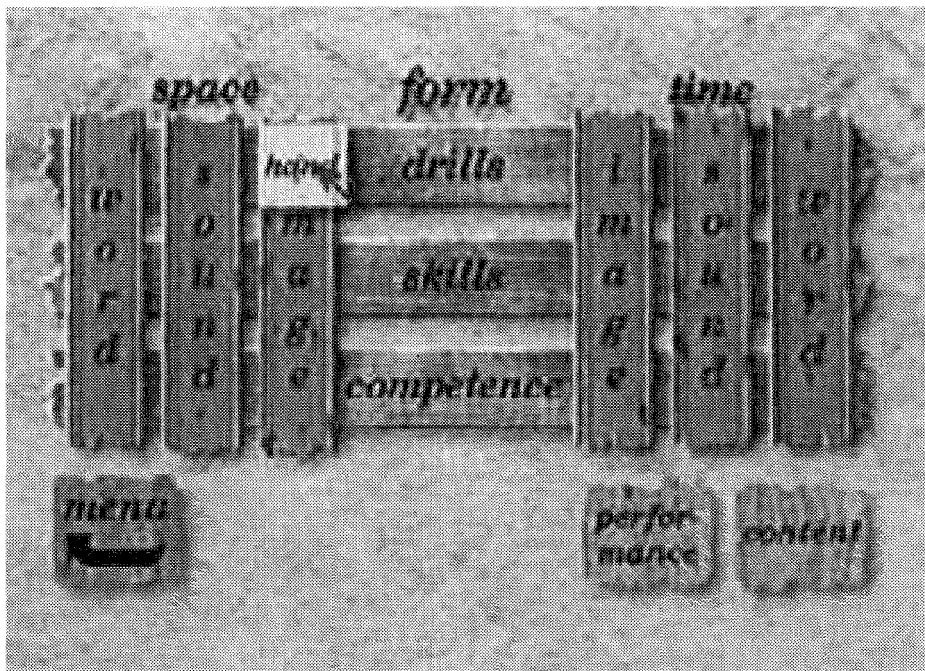


Plate 2: Placing the pointer on the spot FORM - Space - Image will show the word 'hand'. Clicking on this point, will give information about the single hand positions (see Video Example 3 in the WWW version of this review; URL in footnote 1).

I do not understand Kersenboom's ultimate scientific aim, although I greatly admire the documentation presented with this publication. It seems an exemplary ethnography, a 'pile of quality' on which, with some abstraction, very useful anthropology can be built.

Cogently, the thorough treatment of the anthropological problem of translating 'texts' seems to me absolutely appropriate and important, although this section is difficult to read. I must beg to differ when Saskia Kersenboom concludes that reduction and abstraction for comparison is not possible. It seems to me that comparison is the essential task of cultural anthropology, and therefore reduction and abstraction - with the greatest attention and care - both need to take place.

Kersenboom rightly discusses these problems. The complexity of the 'embodied knowledge' has a central place in this. I take this notion very seriously in my own work as ethnographic filmmaker, and there is an ever-increasing support for this viewpoint from neurophysiology, neuropsychology, and neurolinguistics. In the operationalisation

Kouwenhoven. They made several trips to the field to collect materials from about one hundred singers. In the very useful Appendices one may find the following overviews:

- list of villages, the names of singers interviewed, and the number of songs recorded from each singer (Appendix 2);
- list of recorded songs (about 950 items), including the name of the singer, and place and date of recording (Appendix 3);
- alphabetical list of singers, including information about sex, age, profession, village, and number of songs recorded (Appendix 4);
- list of fieldwork periods (altogether more than a year) spent on interviews and recording of songs in 1986-1992, and related fieldwork notes (Appendix 5);
- questionnaire used in fieldwork (Appendix 6).

Interviews and songs were recorded with sound equipment as well as video and photo camera. In most villages the researchers were unable to stay for more than one or two days; local officials were needed to do the research, but Antoinette Schimmelpenninck was not able to pay for their support and co-operation. The solution was to make short and repeated visits to the villages. The quality of the support given by local officials was not always satisfactory. For instance, during interviews with the singers, many officials would give their own answers instead of translating the questions to the singers. There were other restrictions, like infra-structural and communications problems, and severe weather conditions: no heating in the cold winter, very hot weather in summer, and torrential rainfall (p.44-7).

