

# *Pacific Review of Ethnomusicology*

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# Pacific Review of Ethnomusicology

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## From the Editors

At the beginning of this year, yet another flock of UCLA ethnomusicology graduate students gathered around the archive table with bright eyes, few submissions, and a couple of bedraggled editors from last year -- and began to make a journal. We have been alternately encouraged and frustrated, and ultimately find our reward in what we believe to be a journal which significantly enriches the periodical literature in ethnomusicology.

As musicians, we know that learning by doing is the only way to proceed. This is the second year that the editors of PRE have prepared the journal for press using techniques possible with micro-computers and laser printers. We thank our contributors who sent soft copy versions of their contributions and encourage future authors to do the same.

Our fourth issue presents contributions in accord with recent multidisciplinary concepts emerging in the field. Though by no means monothematic, the contributions address similar problems and ideas from various perspectives. All four articles discuss symbolism, ritual, cosmology, and trance, and how these concepts relate to music, in an innovative fashion.

"Trance, Music, and Music/Trance Relations: A Symposium" is the proceedings of the final meeting of the ethnomusicology research seminar in the spring of 1987. Professor James Porter invited anthropologists, ethnomusicologists, and behavioral scientists to participate throughout the seminar, which was inspired by Gilbert Rouget's recent book, *Music and Trance*. We feel that the thought-provoking ideas in this transcript of the final symposium are an excellent example of the synergy that results from cooperation among related disciplines.

Martha Davis contributes an article based on her research on the music and ritual contexts in the Caribbean. In her redefinition of Mantle Hood's "bi-musicality," Davis illuminates the spatial, temporal, and gender aspects of music and religious ritual in the Dominican Republic.

We are especially pleased to be publishing the work of two fellow graduate students. Richard Garneau discusses the new age music phenomenon in what is probably the first scholarly paper published on new age music. Elizabeth Tolbert reexamines and redefines concepts of emotion and meaning in music, supported by her research on Karelian laments.

Inherent in any publication is the cooperation, advice, and assistance of many people. We would like to thank our referees,



whose recommendations have contributed substantially to the quality of the journal. We are grateful to our departmental advisor, Jihad Racy; Ethnomusicology Archivist, Louise S. Spear; and past editor, Mark Forry, for their support and assistance. We would also like to express our sorrow at the death of Publications Editor, Roger Wright, who supported the journal since its inception. Finally, we wish to acknowledge the UCLA Graduate Student Association, without whose continued financial support this journal would not be possible.

**TRANCE, MUSIC,  
AND  
MUSIC/TRANCE RELATIONS**

**A Symposium**

**UCLA, June 3, 1987**

**Participants:**

Donald Cosentino, Lecturer, African Studies  
John Kennedy, Professor, Department of Anthropology  
Douglass Price-Williams, Professor, Department of  
Anthropology  
Jihad Racy, Associate Professor, Department of Music  
Johannes Wilbert, Professor, Department of Anthropology

**Moderator:**

James Porter, Professor, Department of Music

**James Porter:** This is the concluding meeting of our Music 280 Seminar in Ethnomusicology, and I am delighted to welcome today several colleagues from other fields, especially anthropology and the behavioral sciences, to come and share their thoughts on the topic of music and trance with us. To a large extent, the seminar topic was inspired by the appearance of Gilbert Rouget's book *Music and Trance* (1985) and we have already discussed critically some of Rouget's assumptions and definitions as well as examined the bases, conceptual and material, on which he attempts to build a "theory of the relations between music and trance." I should add that I myself have not done any empirical study of the topic, and that is why I decided to invite colleagues who have in fact studied trance and can talk from firsthand knowledge.

In the first part of our symposium today I thought I would ask each of our panel members talk about his own observation of trance, both in itself and in relation to "music" (however one conceives of that in specific cultural contexts), then conclude with an open discussion of problems arising from Rouget's book, focusing upon the two major issues we need to explore, in my opinion -- one being the nature of trance itself, and second the relationship between trance and music as they have been described in various contexts. I shall therefore now invite our panel members to outline their own view of trance, to comment on the relationship

of music to trance or on Rouget's "theory." Perhaps, Johannes, you would like to begin with your observations on the Warao from your field research.

**Johannes Wilbert:** Since the '50s I have been studying a particular South American Indian society on the Orinoco river in Venezuela who call themselves Warao, and their various forms of shamanism. I would say that most adults, male and female, are shamans of one sort or another. Even the people who excel at particular crafts, such as boat or hammock builders (the latter being women), are shamanic craftsmen. They are initiated into their craft, which relates to directional gods around the horizon; then after life, if they have practiced their art to the satisfaction of the gods, they will go to a particular heaven, where all the practitioners of a given craft will live in eternity, as will the shamans of different kinds. Every adult can choose a profession, and in doing so chooses also a heaven for him or herself. Now, one means of reaching perfection in a craft is to be initiated through a trance situation, achieved especially by men through the use of tobacco.

Many of us think we are familiar with tobacco, but we rarely understand its use in a South American Indian environment. First of all, there are two principal species of tobacco (tobacco is a product of wild *nicotianas*). Both of these species are cultigens, meaning that they have been around in South America for a maximum of 8,000 years. But South American Indians have been in South America, I believe, for almost 23-25,000 years, so that the shamanic beliefs that underlie the ritual experience of initiation are much older than the tobacco-induced trance that today accompanies the initiation into shamanism in the tropical forest of South America. The reason I stress the tropical forest is because that is where tobacco growing is practiced. In the open countries of the far south of South America and in the highlands, although the home of wild species of tobacco, the plant is not grown, and has never been used by indigenous populations.

The two cultigens vary in nicotine content; one is more or less the tobacco that we know in our environment, *nicotiana tabacum*, which has about 1% nicotine content. But the tobacco which is often used to induce trance is a different species. It is called *nicotiana rustica*, and has a nicotine content of over 18%.

Tobacco is a particularly good drug for inducing trance because it is a biphasic drug. That is to say, in small amounts it is stimulating, in large amounts depressing. It is a drug that works on the central nervous system and on the peripheral nervous system,

but more importantly for us, it also works on the adrenal glands and releases from them, indirectly through action on the medulla, adrenalin or epinephrine, which is the drug that produces the "fight or flight" syndrome we hear so much about. As shamans are fighters, they are enculturated to take the adrenalin stimulation as a cue to fight rather than flight.

So the tobacco, first of all, works strongly on the central nervous system. In fact it reaches the brain within seven seconds. It works on the peripheral nervous system, and through catecholamine release, it also works on the adrenal system and induces emotional states. Nicotine is a drug, then, which produces the various phases that we associate with shamanic initiation, -- first, a trance state in which one very often experiences disassociation of the mind from the body. One actually, physically, goes into transitory respiratory arrest. Associated with shamanism is the belief that the novice actually dies, to be reborn a shaman. People who watch an initiate undergoing this trance actually see that he stops breathing, and then snaps back again. This happens because of a very rapid biotransformation of the drug in the body. Skeletonization, or beholding one's self as dead in some grave or tomb, is de facto experienced in the trance. Tobacco is, therefore, a particularly good drug for inducing shamanic trance, because it confirms, through the physical reaction to the drug, in a very empirical, visible way, belief systems and religious tenets which underlie the shamanic experience. If you actually experience something you believe in, then you no longer need to rely on faith because you have the assurance of knowing it. This is a very strong, a very powerful feature of nicotine-induced shamanism. You can actually witness the belief, the faith, to be true.

What I am particularly interested in is nicotine-induced trance states in South America and elsewhere. You know that tobacco has also been used among North American Indians, where the so-called peace pipe is a very strong friendship-fostering tool, simply because users do experience the relaxed, peaceful state of early nicotine stimulation. One actually experiences becoming peaceful in handing the pipe around. Then, too, the tobacco is often believed to be not a smoke but a food, which one shares as a sacramental, ritual food with the supernaturals. And as a biphasic drug, it actually does relieve hunger pangs, so that you do not have just to believe that nicotine is food; you actually do not feel hungry if you smoke tobacco to a certain level.

In other words, we have a drug which is not hallucinogenic in itself but may have hallucinogenic properties. It releases

catecholamines and amines such as serotonin, known to be related to affective states, in the body and in the brain.

The other aspect which interests me is that trance is associated with hallucinogens rather than with nicotine. Hallucinogens are also used by South American Indians at an agricultural level rather than at a hunting and gathering level. Of course hallucinogens do not have the same biphasic effect on the central nervous system, but do have other qualities that tobacco does not have. Namely, some of them produce hallucinations of an auditory or visual kind, and the Indians know how to orchestrate the two. A shaman can, for different purposes, take a candidate to the very brink of death, where he knows that just one more cup of tobacco juice would be lethal. At that point he will stop and add, especially during shamanic initiation, particular hallucinogens to produce the visionary imagery that tobacco alone does not seem to produce as vividly.

But my interest is in not just one or the other drug in association with trance; it is also in the art that Indian shamans have perfected in orchestrating hallucinogens and other drugs such as nicotine to bring about specific effects for specific purposes in trance experience.

The final point I can make as an introductory remark is that I have experimented with the tobaccos myself, but have never really had the same ecstatic experience my shaman informants talk about, although the doses of nicotine have been roughly the same. You see, I am talking about six three-foot long cigars being smoked. Even if you are a smoker, which I was at the beginning of my fieldwork, that really means nothing. The Indians are seeking acute intoxication. They are not in it for the social smoking or for a little kick; they really want to reach the limit, where one either dies or survives the poisoning.

Now to facilitate the trance, and the depth of the trance, many societies that I know of in South America use musical instruments, especially percussion, and most specifically, the rattle. The shaman thought that I was not seeing the things that were expected of me in a trance because I did not know how to play the rattle. I did not really think of the rattle as a musical instrument, but only as a noisy thing that kept me from sleeping every night. But depending on how the rattle is played, it actually does stimulate somehow the nervous system and produces images.

Since I am not a musicologist I asked a [former] student from your department to come with me and study the matter. That was Dale Olsen, who got his doctorate here and actually did a study of

Warao shamanic music, part of which is soon to be published in your [UCLA Ethnomusicology Publications] series. He confirmed that the rattle actually introduces into the drug experience a component which is essential for the trance experience. In fact, I know it to be so essential that sometimes one can dispense with tobacco. A shaman will hold a cigar in his hand but not smoke it and trigger the trance like that [snaps fingers] when he begins to rattle.

This phenomenon is very well known, that a shaman can trigger trance with a little bell or some other acoustic effect. The shamans of the society I study, and which Dale Olsen has studied, do not even have to smoke. A cigar in their hands is somehow enough, together with the rattling, to trigger the trance. But underlying the rattling and chanting is a rhythmic pattern of sixty beats, which approximates a relaxed heartbeat. It takes the shaman perhaps an hour to attain this calm state in his patient and to maintain it there for the period either of the trance experience as shamans or during the curing ceremony, when the patient inhales or ingests low doses of nicotine. This is just effective enough to produce a euphoric, relaxing feeling, at which time the sixty-beat rhythm begins to induce this slow breathing in the patient. This in itself may be very conducive to the healing process.

It is this combination that I have been interested in. I can appreciate that you may have difficulties with the pharmacological information I mentioned but for those who are interested, I have just finished a book on tobacco use and shamanism which will be out very soon. It may clarify points which we do not have time for here.

**Porter:** Thank you, Johannes. I'm sure we can return to some of the issues you raise, especially in the relationship of this "musical" activity to the trance state, since Rouget makes all kinds of statements about that in his study. It is a pity, of course, that we could not have Dale Olsen transported here by magical flight to complement what you have said about this "rhythmic rattling" but perhaps you can address this yourself later on. I think, however, that at this point we might move on and ask John Kennedy to say something about his research in Africa.

**John Kennedy:** My association with Africa is through research done among the Nubians who live in Southern Egypt and the Sudan. I did this research in the 1960s, when the Aswan Dam was being built, and before the Nubians were evacuated to their new lands. These are Nile Nubians; they are not the Nuba people to the south

that are better known. These Nubians are an Arabized African people who lived along the Nile, and are now primarily situated around Lake Nasser, though many of them live in other parts of the Sudan and Egypt.

I was not interested in the topic of trance when I went there, but I became interested in it after observing some of their ceremonies. In reading Rouget's book, I realized that the Nubians have some of the types of ceremonies that he talks about. They have the *zar* ceremony which is a kind of African-derived ceremony, and they have the Islamic *zikr* rituals which are also discussed in his book. I have been most particularly interested in the *zar* ceremonies which exemplify the phenomenon of possession trance in which Rouget also seems to have a particular interest. Possession trance is, I believe, the ultimate stage of trance behavior. This is the stage in which other personalities completely replace the self and dominate volition and attention. These entities, seemingly communicating through the mouth of the person, are powerful verifications that the spirit world exists and is imminent.

The Nubian *zar* ceremonies that I witnessed are held for the purpose of treatment of mental or emotional illnesses. They treat the kinds of stress-related problems which, as you might imagine, are experienced by people who live in that kind of environment. The *zar* ceremonies are mostly women's ceremonies. The Nubian villages were isolated from the centers of population in both Egypt and Sudan, and Nubian men were mostly away doing migrant work. As you know if you have been to Egypt, the Nubians are the servants of Egypt. The wives and children of the migrant males remained in the quiet villages along the Nile, and they often felt very neglected and isolated.

The *zar* ceremony that induces the possession trance comprises a group of rituals that can last for as long as seven days, though it may last for only two days or five days according to the gravity of the problem and the financial ability of the patient's family. A seven day ceremony is held for people whose illness is particularly severe and chronic. I'm not going to describe all the details of these rituals, but I want to point out certain features of them in order to relate them to the production and use of trance.

In the first place, there is a core of women who form the *zar* group, most of whom are previous patients, that is, they are people who have had experiences of this nature themselves. They gather in a specially created setting, an atmosphere which is dark and hot. I am emphasizing such features because they go along with music in order to induce and perpetuate trance phenomena. The

participants, especially the patient, wear special, symbolically meaningful clothing which is usually white. Other colors are also in evidence, such as green, which is a very holy color, and gold. Much of the women's gold jewelry is exhibited here. The women also wear henna, which is associated with weddings. They wear perfume and the scent of incense is powerful -- this stimulates the olfactory system.

Along with this there is the music. There are three different kinds of drum: a *tar*, which is kind of a tambourine drum, the *bala*, which is a somewhat bigger drum, and finally, they use washbasins. When they get to the most intense part of the ceremony they pound these metal basins to create a tremendously powerful, almost deafening beat. Music is integral to the ceremony and probably has a central importance. The Nubians quote an Arabic saying, "Songs are the life of the soul and music helps to cure the sick." They believe that all of these features have effects in summoning and controlling spirits. Thus, there is a cultural belief system which surrounds these activities, and one of the most trance-facilitating aspects of the belief system is the conviction that a host of these *zar* or *jinn* spirits are present and can manifest themselves through individuals.

Also in a *zar* ceremony there are all kinds of energetic physical actions. There is intense dancing, and there is often a sprinkling of *durra* on the patient's head -- that's a special grain grown in that part of the world. Seven dates are dropped on the head; all the actions are done in patterns of symbolic numbers such as 3, 7, 15 and 40.