After these two introductory chapters, we come to the three large chapters forming the essence of the book: the singers, the texts, and the music. Chapter 3, 'The singers', also includes a discussion of the different kinds of songs. It starts with a sketch of the social background of the singers, and presents short life histories of five of them. About seventy-five percent of the singers interviewed were farmers, fishermen, factory workers, or construction workers; the other twenty-five percent included shopkeepers, nurses, and cultural cadres, and beggars. Forty percent of the recorded singers were women. From the life histories of some of the singers it is very clear how much they have suffered from the political climate since the mid-fifties, and especially during the ten years of the Cultural Revolution, starting in 1966. During that period the *shan'ge* love songs were called 'old rubbish' (p.64), and the traditional singers were no longer allowed to sing them, or they had to use propaganda texts set to the traditional tunes. Many folk song books were burnt, and the singers were often maltreated. In this way the singer Jin Wenying (born 1927), teacher and cultural worker, lost many of the books and song texts, which he had collected. In 1979 he was restored to his former post as cultural worker, and started anew to collect the texts of the songs sung to him.

The political climate between the 1950s and the 1970s goes part of the way towards explaining why there is a gap in the ages of singers. One generation of singers were unable to learn the songs by being exposed to them. Many older singers were still afraid

to sing the traditional, often erotic, texts many years after the Cultural Revolution (p.135).



Photo 1: Jin Wenjin, folk singer and folk song collector [p.64]

The term *shan'ge* is discussed in more detail at the end of this third chapter, and the conclusion is that *shan'ge* in the Wu area can best be translated as 'rural song'; singers in this area use the term for about ninety percent of their songs (p. 129).

The fourth chapter deals with the song texts. The first part focuses on the content of the most popular type, that is, love songs. The different paragraphs include

- songs of yearning;
- songs of courtship;
- the game of love - sex, vows of fidelity, and promiscuous behaviour;
- the tragedy of love - the agony of married women, oppression and suicide and other subjects.

Many of the song texts are given in English translation in the text, and Appendix 1 presents song texts in Chinese characters.

The best way to make contact with girls is by singing *shan'ge* it says in one song: 'If you sing *shan'ge* you'll find it easy to court' (p. 152). About fifty percent of the songs collected by the author deals with one or another aspect of love, usually about private and forbidden love relations, not authorized by the parents or by marital bonds. Longing for love is a prominent theme and usually expressed from the viewpoint of a young

woman, but sung mostly by men. Many songs contain erotic metaphors, and sometimes the allusions to sex are fairly direct and coarse. Some song texts are considered 'really dirty', and therefore it is said in a riddle song that the *shan'ge* singer dies with rotten teeth (p. 169). The author points out that the 'villagers largely accept erotic songs as an inherent - rather than shocking or 'immoral' - part of their song culture'. However, collecting erotic songs has often evoked strong resistance among scholars and government officials (p. 142-3).

The second part of this chapter deals with matters of structure and style. Stanza structure, rhyme, and rhythm are discussed, and in particular, the use of formulae and improvised extensions of text (*jikou*). As well as this, the textual variation of nineteen versions of one particular song is examined. The Wu song is not fixed (p.144).

The fifth and last chapter, 'The Music', is the largest of all, and just over one hundred pages long. It presents general characteristics of the *shan'ge* and many pages with musical transcriptions of the recorded songs. In most *shan'ge* the musical unit or 'tune' corresponds to one four-line stanza.

Below the transcriptions of eleven performances of a particular *shan'ge* 'tune' in Example 3, are reproduced. The last two sections, C and D, are presented here below the sections A and B, instead of on the right-hand side page in the book. In the book each line represents one performance of the *shan'ge* tune, and the different performances can easily be compared. The first six lines of musical example 3 are transcriptions of six different performances of a *shan'ge* tune by one singer on different occasions. The sections A to D represent the four lines of the text. Antoinette Schimmelpenninck calls this the '*wu-a-hei-hei*' tune, after the high passage on these words in part A.

The '*wu-a-hei-hei*' tune serves as an initial example of the 'monothematism': one singer uses only one or two of such tunes to sing all *shan'ge* texts, and other singers may use 'the same tune', with variations. The musical characteristics of the common '*wu-a-hei-hei*' tune are described, touching upon such matters as the parallelism in sections B and D, and parallel elements in A and C (p. 237-8), the use of glissandi, 'bridge', motifs between A-B and between C-D, cadential phrases, etc. Other tunes are similarly described, and in section 5.7 the Wu area is depicted as a network of closely related tunes.

The last part of this chapter is devoted to some aspects of the relationship between music and words (there is 'dominance of poetry over music', p.302), and the musical characteristics of *shan'ge* are compared to other song types, like *xiaodiao*.⁴

This study is a very welcome addition to the study of music. The documentation of texts, in combination with CD and the transcription of the music, affords excellent information. Despite its excellence, I still do have some critical comments. It is a pity that now and then value statements, which could easily have been avoided, crop up. For

⁴See for an Audio Example of such *xiaodiao* song and another example of a *shan'ge* my 'Ethnomusicology in the Netherlands since 1960', section 5, Audio Examples 3 and 4, in *Oideion; Performing arts online*, Issue 1 (September 1997), < <http://www.iias.nl/oideion/journal/issue01/zanten/index-a.html> >

instance, Chapter 5 starts with 'One's first experience with the sounds of Wu folk songs may come as a pleasant surprise'. The author goes on to say that Western listeners might be expecting to hear something like Chinese opera, or a music 'reminiscent of the arranged 'folk songs' sung by popular Chinese radio and television stars' (p.223). It is irrelevant to know that the author does not like Chinese opera and 'arranged folk songs' very much. Omitting the word 'pleasant' in the first sentence would have been much better.