The *zar* group is led through a long ceremony in which many songs are sung, each with its own "mottos," as Rouget would say, which introduce particular spirits. People who are known to be associated with those spirits are attuned to particular beats. When the special beat recurs they begin to shake and tremble, get up and dance or fall down quivering in the middle of the room. One of the major features of the ceremony is that the spirit's voice then speaks through the person who is the protagonist, often making demands, all kinds of imperious demands, on the people in the audience. These demands may be for material goods, gold, or they may be for special clothing. They often seem to be bids for attention.

Sometimes the husbands are waiting outside and have to provide the demanded items for their wives, but often the commands of the spirits are demeaning or arbitrary, such as directives to dip the head into a bucket of water or to wear a green headband. Many different spirits are manifested throughout the



evening, and most are well known to the group. For instance, there are cannibal spirits who cause the patient to gnash her teeth or go around trying to bite people. This may scare all the women and even make the young women with babies run out of the room. There is also an Arab or bedouin spirit who brandishes a whip and lashes at people, etc. These spirits act through the women in very convincing theatrical performances. Sometimes the possessed person is a bride, and in fact the whole setting has a bridal kind of character, but the "good" wedding symbolism is mixed with frightening "evil" connotations. That is, all the good symbols of the culture are invoked, but on the other hand, the evil *jinn* are in a sense being celebrated; they take control of people and amuse the audience. There is a kind of accommodation with the evil world, but there is protection from it as well by all the Islamic symbols.

There are also animal sacrifices which take place usually on the first, third and seventh days. Chicken's and pigeon's heads are cut off in early stages and the blood dribbled over the patient's head. She must keep this blood on her for the full seven days. A goat is sacrificed on the seventh days and its blood is also splattered on the patient. Then, at the very end of the ceremony, all of the participants parade to the river and wash. The Nile, of course, is very symbolic of goodness, purity and cleansing.

In regards to the possession trance experience I feel that Neher has been unjustly maligned in this book by Rouget. His experiments were very provisional and very introductory but I think they point to an important aspect of the trance ceremony: the rhythmic driving of the brain as one means to trance production. This has been repeatedly discovered by widely scattered societies in many parts of the world. Rouget's arguments to the contrary are not very convincing. In the first place he presented no evidence at all that such affects do not take place. Secondly, he uses arguments like, "Well, if drumming induces trance everybody in the whole Sudan would be constantly going into trance because drumming is going on all the time." This is not an effective argument because it assumes that drumming is the only variable.

What happens in these situations is that you have the cultural expectation that these things can happen in certain situations, then you have the drumming, but simultaneously you have a number of other ingredients, a number of which must be present for the drumming to drive the brain effectively. You have the highly charged expectation in the environment that this transformation will take place in this specially created, evil/good, emotionally arousing environment which is very different from everyday life,

and you have all the sensory systems being stimulated simultaneously.

I think it is in this context, when all of these other powerful stimuli are operating together, that the music with its driving force can lower the threshold of consciousness. What I think happens -- and this has been proposed by other people as well -- is that there is a kind of switching of left (usually dominant) to right brain functions. The right brain is the brain of sensory modalities, of form, and of music, and I think that under these conditions the right brain comes forth, as it were, while the left brain is held in abeyance.

What happens in these ceremonies is that the right brain gradually learns to perform, and to have a personality of its own. When individuals first have a possession experience they are not full-fledged performers. With many experiences their performances become more and more fleshed out, you might say. I think a trance state is a kind of state-dependent learning situation in which people gradually develop their right brain personalities. Naturally these personalities are not as fully developed as the normal personalities of the individual. This process seems to be a multiple personality function just exactly as multiple personalities emerge in psychopathology states in our culture. Thus, possession trance is a learned, multiple personality phenomenon which is not psychopathological in these cultures, and it is gradually learned in state-dependent situations. Music is a particularly viable language for the right brain. When the left brain is on hold, as it were, and you no longer have much linear thinking taking place, the music with its rhythmic and melodic patterns can better modulate experience; it helps to communicate what the *Shayk* (the leader) of the *zar* and the ceremonial situation demands. I think this kind of process can be very healing to distressed individuals. One of the things I am interested in is how this healing process can take place through this kind of trance ceremony of experience.

**Porter:** From what you say I am reminded of the unique situation among the Bushmen, a healing performance to which Rouget devotes some space in his book, and how it occupies a rather special place in the range of cultural variation where trance, healing, music and dance all occur.

**Kennedy:** One thing I would like to point out is that perhaps 80-90% of possession trance is done by women, so let's ask the question: why is that the case?

**Porter:** Among the Bushmen, however, it is the women who sing; the men go into trance. Isn't that an unusual situation?

**Kennedy:** Actually you find that in several places in North Africa, but it is the exception on a worldwide basis.

**Porter:** Let me ask Professor Price-Williams to take it up from that point, if I may. Your work has been more in the cross-cultural dimensions of trance, has it not?

**Douglass Price-Williams:** My experiences have been more limited than those of my colleagues, therefore I speak with a little bit of caution. That has not prevented me, of course, from writing a paper on the subject with Larry Peters (1983). But my experience of trance has been limited to observation of the Hausa *Bori*. I was in Nigeria with Robert Levine in the late 1960s, and we were going to do research on this as a matter of fact. Bob had a student, a very bright Hausa woman, whom we were going to plant into the ritual -- and I forget what happened. I suppose the money ran out or something and we didn't do it.

It would have been a very nice idea, because we would have got the background of what happened prior to the actual ritual. But you know, I photographed it and we observed it to a certain extent. Then, my only other experience has been with Nepalese shamans, who had a possession trance to begin with and then went into the magical flight afterwards -- that type of trance. And also, wearing more my clinical hat, I have studied hypnosis to a certain extent.

My remarks are limited to six or seven points after reading Rouget's book. Rouget's main point, that the association of trance with music is a learned behavior, I really have no quarrel with. I understand, with some reservations already articulated by John Kennedy the "strange mechanism" that Rouget refers to. I do not think there is a "strange mechanism" specific to music. I do think, though, that coupled with a lot of other stimuli -- a point I am going to come back to -- it could have an input. Rouget indicates that if you just put a person in a room alone with recorded music playing, he or she will go into trance because it triggers off something funny going on inside him or her. I cannot agree with that supposition.

**Kennedy:** That's a straw man.

**Price-Williams:** It's a straw man but it is Rouget's main point in

a way. The book is a curious phenomenon in itself because you could have said all that in maybe a two or three page article, and all that body of data, which I found fascinating, is not really necessary for his point.

This brings me to the second point, because, as is similar with hypnosis, there is really no commonly accepted, general physiological index that demarcates and could define trance. I have a lot of trouble with this word trance. This is the kind of thing one does not have trouble with until one starts writing an article on it. Then you have to define it and you realize that there is no commonly accepted definition; when you try a definition it crumbles in your hand. More than 90% of the concepts we use in social science do that anyhow, but trance is a particularly devilish one and as soon as you really try and pin it down you find you cannot do it.

Now, there may be specific kinds of effects, like when you use tobacco, take hallucinogens, or even have incense. These agents may trigger some part or parts of the brain, and inasmuch as you want to call that trance, I have no quarrel. But the models that are usually put forward are much more general than that, and there have been models galore. Sargeant, for example, wrote a book which was later called *The Mind Possessed* (1974), but it came out in the 60s as *Battle of the Mind*, and there he put forward as a model a combination of Pavlovian conditioned reflexes and battle neurosis. Mandel has, twenty years later, a rather more sophisticated model concerning the hippocampus and septal regions of the brain (1980). Ornstein and others have focused on the right brain as being operational during altered states (1972). Similarities with temporal lobe epilepsy have struck many observers, and therefore the temporal lobe has become a point of interest.

It seems to me that there is the same situation with trance as you find in schizophrenia. Every month in the medical journals there is a new set of enzymes or chemical agents generally posited to identify schizophrenia. However, the ideas are not commonly accepted. It may be for lack of a technique: there's a new fancy technique now called positron emission tomography, which is identifying chemical changes in the right brain. Well, maybe something like that would identify trance if it has to do with the right brain. But until that is done, we really do not have any firm, solid kind of physiological index.

So much for pseudophysiology, I am afraid. Now, what about psychology? Again I have trouble with the term "trance" because much, if not all, of what is identified as trance by observers, depends on a label given to a set of behaviors by observers who are

very much influenced by settings. Perhaps I can make this point better through an anecdote: I once gave a talk on this subject, trance, when I was at Rice University in Houston, to the Baylor College of Medicine. I put up all these pictures I had taken of the *Bori*, and there were pictures that show women drooling saliva, and spaced out, and so on. And they were all very interested and one or two psychiatrists mumbled something about extra-pyramidal tracts. But then I followed that up with a picture of Rice freshmen bowing before their football totem, the owl. You see at Rice, right throughout the game, the ten worst freshmen, the ones that have probably not made the grades, have to bow down continuously throughout the whole football game -- and Rice never wins a football game! If you look at them carefully, through the eyes of an anthropologist or psychologist, they are in a trance and their eyes are glazed and so on. And it is only that we are so used to this behavior that we do not identify it as trance.

So, setting seems to me an extremely important point. Remember how it is with drugs. There are three components of drugs that make an effect. First, there is the constitution of the individual person. Remember what happened when Huxley and R.C. Zaehner both took mescaline: Huxley (1954) saw the Buddha in the wheelbarrow or something, and all Zaehner (1957), a Roman Catholic, did, was giggle all the time. They had very individual responses to the same drug.

Second there is the thing that really makes the difference: the mental set, the kind of expectation -- the point that John brought up, that you bring into the whole thing. Third, there is the setting that we have just discussed, and the setting is just as likely to influence the observers as it is the people participating. So I think these three things are very important. Ron Segal, who has written on hallucinogens, thinks that the constitutional, individual difference is the least important; it is the mental set and the setting which make the most impact of drugs on behavior (1962).

But what psychological factors, therefore, might you rely on? Now, in the literature you get things such as Rouget has spelled out in the first few pages: you get amnesia in possession that you do not get in ecstasy, or you have a crisis. I rather suspect all that sort of thing, too. Again it seems to me that cultural expectations make a big difference. Let me give you two examples regarding amnesia -- I am not denying that amnesia does sometimes take place. What I am concerned about is whether it is a recognized common index. When I was among the *Bori*, I was very struck with one woman, who to my untutored eye was very spaced out: she was salivating,

she was swaying, she looked as if she were, quote, "in a trance". As it happened, I was sitting on the edge of the arena there, and she came and sat right up against my knees. I thought she had passed out but as soon as she sat down she mentioned something to a woman on her right. I cannot speak Hausa so I asked a colleague what she was saying; it was something like "you must remind me to buy tomatoes when we go to the market afterwards."

Well, that struck me as very queer. Here was this woman in a complete trance and then [snaps fingers] just like that she snapped out of it. And it struck me that so-called amnesia is a very fluctuating thing, some people can snap out of it easily, however it is very difficult to test this sort of thing.

There was another incident which was very illuminating for me in Nepal. I had a colleague up there who was a photographer who brought along a tape recorder. We were in the habit of taping the shaman's sessions and playing the recordings back to him afterwards, and then we all commented on it. We used to do a lot of that. It happened that our colleague, the shaman, drank a lot, I'm afraid, and while on an alcoholic binge once, he got in a rage and had a fight with an old man of the village. That was a big "no-no" and following the incident he was ostracized and became very worried.

Now, one of his performances in the ritual was that he would become possessed by an ancestor and the ancestor would talk through him. Well, normally, when I played the recording back to him we would hear the ancestor's voice in his voice-box, as it were, talking, and we would comment on it and usually he remembered all he had said in the ritual and would make comments as well. But on this occasion after the fight, the ancestor, who we might think to be a kind of alter-ego of the shaman, was chastising the shaman, saying that if he went on like this he would be in trouble and he would die, that this was not the way to behave as a shaman, and so on. When the shaman listened to this on the tape recorder, he was absolutely astounded. He had obviously not heard his ancestor's warning. So on that occasion we were convinced that he had had some amnesia. This was a departure from the norm because usually he did not forget things. So a situation like this can evidently create a crisis and cause amnesia. However, amnesia can occur in other contexts than trance and so can crises.

I am rather skeptical of separating trance from ecstasy and so on, by using simple factors. Nevertheless, there may be ways of doing this. Winkelman wrote an article in *Ethos*, I think last year, in which he does a kind of statistical treatment (1986). What he has

done is to plug in from various ceremonies and rituals across the world, a number of indices, and then through statistical methods of multidimensional scaling and cluster analysis, he has identified three different groups. That may be a very good way of handling it, but it all depends what you plug in, that is crucial.

I do think, though, that there are two representative methods which Rouget properly identifies: sensory deprivation on the one hand, and over-stimulation on the other. You could call them hypo- and hyper-arousal. Now, I think the (influential) methods are to be distinguished from what "arousal" is. I am not sure, and I do not think there is any common agreement of what the "aroused" state is. However, I do think there is agreement that there are these different methods for inducing or encouraging an aroused state. Consider hyper-arousal, with which music is identified. The point made by Dr. Kennedy is very important because it may be that not any one of these methods really has an effect, like incense by itself or music by itself or color by itself, but in combination. They may have a cumulative effect. I think that what is going on here is a breakdown of the ordinary conceptual mind. Whether you do that by cutting off stimulation or by overloading it, I do not think it makes too much difference, but there may be some art of combining stimuli which we do not know about. I do not think we have asked this question: is there a sequencing effect? For example, do you have to have music first, then have colors, then music again? Or maybe it is just a matter of all of the stimuli coming at once. I do not know, but it is a question that one could ask.

Lastly, what we have to do with trance is what Simons did with the phenomenon of *latah* (1980). *Latah* is one of these culture-bound syndromes, characterized by excitement, swearing, running into the river, really crazy behavior, which you see mainly in East Asia but also elsewhere. Simons did a study of this by comparing those people with others in his home university (Michigan, I think), who are sensitive to a startle reflex. The root behavior here is a startle reflex. What happens in places like Malaysia is that the startle reflex is reinforced and manipulated by spectators and therefore amplified, expanded into a whole syndrome. It is possible that any one of us who might be sensitive to startle would be capable, if reinforced, to perform like a *latah* victim does. I think what we need to do is look for the root behaviors of trance and then take it from there.

**Porter:** Yes, I wonder if "trance" is a satisfactory referent for the range of behaviors the term seems to cover in common usage. The

phenomena could also be analyzed as enculturation within separate cultural contexts; we have seen several films in which children at trance ceremonies begin to enter into the phenomenon. To discuss trance as a range of mental states that occur across cultures without a close study of individual contexts seems to me problematic. Maybe it is from particular contexts that we can extract causes and effects.

**Price-Williams:** Or there could be several causes, you see, or quite different causes.

**Porter:** Indeed. Thank you very much. Let us now go to Don Cosentino from the Center for African Studies, who has studied possession trance in Haiti. I know you have been mostly interested in African narrative traditions, and I would like to ask you how this led you to study Voudun in Haiti.