Musical Transcriptions

(sections A-D, performances 6, 7 and 8 in Ex.3, page 234-5)

Section A

⑥ *ng shang fa cheng wang* — *da*

⑦ *ng shang fa ca ng wang e — la la la* *la — e* *da a*

⑧ *ng shang fa ca ng wang y e* *la la la* *la a — e* *ho ho da a*

Section B (continuation from performances 6, 7 and 8 in section A)

ge chao guo dang hu ni *fe zhu* *ya ca bu xia — e*

ge chao guo dang hu ni *e fe zhu* *ya ca bu xia — e*

ge chao guo dang hu *la fe zhu ya* *ca bu xia* *ku — e*

Section C

si shi ba bu bu lang ge bu san guang xia dao fei na na sang li xia — e —

na ge bu — san guang xia dao fei si guang li xia — na

san guang xia dao fei si guang li xia — na

Section D

Zhao Yangming, rec. 22 Feb. 1989

e ge bu si sang li fei na — ya da ge dou e —

Jiang Liansheng, rec. 10 Jul. 1987

a na si sang li fei na — ya da ge na — da — a

Jiang Liansheng, rec. 10 Dec. 1987

a na si sang li fei na — ya da ge na — da — a

A wealth of data may also have a negative side, if not enough attention is given to theoretical reflections and analysis. I would have preferred the balance to be more in favour of theoretical reflections and analyses, and less on data. I shall explain this with two examples: the use of the term 'folk', and the method used in transcribing the music.

These days the use of the term 'folk' is very problematic. Many (ethno-) musicologists no longer know what a 'folksong' is. Antoinette Schimmelpenninck is aware of this problem and mentions in footnote 1, page x, that in her study: '... the word "folk" should be understood in a very general sense, without any depreciatory connotations: "folk song" denotes songs which are sung in the countryside, in a domestic context or in the fields, and which belong to a local, historical tradition of (mainly unaccompanied) oral poetry; "folk" refers to villagers, regardless of their economic, professional or educational status.' I think that the term 'folk' could have been avoided altogether in this study by just using 'song', but if used, I would have appreciated a more thorough discussion of this problematic term. For instance, are the work-songs and *xiaodiao* of the urban areas no 'folk songs'?

I am not satisfied with the music notation. On page 227 it is mentioned that in the transcriptions an attempt was made 'to show as much detail as could be discerned by ear at normal playing speed.' While trying to be as precise as possible, we should avoid nonsensical exactness. For instance, on page 251, Example 14, line 4, the sixteenth notes are punctuated. On page 264, Example 27, first line, instead of 4 sixteenth notes, we see two subdivisions into three, with one note lasting two-thirds of an eighth note, and the other one-third of an eighth note. This precise notation is of no use to the reader, as the variation between the singers, or the variation between different performances of one singer, is of much larger compass than such subtleties. Maybe such precise transcription has some function in an earlier stage of analysis, but not in the final version of the book. Such detailed notation makes the transcriptions difficult to read, and, even more importantly, it clouds the discussion on the difficult distinction between melody line ('structure', 'tune'), and ornament ('detail', 'variation'). For instance, do the *shan'ge* as transcribed in Example 3 (see above) all have the note 'a' as the last 'structural' note, in which case the last notes *g* are *not* 'structural', or are the last notes 'g' all 'structural'? The answer to this question is important if we want to discuss the musical modes used in *shan'ge*. In this case the author's notation seems pretty clear to me.

Nevertheless, the crucial concept of musical modes is not addressed. When the sound source itself, the CD, is available to the reader, the explanation of structural aspects and classification of ornaments are far more important than a (too) detailed notation of the music.

I do not hesitate to add these critical notes to this book, because it has so many excellent qualities. Undoubtedly, this book and the accompanying CD will be an important source for the study of Wu songs for many years to come. I whole-heartedly recommend it.

RECORD REVIEWS

The Janissaries - Martial Music of the Ottoman Empire, CD: Ethnic B 6738.

Turkish military band music of the Ottoman empire, CD: KICC 5101.⁵

WOUTER SWETS

During nearly five hundred years of their existence (1362-1826) the *janissaries* (from Turkish *yeni çeri* 'new army') were the elite troops of the Ottoman empire. For them there was no other way of life than strict loyalty to the Sultan, to whom they were bound by special privileges linked to their education and career, compounded by their total isolation from common life. At the very beginning they were recruited from children captured in battle, but soon also systematically raised from the children of subjugated Christian people within the empire. Hereby and by their obligatory conversion to Islam, they were alienated from their parental roots, whereas because of these same parental roots and because of the fact that they had strong ties with the *Bektaşî* sect of Islam, they could never assimilate with the Turks, the dominant people in the empire. Last but not least, they could not raise their own families because they had to stay celibate. So the Sultan became a kind of father to the *janissaries* who were a loyal and useful instrument in his power policy.