**Donald Cosentino:** My work has been mostly with oral narrative traditions and mythologies in Africa, and that is what originally brought me to Haiti. I have been particularly interested in mythological systems in West Africa and did my Ph.D. research in Sierra Leone among the Mende people, who may be the most practical people on earth in the sense that they seem to be utterly disinterested in metaphysics of any sort. Their oral narrative tradition was delightfully earthbound so I was not conditioned to look for trance phenomena in African-related materials.

The only trance experience I ever had in Africa was along Dr. Price-Williams' line: I taught for two years in Zaria in northern Nigeria and saw a couple of *Bori* dances. I thought they were extraordinary because they were so different from any of the other experiences that I had in Nigeria. I had previously been a Peace Corps volunteer in eastern Nigeria, where the other most practical people in the world, the Ibo, live and so I had conditioned myself to think of West Africa as a very practical place.

When I went to Haiti to pursue some of the mythologies I had collected in West Africa, it was not with any thought in mind of centering myself on the topics you have centered on in this seminar and panel. But I soon realized that mythology cannot be pursued in its New World forms in Haiti unless you center yourself on the question of possession and trance. In Haitian Voudun the *loa* (gods) do not leave much of an impression in narrative or myth. In order to examine their biographies as they were brought over from West Africa you have to observe them in the performance of Voudun. And the gods only manifest themselves when their horses,



the Voudun *serviteurs*, become ridden by the horsemen, the "divine horsemen" in Maya Deren's wonderful words (1970).

I picked out a couple of pages from a popular essay that appeared recently in *Whole Earth Journal* and has been reprinted in a book called *Shadow Dancing in the USA*, by Michael Ventura (1985), one of my favorite Los Angeles writers, who concentrates on American pop music, especially rock 'n' roll. He wrote a long essay entitled "Hear That Long Snake Moan" on the relationship between American popular music, particularly rock 'n' roll, and the music of Voudun. Most of the things he says are quite correct but what he does not say is also interesting, so I thought I would read these couple pages to you, comment on them, and then tell you where you might go with his description in order to make the picture truer, if also more ambiguous. This is what he has to say:

Voodoo is the African aesthetic shattered and then desperately put back together. More than simply "put back together," it has been recreated to serve its people under the shattering impact of slavery and poverty. Voodoo is not so much Africa in the New World as it is Africa meeting the New World, absorbing it and being absorbed by it and reforming the ancient metaphysics according to what it now had to face.

How many metaphysics ever have been tested under such fire? A vast synthesis had to occur. Tribes thrown together had to sift through what they had most in common and disregard -- discard what had previously kept them apart. People who were separated by class and caste within the tribal structures had to come together on new terms. Catholicism had to be dealt with. From the late seventeen hundreds to this day, Haitian Voodooos profess themselves to be good Catholics, and Catholic prayers have become an integral part of Voodoo ceremony."

Writes [Robert Farris] Thompson: 'Everywhere in *Vodun* art one universe abuts another.'

But the religion keeps the same goal. The *hungan* [*Vodun* priest] may be healer, personal adviser and political broker but his -- or for a *mambo* [priestess] hers, most important function is to organize and preside over the ceremonies in which the *loa*, the gods, "ride" the body of the worshipper. The ecstasy and morality of *vodun* intersect in this phenomenon. The god is seen as the rider, the person is seen as the horse and they come together in the dance. When the god speaks to the person about that person almost every sentence is prefaced with the phrase "Tell my horse..." because the "horse" will have no memory of the "ride" when it is over. He will have to learn of it from others. The morality implicit in this is stated best in Maya Deren's favorite Haitian proverb: 'Great gods cannot ride little

horses.

'There's a whole language of possession,' Thompson says, a different expression and stance for each god.' All the accounts are clear that a god is instantly recognizable by its movements, and the movements are different for each. So if the ceremony is to honor Ghede, their equivalent of Hermes, perhaps Erzulie, their Aphrodite, shows up uninvited. But she is recognizable, whether she rides a man or a woman, because of her distinctive movements and behavior. This suggests a psychic suppleness that has to be staggering to any Westerner, staggering and frightening, if we are honest to ourselves. We may speak of a new model of the psyche, we may even be learning to experience life in a way that is more true to the way that our many-faced psyches are structured -- which is to say the way they were created to live -- but here are people who can dance it!

Here are people who can, to use Jungian terminology, embody an archetype -- any single Voodoo worshipper may embody many during a lifetime of ceremonies. They will dance it, speak it, make love through it, manifest it in every possible way, entering and leaving the experience without psychosis, without "mind-expanding" drugs, and while having the support and help of their community, for all of this is integral with their daily lives.

Can there be much doubt that this is a metaphysical achievement as great as, say, the building of Chartres, or the writing of the *Baghavad-Gita* ? It's no wonder that they risked so much to keep their metaphysics alive. These people built their cathedrals and wrote their scripture within their bodies by means of a system that could be passed on from one generation to the next. That system was rhythm.

In Haitian Voodoo, as in Africa, the drum is holy. The drummer is seen merely as the servant of the drum -- he has no influence within the hierarchy of the religion, but through his drum he has great influence on the ceremony. Each *loa* prefers a fundamentally different rhythm, and the drummer knows them all and all their variations. He can often invoke possession by what he plays, though a drummer would never play a rhythm that would go contrary to the ceremony structure as set by the *hungan* or mambo. There are drums which are ceremonially fed the night before a gathering and then "put to bed" to bolster their strength. And here, too, are the drums of silence.

The drumming and dancing together form an entity from which, in [Alfred] Métreux's words,...'emanates a power that affects the super-natural world... If the music and dancing please the spirits to such an extent that they are affected, even against their will, then it is because they themselves are dancers who allow themselves to be carried away by the supernatural power of rhythm.'

I would not quarrel with anything that he has had to say from the Voudun performances I saw last summer. However, it is not enough to look at the appearance of the Horsemen. While the Voudun service is the most common place to see possession, it is by no means the only place where it is experienced within the world of Voudun. By the way, that old saying about Haiti I found out to be absolutely true: Haiti is 90% Catholic, 10% Protestant and 100% Voudun. I knew that saying, intellectually, but was startled to see the truth of it as I worked in Haiti over a three-month period last summer. I wound up finding no facet of society that was not affected by Voudun, and in some way or another not ultimately connected to the religion.

But I also must say that on several occasions I discovered the Divine Horsemen outside the Voudun service. I have seen market women in the context of an agitated conversation, slowly drift from being the person I began to deal with to a recognizable *loa*, a different personality, obviously with no drumming. I have experienced divinations, where during the course of the consultation -- in this particular case with a mambo -- she brought possession on herself through the ringing of a liturgical bell. She became, in fact, the incredibly rapacious *loa*, *Maîtrese la Sirène*, related to the African mermaid Mammy Water. The fees for that divinatory consultation rose dramatically after the possession took place.

Another time a *houngan* got particularly carried away by the power of his own explication of the symbolism in a *veve* (ground drawing) he had made. In the course of explaining it he drifted into a possession by his *maître-tête* (his master *loa*). His voice changed, his eyes rolled back. He asked his mother who was sitting next to him to bring a candle. He lit it, put the candle in his mouth, and smoke came through his nose. His *loa*, his "head-master," was dramatically signalling his presence to us. And when that began to happen, his mother and some neighbors bolstered the possession by singing.

This often happens, even within a Voudun service. Once a possession begins to be effected on a *serviteur*, that possession will be reinforced by neighbors, by fellow *serviteurs*, and a full-blown possession will take place, including costuming and appropriate songs. Or else it will be ignored if it is inappropriate or not wanted, and the person will seem to have a private affair with whoever is taking his or her head; it will last briefly, and he or she will come out of it. So there is definitely an element of reinforcement in the phenomenon, which is fascinating.

**Porter:** Is that reinforcement through music, partially?

**Cosentino:** Yes, it can be through music, it can be through alcohol. I was discussing this with Professor Wilbert before the seminar today, and he pointed out that alcohol is a notoriously poor agent for effecting personality change and I agree because it is very transitory, particularly in the physical movements of Voudun, and also it can be depressive. But in spite of this physiological factor, it is used and it will be one of the first things that is brought to somebody who is being ridden -- a bottle of rum, and a good dose will be taken. But it is also reinforced by costuming each of the *loa*. It is a real *commedia del arte*. Each of the *loa* has his own wardrobe, his own expected personality, and manifests himself according to a prescribed dramatic role.

However, one *houngan* explained to me that a real adept, someone who has been initiated into the higher orders of Voudun, needs none of this, needs no physical or physiological stimulus at all. He describes the state as *prise des yeux*, a "seizure of the eyes," and says it can be willed. He told me that he is probably possessed half the day. He will go in and out of possession to solve problems or to deal with reality. He explains that something literally comes over the back of his eyes, and he becomes that god. He said I probably would not recognize the *loa* when I was talking to him, but that people who were initiated would know. And he spends a good deal of the day under the state of *prise des yeux*.

Uncontrolled possession is discouraged. It is called *bosal*, which means "wild" and it will happen to somebody who has not been initiated. A Voudun service is democratic -- anybody can come, even a researcher from UCLA if he or she proves interested and friendly. But possession by people who have not been initiated, at least at the lowest level into Vodoun, is discouraged. And if somebody becomes wildly possessed, particularly be a *loa* who is known for his or her wildness, or by an unrecognized *loa*, that person is restrained, discouraged from continuing so that this psychic power is definitely channeled according to the strictures of expected spiritual behavior.

If you want to follow through on this I would recommend Maya Deren's book *Divine Horsemen*, in particular her chapter called "The White Darkness." She describes her own possession in a stunning way that moves her out of scholarship, but becomes all the more powerful for that reason. Also her film *Divine Horseman* is here in the Media Library and is certainly the best footage I know of

that exists on Voudun and on Voudun possession.

**Porter:** Thank you. I suppose the general situation that you have been describing is paralleled in Bahian *candomblé*.

**Cosentino:** There is very little difference -- I would say the main difference is that there is a stronger "pentecostal" element in Voudun, in that the separation from Africa has been so lengthy. After all, nothing much entered Haiti from Africa after 1790. So the Voudun pantheon has got lots of local inventions in it. On the other hand, the relation between northeastern Brazil and Yoruba extended through the nineteenth century. Therefore *candomblé* ritual would be much more recognizably a cult activity of *orisha* worship as known in Nigeria.

**Porter:** At this point I will just recapitulate that we have taken a broad path from the study of shamanic trance through to possession trance, the two phenomena that Rouget sees as opposite poles of trance states, the one active, the other passive. Music, or behavior that could be identified as "musical," normally plays a part in both kinds although it has been well noted that trance can occasionally occur without music or musical behavior. It seems to form part of a complex of sensory stimuli which includes the visual, olfactory and perhaps tactile and taste senses as well as the auditory one. The sound texture and density of the "music" are clearly important components in the overall orchestration of effects surrounding trance ceremonies or trance states.

Rather than try to define the term and apply it cross-culturally, however, as Rouget tries to do, we might better study individual contexts in greater detail, beginning with particular phenomena and then, later, broadening the investigation.

For our last commentary I will ask Jihad Racy to say something about the highly developed concepts that exist in the Arab world for profane and mystic trances. These in some ways appear to be phenomena of a quite different order from the others we have looked at, both in themselves and in their relation to musical behavior.

**Jihad Racy:** Previously I spoke in this class about the secular counterpart of Sufi trance or ecstasy and tried to focus on the world of the musicians in secular contexts. As a musician myself, I took many things for granted in Arab music, and perhaps by comparing world traditions and attitudes, I gradually came to realize that in

Arab culture music is an art of influencing, one that instills an extraordinary kind of feeling or state. Here I would like to focus on how it influences and on the conditions necessary for influencing.

Arabs recognize music as a profound experience. The kind of behavior generally associated with music is peculiar. There is a certain kind of indulgence and emotional license that you give yourself or surrender to, when you experience music. I'm talking about the traditional music of the cities, an art historically linked to Sufi traditions, which I think has been discussed occasionally in this class. In mysticism, music has long been acknowledged as a path toward religious experience. Among Near Eastern musicians today, you find many concepts that refer to the extraordinary state connected with music. Iranian musicians, for example, speak about *hal*, and the same concept is used by Sufis to refer to the mystical state, or "altered state" if you wish to call it that. If you look at the history of Arab music and culture, you find that musical performances have been associated with unusual behavior. According to *Kitab al-Aghani* (a medieval account of social and musical court life), listeners to music throw themselves on the ground, or into a pool, scream, and tear off their clothes. Today in secular music, the concept of *tarab* outlines the whole process of musical influence. In some Arabic dictionaries, the word *tarab* is defined as a curious combination of happiness and sadness, or a feeling of both pleasure and pain. *Tarab* refers both to Arab secular music as a category and to the effect produced by the music. Therefore the term may be translated roughly as "musical enchantment" or "elation." In the early twentieth century, many musicians were Sufis, or were trained in Sufi orders, and many of the mannerisms connected with the process of *tarab* are similar to those found in Sufi performances.

I wanted to study how "enchancing" takes place, and I found out that in order to create *tarab*, musicians actually prepare themselves mentally and musically. Musicians talk about themselves as having reached *saltanah*, a momentary state enabling them to produce *tarab* effectively. I was interested in how they acquire *saltanah*. Here, I am reminded of possession rituals, where those who administer the process also have to prepare themselves properly.

I have been trying to understand the phenomenon from the inside. By talking to musicians about it I found out that there are many conditions for *saltanah*. These conditions, or requisites, exist on a variety of levels. Accordingly, a performer has to belong to the tradition, you have to be a *Sharqi* ("Easterner"), you have to

understand the culture and "feel" the music. *Saltanah* is also personally bound. A performer must be innately sensitive, and subtle in his or her playing. The feeling of *saltanah* is also closely connected with melody. That is interesting. We have talked so much about rhythm in trance, but here it is a state, or mental condition, connected with a very strong feeling for the melodic mode. Actually the way it is described is that you have *saltanah* in a particular musical mode, for example, *saltanah* in *Hijaz*, or in *Bayyati*. Each mode, or *maqam* embodies a scale, notes of emphasis, and directional tendencies.

Musicians also maintain that if you want to acquire *saltanah* in a particular mode you have to listen to music in that mode. Listening becomes a formula that "tunes in" that feeling. The formula could be a short musical composition. If you were a singer, your ensemble would play that piece for you. An instrumentalist may also use a modal improvisation to achieve that end. Musicians make remarks such as: "When you experience *saltanah*, you become like an invincible king;" "you become so effective as you sing in that mode that you can influence the audience very profoundly;" "you surprise yourself."

I also tried to understand the role of intoxicating agents. Alcohol is considered a dubious factor, and many say they do not need it and that it's not necessary. Another view is, "Well, if you are really in that state, in a mood of *Kayf* ("happiness" or "elation"), alcohol would boost that mood without making you drunk, but if you were not prepared, you will get drunk and, naturally, will not develop *saltanah*." The idea of developing a higher tolerance for liquor when you are in an elated state reminds me of many cases of possession where subjects seem capable of extraordinary physical endurance. The same applies to other drugs, such as hashish, which is reportedly used by many musicians. Some say that hashish "fills your head" or "puts you in a suitable mood." Many others state that the musical experience itself is intoxicating, so you don't need any additional boosters.