Depending on their abilities the *janissaries* could become mercenaries, statesmen, scholars, or artists. Some of them even achieved the high office of Grand Vizier. At the end of the seventeenth century the definitive decline of the Ottoman empire set in and some formerly conquered territories had to be given up the rules which governed them were relaxed and it became possible for men born Muslim to join the *janissary* corps. Consequently, during the eighteenth century the *janissaries* began to act like a state within the state which at last forced Sultan Mahmud II to dissolve the corps in 1826. During futile revolts against this decision, some 15 000 *janissaries* were killed and 20000 exiled afterwards.

With the eclipse of the *janissaries* their orally transmitted music disappeared almost totally with the exception of some which had already been noted down. The Ottoman empire inherited the idea of using military bands consisting of shawms, trumpets, and percussion from Central and West Asian medieval empires, where these units used to symbolize the independence of the rulers to whom they were attached. In the Ottoman empire, the *janissary* sections which performed music were called *mehter*. There were many *mehter*, the size of which depended on the position of the authorities to whom they belonged. The *mehter* of the Sultan was the biggest, that of the Grand Vizier somewhat smaller, and that of a common governor simply small. They used to play their own type

⁵ This review was earlier published in *Oideion; Performing Arts Online*, issue 1 (December 1997), <<http://www.iias.nl/oideion/journal/index-j.html>>

of Turkish traditional art music, which was performed during military expeditions and battles, as well as on the occasion of formal events in the palace.

After the second Turkish siege of Vienna in 1683, when the victorious Polish and Austrian troops drove the Turks back, complete sets of musical instruments of *mehter* were seized and later used in the newly established 'janissary bands' of many European courts. Thus the practice of military music in Europe was taken over from the Turks. However, what these occidental *janissary* bands performed was but a pale shadow of Ottoman *mehter* music, at most a clumsy, childish, imitation of it. Normally they played a new type of march music at that time totally unknown in Turkey.

After the annihilation of the *janissaries*, a modern Turkish army was created after the example of European armies. The organization of military bands performing occidental military marches was given to composers like Giuseppe Donizetti and Calliso Guatelli. Later Turkish composers tried to combine the occidental type of military march with Turkish modality, the so-called *makam* principle. Pleasant though they may have been, their light, popular tunes were of a far lower quality than the original Ottoman *mehter* music.

When the Ottoman empire was replaced by the modern Turkish republic in 1923 this east-west mixture came to an end (1935) and a radical Europeanisation was introduced. Only since 1952, when an old-style *mehter* ensemble was re-established inspired by the equally historical Scots Guards, have efforts been made to perform what is left of the traditional *mehter* music. Often the march music composed after 1826 up to today is sung to actual texts which describe military events or heroic deeds of personalities in the time at which the composer lived (the Crimean War, Osman Paşa), but some texts deal with glorious victories of centuries ago (for example the conquests on the Balkans by Sultan Süleyman I in the sixteenth century).

The repertoire of the re-established *mehter* as presented on the 2 CDs consists of

1. preserved ceremonial customs and compositions of the old *janissary mehter*;
2. classical vocal and/or instrumental compositions which can also be experienced as somehow related to the military life;
3. folk songs and tunes heard and adopted by the *janissaries* in their campaigns in the Balkans and elsewhere;
4. military marches composed after 1826.

On the first CD one may find these four categories in the following items (the underlined items of CD2 can also be found on CD1):

CD1	CD2
1. track 1a, 1b, 1d, 7b	<u>17b</u>
2. track 1c, 2a, 2b, 3a, 3b, 11	7
3. track 5a-g, 8	<u>5</u> , 8, 11a, <u>11b</u>
4. track 4, 6, 7a, 7c, 7d, 9, 10	<u>1</u> , 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 10, <u>12</u> , 13, 14, <u>15</u> , <u>16</u> , <u>17a</u>

The CD cover and the booklet included do not cover all the historical notes as presented above. The foregoing information is partly a summary of the text of the booklet with own additions necessary to help the reader understand better what follows. It is striking that in the booklet there is virtually no information about the works performed in the booklet. Moreover there are some mistakes and omissions with relation to the names of the pieces on the back cover of the CD.