A few musicians explain the state in terms of cosmology. Their views appear to be an extension of medieval Arabic treatises that connected individual melodic modes with the zodiac and planets. Different celestial entities influence you at different times and on different days. Accordingly, that explains why sometimes you feel a special urge to play in a specific mode and why *saltanah* in that mode seems to occur so readily and profoundly. However, cosmological explanations are not very common today.

When musicians develop *saltanah*, they create *tarab* feeling in

the audience. I have tried to compare the state of the musician and the state of the listener. Perhaps I could say here that the *saltanah* condition is intense, delicate, and introspective. The state of *tarab* in the audience is extroverted, highly visible, and audible. The audiences may jump, dance, clap, and exclaim verbally. Basically, these exclamations do not analytically describe the music, but rather express personal sensations. They may take the form of moans, or sighs, or invocations of the name of God. Exclamations by the *sammi'ah* ("listening connoisseurs") however can be relatively subtle, as they listen and attentively interact with the performers.

In conclusion, when I read Rouget's chapter on Arab trance, it struck me as being highly interpretive. It appeared to present an intellectualized rendition of data that comes largely from medieval authors, al-Ghazali and others. Furthermore, I got the impression that the chapter generalizes, and applies the term "Arabs" loosely, perhaps to include other Near Easterners or non-Arab Muslims. One has to be careful, and I think that there is considerable diversity within the Arab world itself. It may be no coincidence that the phenomena of *tarab* and *saltanah* seem so well-established in Egyptian culture, where *zar* is also common, and where mysticism has influenced many facets of life, as evidenced by the Sufi *dhikr* performed in both urban and rural settings. I am basically impressed by the work in terms of its scope and rigor. I remember reading in the book that the author intended to follow an ethnomusicological approach. Perhaps his strong interest in establishing cross-cultural theories and inferences could be balanced with more contextualized observations on trance and music.

**Porter:** I think you are right in saying that Rouget has possibly attempted too much in his book. In a sense it is premature for him to be reaching conclusions about the relationship between music and trance, never mind trying to define different trance states from available evidence. He writes that the three different kinds of evidence are, first and most rarely, explanations by the practitioners themselves; second, the ethnographer's interpretation of events; and third and most common, the ethnographer's description of what is going on. Rouget makes it quite explicit that the "real interest" lies in discovering "the native system of thought" about trance states and what the relationship between music and trance really means to the practitioners..

At this point I should open up discussion. I wonder if, since the idea of music not triggering trance but rather socializing the



conditions, as it were, for trance to occur, is a central idea that we might elaborate upon a little more.

Perhaps, Johannes, you would like to say something about that in relation to the Warao, if in fact it appears to you that the rattle plays a major or indispensable part in triggering the trance, or whether, as Rouget seems to imply, music is simply part of a set of contextual conditions. What is your perception of that?

**Wilbert:** The importance of the rattle for the shaman to reach a trance state is enormously complex. Let me give you one example of a very hidden but quite natural functional thing. The shaman believes that trance will begin when the spirits arrive. So as an ethnographer one sits there and wonders how the spirits will manifest themselves to trigger the trance. For years I had no idea how this actually happened. I listened to nights of rattling and wondered why at a particular moment the shaman thought the spirits had arrived and then went into trance. Until, through an experiment I discussed with some of your students last quarter, I realized that there is rattling and rattling.

The first phase of rattling is a sound produced by a rotating movement of the rattle that has a very even rasping sound: *dzhrrr, dzhrrr, dzhrrr*; that can last an hour and sometimes more. We know now through lab tests that all the shaman is really doing is shaving off a fine dust from the central axis of the rattle. The rotating stones inside actually heat up and then ignite the dust of the wood. The patient actually sees sparks coming out of the rattle; and that is the moment when the spirits arrive.

Now if you are only an observer, rather than in the hammock, under the rattle, you will never see that. The shaman, of course, produces the actual rain of sparks. They are not really sparks but sort of glimmering particles, and they are immediately extinguished once they meet the colder atmosphere. The shaman produces them by swinging the rattle first and then changing the rhythm through a sudden up-and-down movement, in which phase the rattle is called the "club" or "mace of the god." Then, by producing a different sound, he forces this powder out through the slits of the rattle. He knows that he is producing this and that is how he knows that the spirits are there. Because he is above the rattle he does not see the sparks either. But he does know that because of the change in rhythm and the stones inside, he is producing these sparks. So there is really nothing mystic about it; it is a technique of rattling.

I was just too naive. I had thought that a rattle is a rattle is a

rattle, and it is not so. There are different styles of rattling which produce different kinds of noises, different kinds of rhythms, all in one seance. At the same time they produce the visible imagery either for the shaman to go into trance or the reaction of the patient, who is actually in a mild nicotine intoxication, going into a very slumbrous state and has, *de facto*, relief from pain because that is what the nicotine does. It is an analgesic that depresses skin temperature. One actually feels that the fever is reduced and experiences relief. That is sufficient indication for any patient that the cure is working, in other words, that the spirits have arrived.

The descriptive, denotative at the core is very important if we sit outside observing this. We are not really in the scene enough to be able to see the very fine distinctions. We record the rattle and all of these things, but we very rarely penetrate deeply enough into the meaning of different rhythms or song patterns. Do not forget that the rattling is accompanied by chanting, and the words are not just glossolalia; they also have a meaning. It is one thing that a relationship is created among the spirits, the patient, and the shaman through the rattling before he goes into trance. But there is more. The audience, the people, are not allowed to sleep during these nights of rattling. They have to sit up in their hammocks and be present, and so they also experience the same influence. It is a *circumstantes* idea: the people who stand or sit around this become part of the environment in which the cure, or the ecstatic state, is experienced. In addition, some of the shamans who sit in the audience also go into trance.

So you have a night experience (this is usually done during the night) in which the patient knows and the shaman knows that there are some thirty people sitting around listening to this and participating for several hours in it. It is in this atmosphere that the shaman may not need the cigar; he may in fact not even need the rattle. I have known shamans who tie a little bell around their ankle, with one shake of which at a given moment they impel themselves and the surrounding group into communal dancing, with no significant drug participation whatsoever.

**Porter:** Rouget is at pains in his book, is he not, to deny that music triggers trance, that it forms, rather, part of a set of conditions that allow trance to take place? Dr. Kennedy, did you find this implied there?

**Kennedy:** I did not find that latter assumption articulated in his book, though it may have been implicit. I think it is obvious that in

many situations music provides the symbolic cue that triggers the trance. However, that is not all it does, and I think Rouget tries to emphasize the symbolic aspect of music to the exclusion of the powerful physiological aspects of music that are linked to symbols, but also independently operating in many ways. I think both levels are functioning simultaneously. Rouget takes such an intellectualist approach that you get the impression that he has never really felt powerful music himself.

When you hear, for instance, Maria Callas sing something, even if you do not understand the words, do you not feel the music physiologically, then? One of the problems is that not everyone feels music the same way, so there are large individual differences and that creates problems. I think one of the variables in trance behavior is that certain kinds of personalities are much more prone to trance than others, and so music and the other variables in some cases are never going to trigger off anything. Some are just incapable of feeling it. All the sensory stimulation and overload we talked about in hyperarousal ceremonies is never going to trigger trance in these people. For them you need drugs or something added to all the rest of the stimulants.

I think it is necessary to emphasize that two levels are going on simultaneously: the symbolic level which can serve as a trigger for the initiation of trance, as well as a cue for many changes within the ritual process; and then the physiological level, which has to do with intensity and pattern. The music is going on simultaneously and can partially control, I think, the non-dominant brain functions, or at least guide them in a para-linguistic manner.

**Porter:** The striking thing in this context is that the musical component in different cultures can be so variable itself; it can be a solo voice, a rattle hissing, or drums pounding.

**Kennedy:** I think Jihad's findings are very interesting in this respect: that is, how the musicians in this particular kind of music have one state of consciousness which triggers hyperarousal -- they exhibit a sort of hyperarousal consciousness or altered state which then provokes a hyperarousal in the audience.

**Porter:** Professor Price-Williams, any comment?

**Price-Williams:** Yes, a weakness we have not really discussed. Rouget got into it a little bit but he has not expanded on it and I would like to hear Dr. Snyder on this: and that is dance, or

movement. If there is anything which would act as what the psychologists would call an intervening variable, it has to be movement which is triggered by music as well as by other things. I think this combination of music and dance is crucial. [To Allegra Snyder] I know you have written a considerable amount on dance and movement and I would like to hear your comments on this aspect.

**Allegra Snyder:** Well, coming back to your remark about the bell, Dr. Wilbert, I am wondering about the first turning of the bell for the shaman, whether it is actually coming from his own first physical, vibratory movement as it begins to occur in his body; in other words, he has the capability of marking them himself, as he is experiencing a shift in his own physical reaction to this experience?

**Wilbert:** We know, of course, that auditory hallucinations can trigger trance. It is just that the simplicity of it all, this "bing!" should do that. And in some shamans it does not, but in others it does. There is a big difference, an individual difference, as someone mentioned before. But yes, the movement and the dance are intricate, though choreographically simple.

Another variable in the event involving movement is a component which is enormously erotic. In these dances you have one woman dancing in the middle of a circle of men, and she dances with closed feet up and down in front of a central pole. That this is enormously sexually stimulating is visible in the group. This entire component of eroticism associated with dancing of this sort is a very complex affair to analyze. We of course would not be the first to talk about such a thing.

**Porter:** This brings us back to the physiological component that we mentioned earlier.

**Price-Williams:** An interesting issue is that there are specific physiological indicators which might be triggered by some specific agent. Tobacco obviously does something or other. Continual dancing in a whirling fashion would clearly do something to the vestibular system and so on. My point is that the models that are put forward are general models for trance where huge areas of the brain are suggested, like the right brain, the temporal lobe, and so on. That is a different kind of physiological model. My point is that it is too facile -- there is not enough data to support that kind of thing. Where the data lies is on specific points, and I am

suggesting that the term *trance* is an awkward term because it combines what may be a very minor physiological points, like the startle reflex, with social interpretations.

The term "*trance*" includes the social interpretation and the psychological interpretation in addition to the physiological, which really would play a very minor role. Whereas all these models plunk the whole thing on some sort of queer physiological mechanism which produces *trance*. The whole history of hypnotism has never indicated any physiological indicator other than that suggested by the hypnotist. If the hypnotist suggests that a person is running fast and his heart will beat faster, it will beat faster, but there is no indication to mark off a person's "*being in a hypnotic trance*" from sitting there normally unless it is suggested. Also, I might add, there are precious few personality indicators for hypnotism.

Josephine Hilgard wrote a book on personality in hypnosis (1979) and there is only one indicator which correlated with successful hypnotism, and that was being able to put yourself into a book or in a film, in a movie or on TV, into the identity, whatever that is called -- identification with a hero, with a figure in literature or something like that. And therefore drama clearly is an interesting indicator there. But that was the only one -- all the other variables did not correlate.

I want to be cautious here. I do not want to be interpreted as denying that there may be something physiological occurring in *trance*, but we have to be very careful how we define *trance*.

**Porter:** I suppose part of the problem is that *trance* has to be understood as a range of behaviors, not simply one thing that is going on.

**Price-Williams:** That's right. There may be different combinations of behavior in different *trance* situations across the world.

**Kennedy:** Rouget tries to deal with that by classifying many different types of *trance*, which partially solves that problem; but he uses different criteria, mixed criteria, so that you do not know what he is talking about half the time.

**Porter:** Part of the problem, we found early on, is that there are problems with the translations of some of the French terminology. The word *crise*, for example, in French has connotations that crisis

does not have in English. "Conducted trance" was another expression we felt was unsatisfactory because his word, *conduite*, really means "channeled" or "self-directed" or something of the sort. So, apart from the whole French way of thinking, there is the problem of translating Rouget's mind set and his attempt to make a cross-cultural survey on the basis of very variable evidence.

Let's have some questions now from the audience -- you have been very consumer-oriented so far.

**Michael Holmes:** I would like to ask Professor Wilbert about rhythm and time. You were discussing synapse before; could you talk about where we could go from there in terms of contemporary physics, trying to use that as an application to understand possession?

**Wilbert:** When I talked about the importance of a drug and the action of a drug at the synapses, this was just a straightforward physiological fact -- a signal arriving at the synaptic cleft, releasing certain chemical compounds into the space and then transforming itself again into an electrical charge for the next axon. But that really has nothing to do, as far as I can tell, with an interpretation of what we were talking about in terms of symbolism. It is only the pharmacological effect of a drug on the nervous system. Now how this transmission process is experienced is the case of a biphasic drug can only be deduced from this.

**Brenda Romero-Hymer:** You talk about the flight that these people are experiencing. I have been studying the Cahuilla, a Southern California Indian group, who believed they arrived here by flight. Apparently during a bird dance, actually a social dance, they are reliving -- the songs tell the story of what happened to them on their flight. I wonder: do the Warao have some kind of creation story, or some form of consensus of these levels they are experiencing that has been the same for centuries?

**Wilbert:** If you take a case let us say not of tobacco but of hallucinogens, then sometimes shamans take a large group of people, adults, on a journey after taking *ayahuasca*, for instance. The shaman can dose the community so that they go on only a short ecstatic journey, after which they all come back at a certain time after reaching a particular phase of hallucination.

The trip I was explaining before is one in which the shaman goes on cosmic journeys on a grand scale. This is enormously wide,

cosmic, but what he sees or what he expects his students and the community to see is largely culturally anticipated. They know that "if we do this now, then we will see this and that." And in many cases, when they come out of the trance or the ecstatic state, they say "well, we actually did see it this way." There are individual variations, but there is a common denominator to the various scenarios experienced. When people go on a bird dance, such as you describe, they may not really be in trance or ecstasy at all. They are performing a dance that has been recounted by generations of shamans to be of this particular kind. It may be just a dance in which through mimicry and other things the bird behavior and the journey are experienced.

**Romero-Hymer:** It is actually not a mimicry of birds, except as a metaphor for their belief that at one point they arrived here like birds. The songs are not necessarily about birds, and sometimes references to birds might be so archaic that people do not even realize that that is what they are. If they [the Warao] have some scenario that is established, or a variety of scenarios perhaps within limits, it would explain why an outsider would have so much difficulty achieving these states since the outsider would not have the same predisposition.

**Wilbert:** Yes, I think this is what many anthropologists would say. You do your best, you know; you take the same dosage and everything seems to be the same, but it is a big disappointment. You do not see the little people, you do not see the big people. Nothing really happens, even though the community is really involved in a major affair. So some people have come to the conclusion that this is primarily because we are not enculturated enough to be able to interpret a particular drug effect in a particular way. Maybe I can give you an example.