To begin with the last, the piece *Elçi peşrevi* is mentioned twice (track 1b and 9b), where in fact it is not recorded. It is actually to be found on track 4a. The name of the piece not-mentioned on track 4b is *Benefşezar*, a military march. The song by the medieval composer Abdülkadir Meraği (1360? - 1435) beginning with the words '*Amed nesimi*' is not a *kâr* but another form of composition called *nakiş beste* (track 1c). The song of track 2 is not a *yürük semai* but a *şarkı* in the metre called *yürük semai* (6/8 or 6/4). The names of the folk songs and instrumental pieces of track 5 have not been noted.

I shall now give more detailed information about the items on the CD. The names will be given in the official Turkish spelling.

Track 1a: *Davet*. Greeting of the chief of the *mehter* followed by his command to play. First one hears the percussion announcing the arrival of the chief, here in a metre called *evsat*, 26/4 (5 + 4 + 4 + 5 + 4 + 4). The command to play has been omitted in this recording.

Track 1b. *Peşrev* ('overture') of the Chancelleries. This is a ceremonial piece. Usually a *peşrev* consists of four melodically different sections called *hane*, each ending with one and the same refrain, called *teslim*. In this recording only the first *hane* & *teslim* are heard. The *usul*, a metrical-rhythmic cycle of heavy and light beats, in this case is *fahte*, 20/4. Here, it is performed as 5 x 4/4 metre. The *makam* (mode) of the piece is *Rast*.

Track 1c. *Nakiş beste* '*Amed Nesimi*' Composer: Abdülkadir Meraği (1360? - 1435). *Makam*: *Rast*. *Usul*: *Düyek* (4/4). A *beste* is normally based on four verse lines, each followed by a *terennüm*, a refrain sung in meaningless syllables. In a *nakiş beste*, however, this refrain follows only after the second and fourth verse line. In this performance only the first two verse lines and refrain are heard. The same music would have been repeated for the third and fourth verse line and refrain.

Track 1d. *Son yürük semai* ('instrumental final piece in *usul Yürük Semai*, 6/8). *Makam*: *Rast*.

Track 2a. *Taksim* in *makam Uşşak* on *zurna* (a shawm). The *taksim* is an a-metrical improvisation and is considered to be the ideal means to expose the *seyir* (melodic course according to traditional rules) of a *makam*.

Track 2b. *Şarkı* '*Ömrün şu biten neşvesi*'. *Makam*: *Uşşak*; *Usul*: *Yürük Semai* (6/4), composed in 1952 by Süleyman Erguner (1902 - 1953). The text expounds on the blessings of being a *dervish*. The *janissaries* of old did not consider themselves only to being just soldiers, but they were also *dervishes* belonging to the *Bektaşî* order. Since about 1830 up to the present day, the *şarkı* has been the most popular song type of the

traditional Turkish art music. It may have many musical forms which share the common trade that the sung poem has a rhyme scheme. However, the form used far and away the most often consists of one or more stanzas each of four verse lines, of which the second and the fourth, called *nakarât*, are set to the same melody. The third verse line, called *miyan*, is reserved for modulation to another mode or for exploring the high regions of the main mode. A change of metre in the *miyan* is also allowed, but this happens relatively seldom. The *şarkı* on the CD has the form described above. In the *miyan* there is a modulation to *makam Hüseynî*, of course the two stanzas of this composition are both set to the same music.

Track 3a. *Peşrev* in *makam Rast*; *Usul: Hafif* (16/2). Composed by Refik Fersan (1893 - 1965). Only the first *hane* and *teslim* are performed here. The complete *peşrev* comprises four *hane* and *teslim*. Sometimes a *peşrev* is performed incompletely (for example because there is only one following vocal piece or only a short vocal suite is connected to it) or other wise treated freely and not conforming to its traditional rules of composition and metre, in which case it is called *medhal*.

Track 3b. *Kârçe* ('little' *kâr*) '*Gülüzünde görelî*' in *makam Rast*. *Usul: Devrihindi* (7/8: 3+2+2). composed by Münir Nurettin Selçuk (1900 - 1981), one of the most famous Turkish singers of this century. The *kâr* used to be one of the most difficult song types of Turkish art music and was in fact a test case for good composers. Selçuk's *kârçe* has musically nothing to do with that traditional *kâr* and has much more in common with the *şarkı* form, but is apparently named *kârçe* because it is based as the *kâr*, unlike the *şarkı* on the text of a *gazel* and moreover to some degree its metre and mode are reminiscent to a *kâr* in *makam Rast* and *usul Devrirevan* (14/8, 2 x 7/8) composed by Abdülkadir Meraği. On the CD only the first stanza of this work has been recorded.

Track 4a. *Elçi peşrevi* (Ambassador's *peşrev*) in *makam Segâh* and *usul Düyek* (4/4). Composed by Yildirim Gürses (born in 1940). In the middle section of this piece is heard *makam Hüzam* with its augmented second between the fourth and fifth degree of the scale.

Track 4b. *Peşrev 'Benefşezâr'* (Place abounding in violets) in *makam Rast* and *usul Düyek* (4/4). The modern style of the two *peşrevs* on this track are more suggestive of military marches, though these latter are preferably set in the *usul Sofyan* (4/4), than in the syncopating *usul Düyek* (4/4 ' 8/8: 1+2+1+2+2).

Track 5a. *Taksim* preceding a suite of folk songs and dances from the Turks living on the Balkans. This *taksim* has a folkloristic mood and is because of this is not improvised according to the strict classical modal rules. There is a mixture of the *makams Hicazkar*, *Mahur*, and *Suzinak*.

Track 5b. Folk song '*Bülbüller ötüyor*' (The nightingales are singing) in *makam Mahur* and in *usul Aksak* (9/8: 2+2+2+3). This song is supposed to have been brought back by the Turks after their occupation of more than 150 years of Hungary.

Track 5c. '*Estergon kalesi*' (The fortress of Estergom). Folk song also believed to be from Hungary. For a long time Estergom, not far to the east of Vienna, was the first

Turkish city after leaving Austria. The song is in *makam Hicaz* and in *usul Aksak* (see above).

Track 5d. '*Dayler dayler*' (Mountains, mountains). Folk song from the Southern Balkans (Macedonia and Thrace) in *makam Uzzal* and in the rarely heard local 15/4 metre (4+3+4+4), here changed into 4 x 4/4 metre (see my comment on this song in the booklet of PAN 2007 CD *Čalgija*. Music from the Balkans and Anatolia #2).

Track 5e. '*Kırmızı gülün alı var*' (The red rose has the colour of vermillion). Folk song from the Southern Balkans (Macedonia and Thrace) in *makam Hümayun* and in *usul Sofyan*.

Track 5f. '*Gelin havası*'. Instrumental folk dance melody for a bride from Thrace, in a *Hicaz*-coloured *makam Hüseyini* and in *usul Sofyan* (4/4).

Track 5g. '*Edirune karşılaması*'. Characteristic folk dance of the surroundings of the city of Adrianople (Thrace) in *makam Hüseyini* and in 9/8 metre (2+2+2+3)

Track 6. '*Eski ordu marşı*' (Old army march). '*Ceddin deden*' (Your ancestor, your grandfather) in *makam Hüseyini* and in *usul Sofyan*. Composed by Kaptanzadı Ali Rıza Bey (1881 - 1934).

Track 7a. *Mehter marşı* '*Gafil ne bilir*' (What a stupid man knows) in *makam Mahur* and in *usul Sofyan* (4/4). Composed by İsmail Hakkı Bey (1866 - 1927).

Track 7b. Conclusion of *Gülbank duası*, the final prayer after a *mehter* concert ending with the words '*yektir Allah*' (there is only one God).

Track 7c. *Yeni Malazgirt marşı* '*Ya Allah bismillah*' (In the name of Allah). *Malazgirt* is the name of a place in eastern Anatolia (province of Muş, north of Lake Van) which gave this 'new march' its name. In *makam Rast* and in *usul Sofyan*.

Track 7d. *Hücum marşı* (march on the advance) in *makam Neva* and *usul Sofyan* (4/4).

Track 8. *Genccedil; Osman*. Folk song from Aydın, near the Aegean coast of Western Anatolia, in *makam Nişabur* and in *usul Sofyan* (4/4). The song text deals with the young Turkish hero Osman, who fought in Bagdad.

Track 9. *Ordunun duası* (the prayer of the army). March in *makam Rast* and in *usul Sofyan* (4/4).

Track 10. *Atatürk marşı* in *makam Acemkürdi* and in *usul Sofyan* (4/4), composed by Cemal Cümbüş (1912-1981). Kemal Paşa who liberated Turkey from its occupiers and founded the Turkish Republic in 1923, ordered every subject of the state to take a surname. For himself he chose the name Atatürk (father of the Turks). In this march he is honoured. The concluding phrase of this piece has been transposed upwards by one octave. This has nothing to do with the prescribed melodic course of *makam Acemkürdi* which is in fact blurred by this transposition, but should merely be seen as a search for a final theatrical effect of which many Turkish singers make use.

Track 11. *Taksim* on *zurna* (a shawm), showing a mixture of the *makams Segâh, Hüzam, Müstear*, and *Maye*, which despite some differences in their scales are certainly closely related to each other in having the same final tone (*segâh*) and the same dominant

(*neva*, the third step). This *taksim* has a rhythmical metrical base provided by the percussion above which the *zurna*, supported by a second *zurna*, which performs the *drone* of the final tone *segâh*, improvises the melody in a seemingly free manner in order to stress the in essence ametrical *taksim* character, but ultimately obeying the given metrical pattern.