South American shamans are very often identified with the jaguar. They are aware of jaguars and take a fighting stance against the spirits of thunder and lightning, among others. The release of epinephrine through nicotine does actually produce the physiological changes that are associated with adrenaline release. Now if you are enculturated to experience this sort of cold alert, as it is called (because there is no real thunder coming at you), as a trigger to fight like a jaguar about what you perceive to be threatening you, then you will adopt the behavior. So cultural and physiological things go hand in hand; one conditions the other.

**Porter:** Maybe I can ask a question that has not really emerged yet, and that concerns the music. What are the conceptions of the people you have been dealing with? Do they have a separate word for music, or is it part of a sequence of actions? We are culturally conditioned to think of music as something separate, wonderful and mystical. This constantly colors our notions of how music fits into cultural situations of the kind we have been discussing, and I for one am uncertain, in talking about music and trance, how these elements fit together and whether the participants have a concept of "music" in that sense at all. The rattling, for example, do they have concepts of the action that are "musical"?

**Wilbert:** First of all, everything I have said cannot be thought about without music. Chanting and music-making are the essence of it. It cannot be done without music.

**Porter:** But that's our term for it.

**Wilbert:** Yes. But how do the gods talk? By chanting. How does one talk to the gods as a shaman? By chanting, preferably in a changed voice. Shamans try to modify their voices, with incense. You see, incense in South America is the resin of a particular tree, which smells exactly like the incense in, let us say, a Catholic church. But this resin is inert as far as alkaloidal content is concerned. It is not in any way hallucinogenic, but it does mask the voice, and produces a very low register, almost an octave lower. In one culture people say that that is the time when a particular bee related symbolically with the supernatural enters your throat. Or in other places the voice change is related to a bamboo horn or to a deer flute, or to something else, so that the changed voice is now the proper way to communicate with the gods, chanting with the playing of instruments.

Music in my informants' society is very important. It may not have the same connotations which we associate with "music," but it is essential for the various forms of communication. It is sometimes very formal; for instance, there is a chant, the most sacred chant, actually, which is sung to unintelligible words. The words no longer have any meaning, but when my informant makes a mistake in the chant, he stops, looks towards the temple, repeats the mistake, corrects the mistake, and then goes on. So the music in this case is a very firm pattern, a regular, very predetermined form. If he makes a mistake, as in Roman times, he must ask a sort of forgiveness for his stupidity in making the mistake before he



goes on. So in this case it is very formal; there is no room for variation.

**Price-Williams:** I think there is one point that you and James brought up that I wondered about. I do not know if there is any data on this, but in places in the world where you find trance more naturally, there may be a leaning towards what is called synaesthesia, where there is a blending of, say, colors and sounds, or tastes and smells and so on. There may be something in that but I have never seen it explored anywhere.

**Porter:** Alan Merriam talks about it in his *Anthropology of Music*.

**Malikah Salaam:** Why are women more predisposed to possession trance behavior?

**Kennedy:** Possession trance involves another identity. In this approved ritual context women can express aggression and they can express sexual feelings that are repressed in ordinary life. Therefore, because they are more repressed they are more predisposed to this kind of behavior than men. For me this is not a completely adequate explanation. You hear that explanation everywhere, but I think it is more a matter of what I was talking about. Some people have pointed out that the female brain is lateralized more than the male brain and that therefore women have this ability to create alternative selves much more easily than men do.

I feel that these abilities, at least in combination with the differential stress hypothesis, might have something to do with why women express that behavior so much more commonly. But as I say, the question has not been explored or really answered by any definitive research at this point. It is a very important question and an interesting one. If all of these causal factors are supposedly having effects, why do they differentially affect the sexes in this way?

**Salaam:** My other question is to Dr. Price-Williams. If we cannot, with Western apparatus or what-have-you, measure certain occurrences in these cultural situations, and if we do agree that trance and possession does take place in some cultural contexts, can we in our Western thought deny the authenticity of the occurrence's actually happening? And if we do not call it trance, can you give us

a descriptive term we could see or feel that would fit these supernatural or abnormal occurrences, that we in Western society can of course relate to because we are not born into that particular culture?

**Price-Williams:** I think you have to go on using the same term. The term hypnosis has been going on for a long time with little harm in a similar way. The point is one has to be careful not to use the word as an explanatory term, but only as a descriptive term. That is important, for otherwise you are imputing things, say to hypnosis, when we do not understand what hypnosis is. But it is an identifiable kind of behavior.

The second point is that one has to be careful how the phenomena have been manifested. For a long time in our culture hypnosis has been connected with passivity. You sit in the chair and someone with an authoritarian voice says you are getting heavier and heavier. Lately all that has been exploded because you get the same phenomena of hypnotism if you are pedaling a bicycle or walk around the room. This is much nearer the trance behavior which anthropologists study. So one has to be careful using this term, realizing first that the term has no known etymology, and second, that the meaning can change from place to place and from time to time.

Now, as regarding the measurement -- there are still attempts to do this. It may be that, if we can do some telemetry, we can find a persons brain waves while they are in action. This has all been very elusive to date. I think what is happening, though, is that terms like "trance" are a subtle mixture of hard fact which everybody would agree on, and phenomena which are more of a social label which will change from time to time. So one has to be very careful with the terms, that's all I was saying. Does that answer your question?

**Salaam:** Then the other part about the authenticity of the occurrence under trance and possession?

**Price-Williams:** Well, the authenticity is a very interesting question. Take hypnotism for example since more is known of that laboratory-wise than trance in the field. There is a big division here between people who say that hypnotism is a "state", and others who will say it is a "role". If you act the role of being what is commonly thought of as hypnotized, there is no way to distinguish that from being hypnotized, even to the point of not feeling pain. There are people that have gone to that extreme in talking about role playing

and even getting people in role behaviors so that they do not feel pain when prodded with pins and other nasty things. But such subjects have not gone through the usual induction procedure in hypnotism, they just play the role.

Now, how can one tell, going to a *Bori* trance ritual, that someone there is "not in a trance?" How will I know? The answer is I don't know; as a matter of fact, there is no way that one can know.

**Kennedy:** I think you were asking a different question, though, were you not?

**Salaam:** Well, no. I guess what I am really trying to get a feel for is: are there actual spiritual or supernatural occurrences that exist or happen to people that we cannot rationally justify or describe?

**Price-Williams:** Whether there are real things in that sense I would not deny, and I would not necessarily affirm because I have no grounds to affirm it and no grounds to deny it on. These are subjective phenomena. To be truthful you are forced to state that you just do not know. That is the answer, and after writing books on the thing no one knows, you see, and that's the truth. But you can talk about it.

**Cosentino:** I was going to say, remember the line from *Rasselas*? Somebody asked the protagonist, "Well, why do the Egyptians go to all this trouble to build the pyramids?" And in Dr. Johnson's best prose, he replied, "That which reason did not dictate, reason cannot explain." That which happens to a believer is very hard for a non-believer to explain in rational terms. However, to run into the phenomenon and not be prepared for it is an overwhelming experience. I do not really believe I was prepared to discover what I did discover in Haiti this summer, and it was devastating. I was overwhelmed because I was not looking for it, and because its reality, whatever that reality is, eludes any tiny rational explanation.

But there is one thing in your question that disturbed me, mostly because I have been poking around this question of trance possession in California. Don't make a we/they, Third World/First World division out of it. My lord, this phenomenon of trance possession is so strong in Southern California. The United Church of Christ is the fastest growing Protestant religion. In Haiti the missionaries, who are mostly from the southern part of the U.S. and

mostly white, are bringing down an alternative form of trance religion, much less beautiful in terms of music and art certainly, and much more simplified in terms of the *dramatis personae* who overtake the body. The Holy Ghost is so much more vague a figure than Ogun or Erzuli or Agua, and demands so much less because he has so much less of a personality. Protestant fundamentalism is just an impoverished form of Voudun. The artistic imagination is just much greater in Voudun, but it is the same phenomenon. I do not think it is accurate to make a we/they division of a racial one.

**Porter:** Our time is drawing to a close, unfortunately, and we have to come to a conclusion even if we conclude that there are no conclusions to be drawn. Jihad, do you have any final thoughts?

**Racy:** I certainly agree with Dr. Wilbert's statement. I think that we often get caught in the hard task of searching for cross-cultural patterns. We may find ourselves drawing arbitrary lines and concluding that "all of these things are trance," or "all of these things are ecstasy."

Going back to ethnomusicology, I think it is very important to know what the experience means to the people, and how we can understand it in light of both our knowledge and our communication with those who experience it directly. I definitely concur with Professor Price-Williams that it is hard to internalize the experience by simply intellectualizing it. I also agree that we should not be discouraged if we do not find easy definitions. Indeed, we may continue to write books and learn about "life" and "culture" without spending a great amount of time defining these things.

**Porter:** Since our time has run out, that will have to serve as a partial conclusion to our seminar today. We have covered, I think, a commendably wide range of issues within the notions of trance, music, and music/trance, but it would be foolish to imagine that we have exhausted the subject of interrelationships or reached definitive conclusions. We certainly do not need to be afraid of being inconclusive since we are dealing with concepts and relationships that are neither bounded, finite, nor exhaustively studied.

If I can, however, summarize briefly these "inconclusive conclusions," I could simply say that trance takes a wide range of forms from culture to culture (ranging from shamanic trance at one extreme to possession trance at the other); it is, however, a

descriptive rather than an explanatory concept and term (there is no commonly accepted physiological index that demarcates and defines trance). The predisposition of the individual is a major factor, and women seem to be more susceptible to trance behavior because the female brain is more lateralized (i.e., they have the ability to create alternative selves more easily and this, in combination with the differential stress hypothesis, may answer why women behave thus more commonly).

The association of music with trance, as Rouget proposes, is indeed learned behavior but involves two levels: the symbolic level that serves as a trigger for trance, and the physiological, which has to do with intensity and pattern, and in this the music may partially control the non-dominant brain functions (that is, there is a switching from left to right brain functions. The music, even though on its own it may not induce a trance-like state, is more often than not an integral element in helping to promote trance. As a central factor in many cultures, music provides the symbolic cue for ritualized action involving trance and in cultures where a separate concept of "music," as it is conceived of in the West, may be absent, musical behavior is recognized as essential to trance situations. In cultures where music theory is developed, such as Arab societies, musicians may have an altered state of consciousness, a kind of hyperarousal, which then provokes hyperarousal in the audience.

Obviously, there is still much to be said about it, more hard information to be sought out, more need for discussion and debate. We ought to be grateful to Gilbert Rouget, certainly, for providing the stimulus for this discussion. What we have done, essentially, is to extract a series of central questions from Rouget's work and to comment upon them in the light of individual experiences. For this I especially want to thank my colleagues from anthropology and folklore as well as ethnomusicology. Interdisciplinary colloquia of this sort are essential if we want to open up to one another particular areas of knowledge and to stimulate the sharing of ideas. Thank you all very much.

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## **"NATIVE BI-MUSICALITY:" CASE STUDIES FROM THE CARIBBEAN<sup>1</sup>**

Martha Ellen Davis

Mantle Hood's term "bi-musicality," set forth in *Ethnomusicology* in 1960, refers to the pedagogical goal for his students of an acquired proficiency in a non-Western musical system. This present paper applies Hood's term to a different sort of "bi-musicality:" the coexistence of two musical systems within a single musical culture. "Native bi-musicality" has been observed and documented for several cultures, as suggested by the case studies mentioned here and ethnomusicologists' increasing attention to the subject. But this cultural and musical phenomenon has not yet been directly and fully addressed theoretically and comparatively. Consider this paper a preamble to such a study.

Native bi-musicality (or "multi-musicality") appears to be a common consequence of conquest and of large population movements (though it may arise from other circumstances as well). At least during their early phase, vast political and demographic changes often appear to give rise to bi-culturalism, of which bilingualism and bi-musicality form a part. The trajectories of cultural conquest are embedded in the musical styles which have developed as a result of such events. For example, the Arab conquest of the Tuareg, Berbers of North Africa, is represented more notably in the music of the men than that of the women, which has retained more Berber characteristics. In regard to differential assimilation of Arabic music according to gender, the work of Johanna Spector on Yemenite Jews (presented in a film at the 1986 S.E.M. annual conference) demonstrates the opposite effect of the Moslem expansion. In the Yemenite musical culture, men perform sacred music in Hebrew, while women's music is Arabic; women do not know Hebrew because they are not allowed in the temple.

The pre-Columbian Carib conquest of the Arawaks in the Lesser Antilles led shortly thereafter to a situation on some islands which was similar to that of the Tuareg, in which the men spoke Carib, the language of the conquerors, and the women, Arawak, the language of the conquered. On the other hand, a reaction to long-term contact with various cultures is illustrated by the music of the Kuna people of Panama, as described in a paper presented by



Sandra Smith (a student from Arizona State University) at the 1985 S.E.M. conference. She suggested that a fundamental aesthetic of the Kuna musical culture is reflected in their encouragement of eclecticism and innovation. She attributed this attitude to their geographical position at the crossroads of the Americas, which for millenia has facilitated contact with various other cultures. For the Kuna, according to Smith, the Spanish conquest simply provided another welcome source of new musical ideas.

### Collective Bi-Musicality in Caribbean Sacred Contexts

A major difference between this area of the Circum-Caribbean and the insular Caribbean is the early demise of the Native American population on the islands, leading to the importation of Sub-Saharan African slaves as a labor force. So, unlike the Kuna, the contemporary cultural patterns of the insular Caribbean are essentially bi- rather than multi-cultural. That is, they largely entail various forms of contact between Hispanic- and African-influenced musics. The remainder of this paper explores certain aspects of this interaction in the insular Caribbean, especially the Hispanic Caribbean.

In this region, "native bi-musicality" is more common in sacred than in secular contexts and musical genres. In general, the hybridizing of musical elements of various ethnic origins and the development of new genres and styles occurs within secular dance music; music which serves the function of recreation permits certain modification without jeopardizing its social purpose. In contrast, religious music, both African and European in origin, forms part of ritual and thus itself takes on a sacred character more resistant to change. Religious music consequently exhibits relatively greater conservatism than secular music, as Melville Herskovits (1937 and 1943) demonstrated for Afro-America. I suggest that, in fact, religious ritual provides contexts for the preservation of both European and African cultural elements; indeed, both may be present in conservative, even archaic, forms within single Caribbean religious musical events.

In the music associated with such sacred events, on the one hand, styles and genres may merge, giving rise to new creations. On the other hand, both European- and African-derived musical styles and genres may coexist without complete syncretism, each represented by different component genres or subgenres within a musical event, or even by different aspects or sections of individual

pieces. In a religious event, these musical components are designated respectively to different spatial and temporal positions within the physical setting and the ritual procedure, and they exhibit specific gender associations.

Regarding temporal distribution in folk Catholic events of the Caribbean, there tends to be a progression from the sacred to the secular and from the more purely European or African to the "Creole" (hybrid developed in the New World) ritual and music. A case of ritual in which African-derived sacred music precedes the more secular and Creole/hybrid music is the Big Drum Dance of Carriacou (a satellite island of Grenada), a ritual in commemoration of the ancestors. First, the "nation dances" are performed by descendants of various African ethnic groups; then, having completed the sacred obligation, the participants perform recreational "Creole dances" (see Paule Marshall 1972 and Lorna McDaniel 1986).