Although in its repertoire the CD represents all types of compositions and improvisation nowadays performed in *mehter* bands, the selection of the pieces performed from the point of view of their musical quality and their recording, is less satisfying. In nearly all the pieces which are sung, the choir has been recorded far too softly in relation to the instruments and, adding to the imbalance the acoustics are too hollow. The upshot is that the words sung cannot be distinguished properly. This is all the more amazing because in Turkey a series of five cassettes has been issued, completely free of these recording faults. Furthermore on these cassettes, many works of which the musical quality is better than of those on this CD are to be heard. Of the entire 24 works on the CD, six mediocre pieces in *makam Rast* are too much. More *makams* should have been expected in the repertoire, than the 11 *makams* in total which are represented. The excellent and clearly written general information about the *janissaries* is strangely at odds with what the CD repertoire actually offers.

The second CD, *Turkish military band music of the Ottoman empire*, consists of the repertoire announced, complemented by six pieces taken from the branch of the so-called *ince saz* music, a refined classical chamber music performed at the court of the sultans. As far as the military pieces are concerned, their selection, musical quality, and recordings are hardly different from those of the CD discussed above. The booklet of this CD comprises only a very short summary of the foregoing text in Japanese, which I cannot understand. However, within the systematic discussion of the items on the CD, some words printed in the Latin alphabet according the Turkish spelling do occur. They concern names of composers and *makams*. Together with the information on the back of the CD, the most essential information can at least be gleaned. In the following survey, I will discuss only some additions and corrections to that information.

Track 1. *Eski ordu marşı*. Ali Rıza Bey (1881 - 1934)

Track 2. *Ordu marşı 'Ordumuz etti yemin'*. *Makam: Rast. Usul (metre): sofyan. (4/4)*
Kâzım Uz (1872 - 1938)

Track 3. *Devlet marşı 'Askerlerim'*. *Makam: Rast. Usul: sofyan. (4/4)*

Track 4. *Tekbir ve cenk marşı*. İsmail Hakkı Bey (1866 - 1927). *Makam: Rast, Usul: nîm sofyan. (2/4)* "Eyşanlı ordu, ey şanlı asber"

Track 5. *Genç Osman*. Folk song from Aydın (West Anatolia). *Makam: Nişabur; Usul: sofyan. (4/4)*

Track 6. *Sivastopol marşı 'Sivastopol önünde'*. *Makam: Rast. Usul: sofyan. (4/4)*
Composer: Rifat Bey (1820 - 1888) The text of the song deals with the siege of Sebastopol during the Crimean war (1853 - 1855).

Track 7. *Peşrev* in *makam Rast*. *Usul*: *hafif* (16/2). Composed by Refik Fersan (1893 - 1965). Only the first *hane* and *teslim* are performed here.

Track 8. This is not as indicated a *peşrev* in *makam Saba*, but a *zeybek*, the dominant folk dance of the Aegean region of Anatolia. There are many *zeybek*. This one has the name *Tavas zeybeği*, after a town in that region. Its *usul* is *Ağır Oynak* (9/2: 3+2+2+2) and its *makam Hicazzirgüle*. Atatürk made the *zeybek* into the national Turkish dance.

Track 9. *Cihad-ı ekber marşı*, '*Artar cihatla şanımız*' (Our happiness grows with the holy war). Composer: Kâzım Uz (1872 - 1938). *Usul*: *sofyan*. *Makam Acemaşiran*

Track 10. *Fetih marşı* '*Yürekler kabarık*'. *Makam*: *Rast*; *Usul*: *sofyan*. (4/4)

Track 11. *Hicaz taksim* and *Estergon kalesi* (Balkan-Turkish folk song from Hungary) also in *makam Hicaz*. *Usul*: *aksak*. 9/8 (2+2+2+3).

Track 12. *Mehter marşı* '*Gafil ne bilir*'. *Makam*: *Mahur*. *Usul*: *sofyan*. Composer: İsmail Hakkı Bey (1866 - 1927).

Track 13. *Zafer marşı* '*Tarihi çevir*'. *Makam Segâh*. *Usul* *nim sofyan* (2/4) Composer: Cemal Cünbüş (1912 - 1988)

Track 14. *Süleyman marşı*, '*Düstü vaktaki rahmni mâderden*'. *Makam*: *Segâh*; *Usul*: *nim sofyan* (2/4). Composer: Kâzım Uz (1872 - 1930)

Track 15. This piece is not as indicated a *sazsemai*, but a march which is called *Hücum marşı*. It is in *makam Neva* and *Usul sofyan*.

Track 16. The same piece as on track 11. *Estergon kalesi*

Track 17. Same piece as on track 1, followed by the final part of *gûlbank duası*, the prayer which concludes a *mehter* concert.

Track 18 - 21. Examples of *ince saz* music. Track 18: *Bestingâr taksim kemençe ile*;

Track 19: *İsfahân taksim kemençe ile*.

Track 20. *Şarkı* in *makam Nihavend* '*Gülzare salın*' composed by Halûk Recâi (1912 - 1972) on a text of Nedim. *Usul*: alternating four bars of *Türk Aksağı* (5/8: 2+3) and two bars of *Aksak* (9/8: 2+2+2+3).

Track 21. *Şarkı* in *makam Kürdili hicazkar* '*Kaldi yollarda*', composed by Hafız Yusuf Efendi (1857 - 1925). *Usul*: *Aksak* (9/8: 2+2+2+3)

About this CD, as far as it comprises military music, exactly the same has to be said as of the one reviewed above. The selection of the repertoire is too one-sided, the musical quality of most works is poor, and the sound quality of the recordings is unsatisfactory, because the choir is too soft in relation to the instruments. Moreover, the acoustics are too hollow, meaning that the words sung cannot be heard properly. The *ince saz* part on the CD, however, shows two interesting *taksim* (improvisations) in relatively seldom heard modes (*makam*) and two introductory *taksim* to a following *şarkı*. They give an idea of how the *ince saz* music survived in the homes of music-lovers in Istanbul.

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JAN VAN BELLE studied music at the University of Utrecht and clarinet at the Conservatories of The Hague and Arnhem. He did ethnomusicological fieldwork in Afghanistan, Badaxshân (Tajikistan), North China, Morocco, Tunisia and Bulgaria, and published CDs based on the field recordings. He is presently researching the religious music of the Ismâ'îlî's in Central Asia. Jan van Belle is a music teacher in Doetinchem, and he was a member of the board of the Benelux section of the International Association for the Study of Popular Music (IASPM).

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KI MANTLE HOOD is senior distinguished professor of music at the College of Creative Arts at West Virginia University. A pioneer in the field of ethnomusicology, he started the first university program in that discipline at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) in 1954. Six years later he founded the famous Institute for Ethnomusicology there and initiated the scholarly series *Progress Reports in Ethnomusicology*. He moved to Hawaii in 1974 and served as an editor of *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. In 1980 he began the Program in Ethnomusicology at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County (UMBC). Now at West Virginia University, he has started a scholarly series, *World Music Reports*, issued by the university's World Music Center.

A renowned expert in Javanese/Balinese music and culture, Dr. Hood has received several honours from the Indonesian government for his research, among them the conferral of the title "ki" (literally, "the venerable") in 1986, and membership into the Dharma Kusuma (Society of National Heroes) in 1992. He is among the first non-Indonesians to receive that honour. Mantle Hood is also a composer, a performer, and an author of numerous articles and books, including *The ethnomusicologist* and the three-volumed *The evolution of Javanese gamelan*, and has contributed to the *Harvard dictionary of music* and the *Encyclopédie de la musique*. He has produced many recordings and several documentary films.

Hood has been a visiting professor at Harvard, Yale, Wesleyan, Indiana, and Drake Universities and the University of Ghana. He was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1964, is a member of Phi Beta Kappa and other scholarly societies, and served as President of the Society for Ethnomusicology from 1965 to 1967. He was awarded a senior Fulbright to India in 1975 and is honorary lifetime president of the Jaap Kunst Stichting, Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

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ELISABETH DEN OTTER studied cultural anthropology at Leiden University and is curator of Ethnomusicology at the Tropenmuseum / Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam, since 1988. She did fieldwork in Peru, Mali and Burma. During the last decade she researched puppet theatre and masquerades in several parts of the world. Elisabeth den Otter published several articles, books, CDs, and a CD-ROM on puppetry in Burma. See for more details: www.euronet.nl/users/edotter/.

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Her current research focuses on the performing arts of Korea and the Korean diaspora in the former Soviet Union and China. Hae-kyung Um is presently editing the book 'Diasporas and interculturalism in Asian performing arts: translating traditions'.

WOUTER SWETS is an accomplished musician and an expert on Balkan and Turkish music. In the 1980s Wouter Swets gave lectures on the radio about Turkish music. He formed the Čalgija ensemble in 1969, which made several recordings in which he included re-constructions of performances and new arrangements.

WIM VAN ZANTEN graduated in theoretical physics and taught mathematics at the University of Malawi from 1967 to 1971, where he also investigated the music of southern Malawi. Since 1971 he has been lecturing at the Institute for Cultural and Social Studies of the University of Leiden. From 1976 to 1979 he taught statistics for the social sciences at the University of Indonesia in Jakarta, and he published two books in Indonesian on this subject. His PhD research was on West Javanese *tembang Sunda Cianjuran*. He is preparing a method for performing *tembang Sunda Cianjuran*. Further, he investigates the music of the Baduy, a minority group in West Java. Wim van Zanten produced two films on Minangkabau performing arts: on Randai theatre (2000; with Bart

Barendregt) and on solo singing with a bamboo flute (2002, *saluang jo dendang*). See also: website.leidenuniv.nl/~zantenwvan/