An example of the coexistence of European- and African-derived sacred music in a single event is drawn from my field work in the Dominican Republic on saints' festivals (*velaciones*), which are formal, annual, and usually night-long celebrations of individual sponsorship in fulfillment of a vow (*promesa*). *Velaciones* illustrate a common Caribbean pattern of integration of European and African ritual and music into a single religious event, in which the sacred European-derived music tends to be executed first, the sacred African-derived (if any) second, and the Creole third.

In the *velación*, a twelve-hour event, this pattern is repeated three times in association with the execution of three rosaries, prayed, or prayed and sung in the course of the event. Each rosary is followed by three musical settings of the archaic Catholic prayer, the *Salve Regina*. This sacred European-derived music is then often followed by African-influenced sacred music, with regional variation. In the south of the country, the sacred *Salves* may be followed by three sacred drum pieces at the altar (in the Central-South), or at the centerpost (in the Southwest). This sacred European plus African portion of the event, repeated after each rosary, is followed by a more secular portion consisting of other, less sacred, and unspecified *Salves*, and less sacred drum pieces played in any order, which continue until the next ritual phase of the event. Both are characterized by more secular and improvised text, more rapid meter, and diatonic scales favoring major keys. The *Salves* and the drum pieces vary regionally as to temporal and spatial location. In the Central-South, the sacred drumming is

followed by less sacred drumming for dancing outside and, simultaneously, less sacred *Salves* at the altar. In the Southwest, the sacred pieces drummed at the centerpost are followed by less sacred drumming for general dancing; sets of unspecified drum pieces are interspersed in the same folk chapel with sets of unspecified *Salves* at the altar.

Entirely secular dance genres may also be articulated with these sacred and semi-sacred genres within a religious event. These genres include regionally-determined variants of the *merengue* in the North and East, and the genres of *mangulina*, *carabiné*, and *vals* or *danza*, played as a triptych, in the Southwest. Regarding use within a temporal scheme, in the North and East, the *merengue* is played after the ritual event is concluded at dawn and the obligation to the saint fulfilled. In the Central-East and Central-South, as a variant of the Eastern practice, the *pripri* or *baile de balsié* (actually a *merengue redondo*) in a large festival may be played simultaneously with sacred genres -- but in a different location. In the Southwest, drumming sets alternated with *Salve* sets in the folk chapel may occasionally be interspersed with sets of recreational dance music (depending on the availability of the ensemble).

In cases in the Caribbean, such as one Dominican Republic example of a brotherhood of the Holy Ghost in the Southwest, the more African portion of the event in itself -- following the rosary and three sacred *Salves* -- also exhibits a temporal progression from sacred to secular. The first of the three sacred drum pieces following the rosary is entitled "*Cautivos son*" ("captives they are") and is danced individually with flags (probably symbolic of souls) around the centerpost (see Photo 5). Throughout this area, the same piece is played for the dead. The title, "*Cautivos son*," probably refers to the fact that the dead are captives of Purgatory (and must be pitied by the living and helped by prayers). So, as in the Big Drum Dance of Carriacou, the first piece acknowledges the presence of the dead among the living and serves as an act of communion and continuum between the ancestors and their living descendants. In both places, this sacred African-derived musical ritual is followed by less sacred and stylistically more Creole drumming, which is danced in couples.

In the Dominican Central-South and Eastern regions, the *Salve* itself -- a stylistically broad musical genre characterized by its execution before the altar at the saints' festivals (see Davis 1981c) -- mirrors in miniature the same pattern of sacred/literate/Hispanic-derived followed by secular/non-literate/African-derived as observed in the event of which it forms a part. Each rosary is

followed by three sacred *Salve Reginas*, which in turn are followed by other less sacred and less Hispanic *Salves* of secular, improvised text (in contrast to the fixed prayer text of the *Salve Regina*), call-and-response structure, and rhythmic accompaniment of hand-clapping or membranophones. The pattern is also apparent in the religious musical culture elsewhere in the Catholic Caribbean. For example, in the saints' festivals of Puerto Rico such as the ubiquitous *Fiesta de Cruz* ("feast of the Holy Cross;" see Davis 1972), the Hispanic "sung rosary" of the literate tradition forms the ritual section and main portion of the event. This section is concluded by the symbolic "removal of the Cross," after which secular music of local origin and style (in some Afro-Puerto Rican areas) may be performed.

Examples of ritual from the Francophone Caribbean, such as the Haitian voodoo ceremony, exhibit the same temporal procedure of sacred and European/literate preceding secular and African/non-literate (see Deren's book 1983 [1953] and film 1985). The event opens with Catholic prayers of the rosary (the *cantique*), recited or sung in French to invoke the spiritual presence and blessing of European deities. Upon its conclusion, the ritual moves into the next phase, sung in Creole and accompanied by drumming, in which the same is done for both the African-derived or African-influenced deities and the Creole deities. The drumming invokes the deities and invites them to present and express themselves through spirit possession.<sup>2</sup>

The same musical phenomenon observable in expressions of folk Catholicism is also present in Afro-Caribbean Protestantism. For example, in the Afro-North American enclave in Samaná, Dominican Republic, the traditional church (Methodist and African Methodist Episcopal -- A.M.E.) service utilizes hymns of the English or Anglo-American literate tradition.<sup>3</sup> The formal service is traditionally concluded with, or followed by, spontaneously initiated spirituals called "anthems," religious music of the non-literate tradition (see Davis 1981b and 1983). In Montserrat (an Anglophone island near Antigua), the same temporal pattern of sacred/European followed by secular/African are associated with the wake. Dobbin (1986:41), observing a specific event, reports: "...hymns [probably Anglican or Methodist]<sup>4</sup> were sung only until midnight, when all Christian ceremony vanished as folk games and songs took over." So, in both folk Catholic ritual of the Hispanic Caribbean and traditional Protestant ritual of the Anglophone Caribbean,<sup>5</sup> there is a temporal progression from the European-influenced and literate to the African-influenced and non-literate

traditions within the ritual context. And, this sort of sequence can be found in events honoring both the deities (be it within the context of Catholic polytheism or the virtual monotheism of Protestantism) and, less commonly, the dead -- the ancestors in general as well as specific deceased family members.

The spatial relationship between the two sorts of traditions is also of significance. In folk Catholicism, the location of European-derived music is at the European-influenced sacred site, the altar. The altar may indeed also be the spiritual center for African-influenced manifestations, such as the execution of sacred drum pieces, as explained above. However, the location for most drumming is the area removed from the altar in the folk chapel room, or outside. If occurring in the same room, the drumming is concentrated on the centerpost, if any -- down which, according to African tradition, the gods descend. On the other hand, if the main domain of drums is outside, they play in the *enramada*, a roofed patio like the Haitian *peristyle* but without centerpost and therefore not a religious domain. Both the rear area of the chapel and *enramada* -- depending on the region -- are also the site of secular dance (consisting of other genres, e.g., *merengue*, and ensemble types). Secular dance is either interspersed with the drums (in the Southwest) or follows the whole sacred event at dawn (in the Northeast). Likewise, in the Afro-Puerto Rican enclave of Loíza Aldea (actually the rural area of Loíza called Medianía), during the carnivalesque *Fiesta de Santiago Apóstol* ("feast of St. James"), the African-influenced *Bomba* dance is held over a mile away from the European "sung rosary."

Gender is significant both in its association with certain musical genres as well as with certain areas in the fiesta grounds. The house, particularly the altar area and bedroom, is the women's domain. Women tend to be associated with the music characteristically performed at the altar -- the *Salve* (with some regional exceptions -- see Photo 3), and the men with the music typical of the outside area (or area removed from the altar) -- the drumming. This is true even within Afro-Dominican religious brotherhoods, which are commonly headed by women, but in which men are almost exclusively the drummers and without exception the master drummers (head of the drum ensembles). So, as far as music of these cults and activities is concerned, women act as guardians of the European-influenced genres and styles, and men of the African-influenced.

An exceptional case is the *Salve* as performed in the saints' festivals near the town of Baní, in which, within a single genre and

even single piece, European- and African-influenced components intersect without complete fusion. The women, kneeling or standing in a line in front of the altar, sing the *Salve Regina* with highly Hispanic characteristics (antiphonal structure, melismatic and ornamented melody, high range, tense vocal production; see Photo 1). The men, removed from the altar and the women singers, form a circle in the back of the room and provide the instrumental accompaniment, Afro-American in nature, in which several sorts of idiophones and membranophones create a multi-part rhythmic structure (see Photo 2). So, in the music of folk religion, this interesting regional variant also illustrates the general association of women's roles with participation in the literate tradition: Catholicism (both folk and formal), Hispanic music, vocal music, and the site of the altar. Men's participation tends to be associated with the non-literate tradition: African-influenced religion, African-influenced music and instruments, instrumental music itself, and the area removed from the altar -- the back of the chapel and the exterior area of the fiesta grounds.<sup>6</sup>

In conclusion, we have observed that in the Caribbean, folk religious events, particularly those of folk Catholicism, are bi-musical. The manifestation of aspects of this bi-musicality are expressed in the events through differences in the ritual procedure (temporal positions), the physical setting (spatial positions), and the gender of the participants.

Beyond these generalizations, gender association with sites and musical genres refers to active participation. Competence in musical idioms actually transcends these gender-specific roles: the drums are indeed played by men, who also serve as the main vocal soloists, but women may participate in the vocal chorus of the drumming ensemble and, of course, in the drum dance, which is a couples' dance. Even members of the public, who only passively participate through their presence and observation, are as competent in the same musical cultures as the active participants. When questioned, it is clear that most can discern among regionally- and temporally-determined (old and new) stylistic differences, specific ritual roles of musical genres and subgenres, differences in quality of performance, and other criteria of critical observation.



Photo 1

**PHOTOS 1 & 2:**

Cañafístol, Province of Peravia (Baní), Dominican Republic. Saint's festival (*velación*) for the Holy Cross, on the eve of May 3rd.

These photos exemplify collective bi-musicality. Note the separate male and female domains, roles, and musical styles within a single genre -- the *Salve* -- and even within individual pieces. Women, in linear formation close to and facing the altar, sing the Hispanic-styled *Salve* with antiphonal form, tense vocal production, and high register. Men, who are far from the women and the altar, stand in circular formation in the back part of the folk chapel; they play the instrumental accompaniment of Afro-American style and do not participate in the singing. Note the membranophones of various sorts (tambourines and small drums) and idiophones (*güira*, metal grater), which are played polyrhythmically.



Photo 2



## Native Bi-musicality

### PHOTOS Nº 3, 4, and 5:

Las Matas de Farfán, a town in southwest Dominican Republic. Brotherhood of the Holy Ghost, at a fiesta held in their chapel, *Iglesia del Espíritu Santo*. Fiestas are held every Sunday night of the year and on the two saints' days of the Holy Ghost (Pentacost) and St. Anthony (June 13).

Individual bi-musicality. In photo 3 (right), "Millón" sings the sacred *Salve Regina* in antiphonal form in front of the altar with another man. Both men are part of larger groups of singers, not pictured. Then "Millón" moves back to the centerpost of the chapel, to play drums (Photo 4, below) starting with the sacred piece, "*Cautivos son*" ("captives they are"). This piece marks the beginning of individual dancing in a semi-trance state. In photo 5, the dancers move counterclockwise holding the banners of the brotherhood.

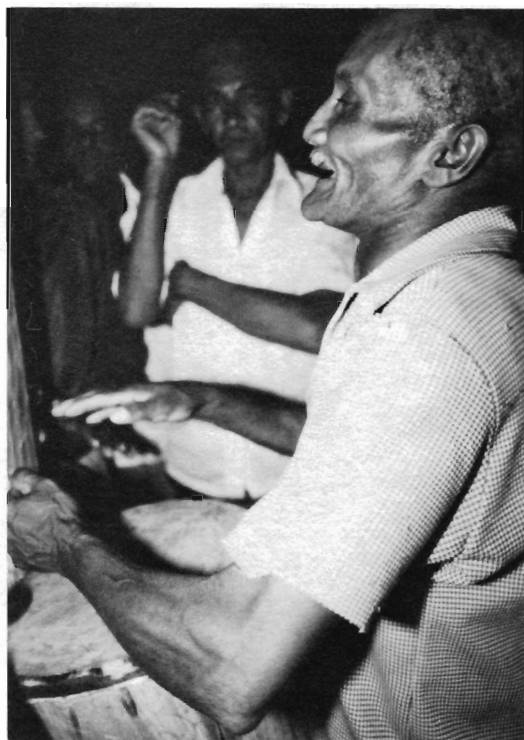


Photo 4



Photo 3



Photo 5

### Individual Bi-Musicality

My comments up to this point have dealt with bi-musicality at a collective level, as a cultural phenomenon manifested differentially according to time, place, and gender in musical events. However, the phenomenon of individual bi-musicality must always be taken into account when studying a bi- or multi-musical culture. Individuals -- as well as events and musical cultures -- can be bi-musical. This is not always the case, however, in a bi-musical culture. For example, Yemenite Jews, or at least the Yemenite women, represent a mono-musical group in a bi-musical society. So the degree and nature of individual (or group) bi-musicality, in the context of collective bi-musicality, appears to vary from culture to culture.

In the Caribbean, bi-musicality is common on an individual as well as collective level. Specifically, in several areas of the Dominican Republic I have observed certain men singing the *Salve Regina* in a most Hispanic style (antiphonal, modal, melismatic, tense vocal production, and high, even falsetto, register; see Photo 3). They then turn around and play the drums, singing in a very different, Afro-American style (with African-influenced membranophones and idiophones; rhythms of marked beat with a polyrhythmic integration of instruments and voices; call-and-response form; largely diatonic scales; and relaxed vocal production in medium or even low range; see Photo 4). As another example, in Puerto Rico, during the Feast of St. James in the Afro-Puerto Rican area of Loíza Aldea, I have accompanied a singer of the archaic-sounding Hispanic sung rosary as she has proceeded from the house down the road with the altar and rosary to the site for the Afro-Puerto Rican *Bomba* dance, where she has actively participated in song and dance.

The same phenomenon of individual competence in various genres and different styles is illustrated for Jamaica by Kenneth Bilby:

One Jamaican musician whom I once trailed for a period of several days moved through the following succession of very different kinds of musical performances, never showing the least difficulty in switching from one style to another. Starting one morning by playing guitar in a coastal *mento* band for tourists, he returned later that day to his rural village to join in a fife and drum performance, playing the leading drum, and then in the evening added his voice to a Revival church chorus. The next day he treated a group of friends to an impromptu performance of British ballads, accompanying himself on guitar, and late that

night played guitar and led a number of religious songs at a "nine night" (wake). On the afternoon on the third day, I found him jamming on electric bass with a local reggae band, and by the early evening he was contributing some excellent banjo playing to a village quadrille dance. The next morning found him on the coast entertaining the tourists again, this time on harmonica, and when I left him that evening he was on his way to a *kumina* ceremony, where he intended to sit in on the supporting drum. While his musical schedule during these few days may have been more fully packed than usual, the easy movement between styles was not unusual for this man; nor was the wide scope of his musicianship extraordinary for a rural Jamaican musician (1986:203).<sup>7</sup>

### Bi-Musicality and Culture Change in the Caribbean

Interestingly, individual bi-musicality in regards to participation is growing. This is one of the major observations I made on a 1986 revisit to Monte Plata, the field site I first studied in the Dominican Republic in 1972. I noticed more men playing and singing *Salves* and more women playing and singing drum music. The musicians themselves confirmed the validity of my observations. At the same time, I have been observing a change in the genres themselves because of the death of older musicians and religious cult leaders coupled with changing aesthetics due to modernization and urbanization. Modernization within both socialist and capitalist societies appears to have led to a worldwide trend toward secularization. This has resulted in a rapid loss, or degeneration in quality, of both the most Hispanic and the most African religious musical genres and styles. Current composition and styles, in the Dominican Republic and more generally in the Caribbean, demonstrate preference for the diatonic scales (rather than modal or other scales), rapid tempi (moving away from the aesthetic of the lugubrious drums for the dead, for example), and secular texts.

I consider these observations to represent facets of a large-scale trend toward the "Creolization" of Caribbean traditions as the New World moves farther from the time of direct European and African contact, and the African becomes less African and the European less European. This historical explanation of cultural change may coincide with an economic explanation: gender specificity in positions of employment is diminishing on an international scale in response to the increasing incorporation of women into the industrial work force. This economic and social

change may well be projected into musical contexts as women's work experience leads to a revision of their own concepts about the bounds of their roles and capabilities.

The result of these changes is the merging of ethnic and gender-specific traditions and the creation of new customs and aesthetics. This is a consequence of the fusion of various component elements tempered by centuries of creativity and the specific circumstances of the New World milieu, both historical and contemporary. I anticipate a time, therefore, in which the concept of "native bi-musicality" is less relevant to Caribbean culture. Rather than two intersecting Old World musical systems, I foresee that the region will continue to develop a Creole musical culture, with its many variants.

At the same time, within this general scheme of Caribbean cultural and musical evolution, I expect that Old World retentions -- the most extreme poles of the bi-partite Caribbean musical culture -- will not all disappear entirely. True, in the modern world, traditional folk music is often the victim of changing values and aesthetics and is rejected as an embarrassing symbol of peasant identity. However, I predict that some styles and genres will selectively remain, or be periodically resurrected (see Davis 1972), albeit disembodied from their former religious roles and reinterpreted in style. Their survival will be determined by a newly-acquired social function: as symbols of identity -- national, regional, ethnic, racial -- in the modern context of cultural inequity.

## NOTES

1. This is a revised version of a paper, of the same title, presented at the Thirty-First Annual Meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology, Eastman School of Music, Rochester, New York, 1986. It was submitted for publication in *PRE* at the request of some UCLA ethnomusicology graduate students; I agreed to submit the paper as a small gesture of solidarity, in thanks for their hospitality during my period as visiting professor, the Winter Quarter of 1987. I also think it appropriate that my extensions of the idea of "bi-musicality," a term suggested by Mantle Hood, be published at UCLA, where his spirit lives as pioneer and developer of the marvellous program in ethnomusicology.

2. The Creole deities may embody some Taíno (Arawak) retentions (see Deren's speculative Appendix B).

3. Six thousand freemen from North America were settled in Hispaniola in 1824-25, during the time the island was unified under Haitian rule, 1822-44, as the first black republic in the New World. The emigration to Haiti followed the repatriation thrust which established Liberia as a haven for North American free blacks, after Liberia was found to be insalubrious. The resettlement in Haiti

was organized by the African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) church of Philadelphia, in collaboration with the Society of Friends (Quakers) and cooperation by Haitian President Boyer. Some of the six thousand, however, died of typhoid fever, and others returned north because they could not accustom themselves to the "natives," whom they considered less civilized than themselves. Those who stayed, after an initial period at the Convent of Las Mercedes in Santo Domingo, were settled throughout the island, including in Port-au-Prince, for the purpose of agricultural development. Today, they have largely assimilated, even changing the spelling and pronunciation of their names and intermarrying with Catholics. The largest enclaves remaining are in Puerto Plata (highly nourished by English-island influence) and Samaná, and these will be almost fully assimilated by the end of the century (see Davis 1980, 1981a, 1981b, 1983).

4. Montserrat's population includes Catholics, Anglicans, and other Protestants -- Methodists and, in the twentieth century, Seventh-Day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses, and, since World War II, a few Pentecostal congregations (Dobbin 1986:12). Their incorporation into Montserrat follows the historical sequence of formal religious culture borne by colonial and neo-colonial domination. All or almost all the population appears to be united, however, by an underlay of African-derived sacred and secular expressive culture, including the *Jombee* Dance for the ancestors, the main subject of Dobbin's book.

5. New converts to Pentecostalism, in response to Anglo-American influenced missionaries especially in the Hispanic Caribbean, are probably a different story. Their conversion is usually tainted with a fanatic literalism, and there has been insufficient time for the (inevitable) process of Creolization to develop.

6. Janice E. Kleeman suggests studying the significance of the universal role of men, relative to women, as players of musical instruments.

7. Bilby has observed the same "bi-musical" characteristic of Caribbean music as I have and refers to this phenomenon as "polymusicality." However, he uses his term in reference to competence in various musical genres, as shown by his Jamaican example; my more generalizing term of "bi-musicality" refers to competence in two general musical idioms, each of which may be manifested by various genres. Both Bilby and I are actually talking about the same cultural and musical phenomenon, nonetheless, and my concept of "bi-musicality" would definitely fit his Caribbean musical taxonomy. Indeed, the differentiation between the more African-influenced and the more hybrid, Creole musical genres is the main organizing criterion for his entire paper on "The Caribbean as a Musical Region."

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## **RITUAL AND SYMBOLISM IN NEW AGE MUSIC**

**Richard Garneau**

During the past ten to fifteen years a new musical paradigm has emerged, internationally known as "new age" music (Hill 1986:1). Originally music for and about meditation disseminated by small independent record producers, new age music has emerged as a viable commercial genre manufactured and distributed by major record companies such as CBS, RCA, A&M, MCA, and others. New age music is part of a social movement generally referred to as the "human potential" movement or, more recently, the "new age" movement.

This article provides an introduction to, and an overview of, the new age music phenomenon; it also presents an examination of the socio-cultural base of new age music. Viewed diachronically, the new age movement, which is a continuation of social movements of the 1960s and 1970s, can be seen as "macro-ritual" and "micro-ritual:" the "rites of passage" of the globally "retribalized" (McLuhan 1964:156) post-World War II "baby-boom" generation.

This paper presents a theory of new age music as ritual. In proposing such a theory, this writer adapted models proposed by Victor Turner (1982), wherein symbols are seen as the basic units of ritual, and Raymond Firth (1966), who defines ritual, public and private, as collective and individual symbolic behavior, respectively. New age music as ritual is defined here as symbolic behavior which is a process of interaction between the individual (alone or as part of a group) and the new age ideology encoded in the new age sound ideal. A link is established between new age symbolic behavior and certain musical style characteristics, which, when listened to by the movement's adherents, helps to facilitate individual symbolic behavior. Finally, based on a model of religion in society by Anthony Wallace (1966), an hypothesis is formed presenting new age music as reflective of an emerging belief system in Western society.

### **An Introduction to the Music**

What is new age music? Because the term "new age" encompasses a broad and diverse corpus of musical styles, it is difficult to define. New age music, originally for and about

meditation, has been broadened considerably to include music suitable for any quiet mood or activity such as yoga, massage, or unwinding after a long day at a computer terminal.

Certain style characteristics, however, can be isolated in new age music. Although non-lexical vocalizations are sometimes present, new age music is predominantly instrumental. In general, rhythm is loosely organized and harmony is static and non-functional.

Sonority has been emphasized in new age music rather than pitch information or form. In general, the music is intended to provide a sonic "environment" or "context" rather than to present a musical dialectic. Two common style characteristics in an otherwise diverse and eclectic corpus of musical styles have been the use of expanded musical space and ambience.

In the late 1970s, new age forerunner Brian Eno made a series of recordings he called "Ambient Music." The first of this series, the 1978 release *Ambient 1: Music for Airports*, contains a definition of "ambient music" provided by Eno on the record sleeve. Eno distinguishes between "Ambient Music" and music specifically designed as background music, such as "Muzak:"

Whereas the extant canned music companies proceed from the basis of regularizing environments by blanketing their acoustic and atmospheric idiosyncrasies, Ambient Music is intended to enhance these. Whereas conventional background music is produced by stripping away all sense of doubt and uncertainty (and thus all genuine interest) from the music, Ambient Music retains these qualities. And whereas their intention is to 'brighten' the environment by adding stimulus to it (thus supposedly alleviating the tedium of routine tasks and levelling out the natural ups and downs of body rhythms) Ambient Music is intended to induce calm and a space to think.

Music is shaped by the space in which it is played. Flutist Paul Horn's 1968 recording, *Inside the Taj Mahal*, is often cited as the first new age recording. *Inside...* was the result of Horn's experiments playing his flute within the reverberating space of the famous Mughal edifice in Agra, India. Because of the twenty-eight second delay factor of the Taj Mahal, Horn was able to suspend single tones in the acoustic space, layering other tones on top of them creating vertical sonorities. This aesthetic of musical space has also characterized the music of saxophonist Paul Winter. Winter often performs or records in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York City, known for its extreme delay factor.

The emphasis on sonority and ambience in new age music may explain why the new age sound ideal can be expressed by two seemingly contradictory media: music produced electronically and music played on acoustic instruments. Pianist George Winston said, "After I quit playing in '77, I began listening to a lot of synthesizer players" . . . "I guess I prefer to play acoustically, but when I started playing the piano again, I wanted those sounds. I really have the feeling that the piano is an acoustic synthesizer" . . . "when I do the impressionistic stuff, I treat the piano like a synthesizer; I'm trying to find all the programs and sounds that it has" (Doerschuk 1984:56).

Electronic new age music, also known as "space music," is produced chiefly on synthesizers and sampling devices. Acoustic new age music can be divided into two sub-categories: "ancient" and "world-fusion" music. Ancient music is produced on so-called "ancient" Western instruments such as the Celtic harp and the dulcimer, while world-fusion music is produced on non-Western instruments. New age music is also performed on combinations of electronic and acoustic instruments. This music was labelled "acous-tech" by Global Pacific Records president Howard Sapper (1986). Sapper was referring to the practice of layering acoustic instrumental tracks over a pre-recorded base of electronic instruments.

New age writers have already created refined and colorful categories for their music. In their book, *The Hearts of Space Guide to Cosmic, Transcendent, and Inner Space Music*, Stephen Hill and Anna Turner (1981) divide new age music into twenty-six categories such as: "contemporary ancient," "progressive infinite," and "cellular wave" music. In a recent paper entitled "New Age Music Made Simple," Hill (1986) divides new age into four broader categories: "Space and Travel Music: Celestial, Cosmic, and Terrestrial," "Innerspace, Meditative, Transcendental," "Religious/Gospel," and "Cross-Cultural Music Fusions." Space and Travel music is defined as music which encourages outward expansion. Innerspace/Meditative/Transcendental is defined as music which contains drones or repeating structures which promote inward psychological movement. Religious/Gospel, a rare vocal category, is defined as any vocal music which contains lyrics concerned with spiritual beliefs. The fourth category, Cross-Cultural Music Fusions, is described as part of a process of cultural diffusion which has been occurring for centuries and now has been "accelerated exponentially" due to the influence of global mass media.

Until recently, new age music has been disseminated through small independent record companies and alternative marketing schemes. New age recordings have filled a gap in the market by providing a "low impact" alternative to rock, jazz, and classical music. Currently, there is a commercial boom in new age music and most of the major U.S. record companies have become involved in manufacturing and distribution. This marketing expansion has helped lead to changes in musical style: the introduction of more formal rhythmic and harmonic organization, and new packaging which masks the original metaphysical connotations of new age. What has been labelled "new age" music is now developing into a pop style. Synthesizer player Michael Stearns (1986) stated, "There are some people who think that new age is a style of playing, a kind of soft jazz; and it's starting to be marketed that way: the Windham Hill sound, ECM sound [a contemporary jazz label], kind of an uplifting, soft, jazzy sound."

New Age journalist/critic Lee Underwood (1986) feels that these trends in new musical characteristics are "retrogressive," that is, reverting back to musical styles already familiar. Underwood and others have drawn a line between "authentic," or "pure" new age music and the more recent "cross-over," or "contemporary instrumental" new age music.

### The Socio-Cultural Base of New Age Music

New age music grew out of the "counter-culture" of the 1960s and the "alternative lifestyles" of the 1970s. Although new age music is consumed by people of all age groups, it is essentially bound up with the values and ideals of the post World War II "baby-boom" generation. The term "new age" refers to the astrological "Aquarian Age," which was a dominant symbol of the 1960s counter-culture. New age adherents in the 1980s believe that there has been a confluence of ideas and groups moving toward a "critical mass" which will supplant the dominant world view in the West (see Ferguson 1980 and Capra 1983).

Stephen Hill, who hosts a nationally-syndicated new age radio program, *Music from the Hearts of Space*, speaks of a "new auditory consciousness, capable of being applied to all of today's varieties of music -- whether classical, pop, or avant-garde" (Hill 1986:1). This would tend to account for the new age popularity of Pachelbel's *Canon in D*, Gregorian chant, and traditional musics of non-Western cultures along with contemporary new age repertoire.

Hill states that a "new auditory consciousness" should create new forms of music. Citing Jacques Guyonnet, Brigitte Schriffer says:

According to Guyonnet, today's musicians are seeking new ways to conceive of works in connection with a view of the world, not new techniques. According to him, cultural differences are not so much by virtue of different music systems and instruments, but by different attitudes toward life. He goes on to say that now there are the first signs of new forms of listening, new notions of time, and new collective initiatives: and that the study of non-Western intellectual patterns could gain us in the West fresh orientation (1971:21).

Essentially a Western, urban, middle-class phenomenon, new age music is most prevalent in the cities of the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Switzerland, and Japan. Demographic studies conducted by the record company Windham Hill revealed the predominance of two groups who buy new age recordings: young urban professionals between the ages of twenty-five and forty, and students between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five (Fricke 1986:100).

### New Age Music as Ritual

Victor Turner (1982), in *From Ritual to Theater: The Human Seriousness of Play*, asserts that ritual is often a response to what he calls "social drama" -- that is, a breach or crisis which faces the community as a whole. In his book *The Turning Point*, Fritjof Capra (1983) uses a "crisis-as-transformation" model to describe a "paradigm shift" -- a shift in world view which he sees occurring in Western society. Capra interprets this phenomenon as a shift from a fragmented, rational, and exploitive world view to a holistic, intuitive, and ecological world view. In the *Aquarian Conspiracy: Personal and Social Transformation in the Eighties*, Marilyn Ferguson (1980) describes the transformation of Western society via a "critical mass" of individuals who have experienced "paradigm shifts." Ferguson speaks of an "emergent culture" whose members have broken with key tenets of Western thought, and who see spiritual disciplines and "growth modalities" more essential to problem-solving than government.

Turner (1982) was drawn toward the study of symbolic genres in large scale societies by the implications of Arnold Van Gennep in *Rites de Passage*, first published in 1908. Van Gennep delineates three phases within a rite of passage: separation,

transition, and incorporation. In the separation phase, there is a demarcation of sacred time and space from secular time and space. The transition phase is a period of social ambiguity, wherein ritual subjects are stripped of their former social status. The third phase, incorporation, marks the re-emergence of the ritual subject into society, transformed into a new social status.

Turner's work focuses on the transition phase of ritual which he describes as "liminal" (from *limen*, [Lat.] meaning margin or threshold). "Liminality" is defined as "anti-structure," meaning the dissolution of normative social structure. Turner, citing Brian-Sutton Smith, writes that liminality can also be viewed as "protostructural" and that liminal settings are "seedbeds of cultural creativity" in which new models, symbols, and paradigms arise as precursors of innovative normative forms (1982:28).

The history of the new age movement can be seen as a "macro-ritual" divisible into Turner's three phases of a rite of passage. In this scheme, the 1960s counter-culture represents the separation phase initiating a period of "liminal" social anti-structure. The decade of the 1970s was an extended "proto-structural" period wherein new models, symbols, and paradigms arose as precursors of innovative social forms. The 1980s mark the third phase, where individuals re-enter normative society and incorporate new models, symbols, and paradigms through a quiet, unseen "mainstreaming" process; they influence the dominant culture from within.

Ferguson outlines the process of the individual as he or she experiences a world view shift through crisis and transformation. In relation to the macro-ritual, this process can be seen as a "micro-ritual." Following a personal crisis, an individual comes to an "entry point" in which he or she is introduced to what Ferguson terms a "psychotechnology," an intentional trigger of transformative experiences (1980:85). Some psychotechnologies described by Ferguson include sensory isolation and overload, drugs, biofeedback, hypnosis, meditation, seminars, dream journals, contemporary psychotherapies, body disciplines, sports, improvisational theater, and music.

Following the entry point, much like the separation phase of a rite of passage, the individual goes through an "exploration" where he or she attempts to precipitate personal transformation through the systematic use of one or more psychotechnologies. Finally, the individual experiences a shift in world view and re-enters the normative social structure. Again, one is reminded of Van

Gennep's final phase of a rite of passage, where the ritual subject re-enters society with a changed status.

## Symbolism in New Age Music

New age music is reflective of a shift in world view among members of a sub-culture in Western society. The music itself has played a significant role as an agent of that shift through the dissemination of the new age ideology which is symbolically encoded in its sound ideal. In Turner's (1982) approach to the study of ritual, symbols are seen as the basic units of ritual. Symbols are defined as articles, gestures, spaces, or times that in ritual context stand for something else. Ritual symbols can function as storehouses holding clusters of values, norms, beliefs, roles, and relationships.

Crystals and pyramids are two prevalent symbols in new age material culture and are often used as ritual objects. Not only do crystals and pyramids have symbolic significance in new age lore, they are also believed to possess intrinsic power. Crystal and pyramid motifs have been used frequently on new age record jackets and cassette inserts.

New age music artists are only rarely depicted on their record jackets. Instead, in addition to crystals and pyramids, other structures from mythic lore (such as the Taj Mahal and Atlantean palaces), nature scenes, and occasionally abstract designs are illustrated. This packaging reflects the transpersonal component of new age ideology: the individual is seen as part of the whole. This differs from the charismatic viewpoint of traditional marketing techniques, which sells the personality of the artist.

A preliminary study of images on new age record jackets and cassette inserts (see discography), reveals the prevalence of a few archetypal symbols that are often combined. The majority of record jackets depict either water, sky, or outer space; cosmic orbs, such as the sun, moon, or a bright orb-like light are also common. Earth symbols, such as wheat fields and forests, are also prevalent, but occur less frequently.

Aspects of new age ideology are also encoded in its musical style. The reverence for nature, the earth and its creatures, cosmology, and a "one-world" sentiment are all evident within the music. The reverence for nature concept often manifests itself through the use of recorded animal and nature sounds as part of the music. The ideological components of the new age movement are



expressed by the artists, who frequently dedicate their creations to peace (global and/or personal), transformation of the human race, or to healing.

New age music pioneer Paul Winter's feeling for the earth and its creatures is elemental in his music. He is known for making music with whales, dolphins, and wolves (Bourne 1986:27). The cosmological component of new age ideology is expressed by synthesizer player Vangelis, whose recording title *Albedo 0.39* refers to the light-reflective capability of Earth (Doerschuk 1982:44). In Japanese synthesizer player Tomita's composition, "Canon of the Three Stars," the sounds he creates are based on the light waves from certain stars converted into audio signals (Doerschuk 1985:61). George Winston, in the second half of his public concerts, plays compositions based on the cycle of the seasons and selects pieces to match the time of year (Doerschuk 1984:51).

In *Symbols: Public and Private*, Raymond Firth (1973) distinguishes between collective symbolic behavior and public ritual, and individual symbolic behavior and private ritual. Collective symbolic behavior comprises myth, ritual, and social structure; individual symbolic behavior comprises dream, hallucination, prophetic revelation, drug-induced experience, and individual creativity manifested in the arts.

New Age contexts, in general, are intended to be positive non-specific contexts in which people can engage in individual symbolic behavior. New age symbolic behavior is an interaction between implicit, not-as-yet codified, collective symbols, and individual symbolic behavior. The collective symbols manifest themselves through the new age sound ideal; the individual symbolic behavior consists of the "ritual subject's" experience of images from the unconscious as they arise, triggered by exposure to the music.

As mentioned above, new age music is predominantly instrumental. Voices, are used, but not to convey text. Underwood (1986) comments on the dichotomy between text and sonority:

Sound provides a context. Words provide a focus. Words provide images for you. Sound creates a context in which you can create your own images. Words give you content and direction and they focus your mind in a specific direction. Sound doesn't do that. Sound frees you up; to dream, to wander about in your own psyche, and ultimately to transcend dream into a state of wordless visionary revelation, after which comes the words to explain it.

Research on where music is experienced in the brain sheds an interesting light on the contrast between textual and instrumental music. Studies in the 1960s using the "dichotic" listening technique developed by Doreen Kimura at the University of Western Ontario revealed that, unlike the way language is processed where the left brain is usually dominant, music is processed through the right brain. However, in some aspects of music perception, such as recognition of familiar songs with text and perhaps processing rhythms, the left hemisphere seems dominant (Rosenfeld 1985:54).

This writer has divided new age music contexts into two broad categories: contexts which strictly involve the use of sound recordings, and contexts which involve live performance. The former category is divided into two sub-categories: use of sound recordings by individuals (private ritual), and use of sound recordings by groups (public ritual).

### **Sound Recordings as Ritual Context**

New age music is chiefly consumed by individuals privately in their homes or in the environments of their choice with portable cassette players (private ritual). In these contexts, new age music performs a variety of functions; it can induce calm and relaxation or trigger introspective visionary states (individual symbolic behavior). Participant behavior ranges from simply unwinding after a hard day's work to intense listening practices that involve isolation, closed eyes, and the use of headphones. In the latter context, ritual subjects engage in the practice of "imaging"-- they interact with symbolic images as these images arise from their individual psyches. This type of individual symbolic behavior has been termed "self-guided imagery meditation." Peter Michael Hamel in *Through Music to the Self: How to Appreciate and Experience Music Anew* (1979) and Nevill Drury in *Music for Inner Space: Techniques for Meditation and Visualization* (1985) both offer "guided imagery" exercises to facilitate personal transformation through listening to sound recordings.

People also use new age sound recordings to accompany other activities which require concentration, such as studying, driving, or exercising. Sound recordings in these contexts serve to enhance the primary activity by providing a beneficial sonic environment. Recordings of new age music are also used in group contexts such as guided imagery workshops, group meditation, and movement classes. In these contexts, the music is used to enhance or

facilitate the use of traditional, codified symbols, or activities such as breathing and movement.

In these "ritual" contexts, groups are often led by individuals who assume the role of "shaman," thereby facilitating individual symbolic behavior within each participant. This phenomenon where each participant engages in individual symbolic behavior while part of a group is paradoxical and antithetical to most traditional religions and cults, where public ritual generally centers around codified symbols and collective symbolic behavior.

New age recordings are frequently used in therapeutic contexts: as therapy in themselves (see Halpern and Savary 1985:57-8), or in conjunction with such therapeutic activities as massage, hydro-therapy (hot tubs), and bio-feedback. In therapeutic contexts, new age adherents maintain that certain musical characteristics, such as the use of ambience, expanded musical space, and lack of rhythmic pulse have a soothing, healing effect on people.

While discussing behavior in new age music contexts, it is important to distinguish between intent on the part of the new age artist and use by the listener. Some new age artists have created music for specific purposes, while others chiefly view their music as self-expression. Michael Stearns (1986) states that, though people use some of his recordings to meditate, relax, or do bio-feedback in hospitals, he didn't create the music for those purposes. He says: "I created the music because that's where I was at at that moment, and that was the expression that came out."

### Live Performance as Ritual Context

Live public performances of new age music are rare. Still, these contexts are excellent examples of symbolic behavior which is observable in two domains: artist/audience configuration and dynamics. Synthesizer player Michael Stearns avoids placing himself on a proscenium stage, preferring to place himself in the midst of the audience. As part of this configuration, Stearns surrounds the audience and himself in an all-encompassing sonic environment by placing loudspeakers around the periphery. As in guided imagery contexts, the new age performer often assumes the role of shaman rather than entertainer, and leads the participants into individual symbolic behavior, again paradoxically as a group.

Tomita, at the *Ars Electronica* Festival in Linz, Austria in September 1984, said, "My idea was to break down those walls [walls associated with conventional performances in closed spaces]

with sound coming out of the earth, the sky, and the water. Conceptually, this could not be conventional music. I wanted it to be more of a 'sound cloud' which would wrap the audience in music." Tomita performed in a translucent pyramid suspended by an unseen cable above the Danube river while 80,000 spectators on the banks peered upward. At the same time, a violinist, a *shakuhachi* player, and a group of Austrian singers performed on a large boat floating on the Danube (Doerschuk 1985:29,30).

Some artists seek a new dynamic between artist and audience. Harpist Georgia Kelly frequently requests that her audience refrain from applauding until the end of the performance because, Kelly says, "it breaks the energy" (Kelly 1986). Stearns requests that his audiences refrain from applause entirely. Applause "releases the audience in a certain way" which may be important at entertainment venues, but if they don't "release themselves," the concert continues as they "go out into the world" and they are "apt to have a dream or some sort of experience" (Stearns 1986).

## The New Age Movement as Religion

Anthony Wallace (1966:53-78) presents an overall model of religion in society in which thirteen categories of "minimal religious behavior" (including music making) are combined into more complex stereotyped sequences defined as "ritual." Rituals are, in turn, combined into larger complexes called "cult institutions," elements of which are distilled into a "religion of a society," or a societal religion.

The relationship between cult institutions and a societal religion is as follows: a cult institution is defined as a set of rituals all having the same general goal, all explicitly rationalized by a set of similar or related beliefs, and all supported by the same social group. A societal religion consists of an intermingling of elements from different cult institutions and is a loosely organized federation of beliefs tightly interrelated in the respective cult institutions (Wallace 1966:77-8).

Currently, there is a vast array of new age cult institutions which draw upon elements from the world's religions, philosophies, and healing and transformational systems. Since the 1960s, new age adherents have been involved in various traditional non-Western religions such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism, and Western esoteric disciplines. Since then scores of new beliefs, cults,

and disciplines have emerged. Each new age cult institution embodies its own codified rituals and symbols.

In *Unmasking The New Age*, Douglas R. Groothuis (1986) describes the new age movement as "a religious movement trying to transform society." Following Ferguson and Capra, Groothuis charts the influence of the new age world view in various domains of Western society, including the health field, psychology, science, politics, and spirituality. Speaking in theological terms, he states that nearly all aspects of the new age movement reflect a particular world view which he calls "pantheistic monism" (Groothuis 1986: 18-20). "Monism" is the belief that all that exists is ultimately one contiguous reality, interrelated, interdependent, interpenetrating, and that any perceived differences between separate entities are only apparent and not real. "Pantheism" is the belief that all things partake of the one divine essence, and that all deities are equally valid.

As Groothuis has indicated, all new age cult institutions, virtually without exception, are essentially monistic in world view. This represents a shift from the monotheistic Judeo-Christian world view of the dominant Western culture. "Monotheism," not to be confused with "monism," is the belief in one God, eternally separate from his creation, implying the separation of all things.

New age journalist Underwood is skeptical about a so-called "paradigm shift" in Western society. He sees a great hope reflected in new age music, and feels that it reflects society's need "to go to a place within the psyche that taps into creativity, courage, love, kindness, and compassion." He views the paradigm shift as perhaps an emerging belief system rather than the transformation of society. He states that there are many people who do not believe in the new age value system, but simply listen to enjoy the music because it allows them to relax and gives them a break in their daily routine (Underwood 1986).

## Conclusion

From the preceding examination of ritual and symbolism in new age music, it may be possible to form the following hypothesis: that a new societal religion derived from the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s, comprised of elements from various new age cult institutions, is coalescing in the West. This embryonic societal religion is generated by a holistic, intuitive, ecological world view, which represents a shift from a reductionistic, rational, exploitive

world view. In theological terms, this can be seen as a shift from a monotheistic Judeo-Christian societal religion to a monistic pantheistic societal religion. The emerging adherents, "reincorporated" into normative society as in the third phase of a rite of passage on a macro level, are influencing the dominant culture from within, partially through the new age ideology symbolically encoded in the music which has been disseminated throughout the West.

This writer suggests that the coalescing of an as yet inchoate monistic societal religion in the West may be viewed as a cultural institutionalization of private ritual and individual symbolic behavior. Music serves a vital function in this burgeoning societal religion because it is the private ritual context necessary for adherents to experience the individual symbolic behavior as part of the religion's practice.

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## ON BEYOND ZEBRA: SOME THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF EMOTION AND MEANING IN MUSIC

Elizabeth Tolbert

*You'll be sort of surprised what there is to be found  
Once you go beyond Z and start poking around!*

Dr. Seuss *On Beyond Zebra*

Like Dr. Seuss' alphabet book *On Beyond Zebra*, this paper is an exploration of hypothetical entities that exist after the limits of the everyday alphabet have been exhausted. As ethnomusicologists we have been impressed with the plethora of musical sounds and structures cross-culturally. Yet when all is ordered and catalogued, our studies of music throughout the world barely venture beyond the merely descriptive. In the proliferation of forms that make up the music of the world's peoples, very little is known about the nature or experience of music as a universal human phenomenon, many scholars even doubting that any such universals exist. Apart from some basic intervals such as the fifth and octave (a near universal) and ways of perceiving melody, not much is known about music as a whole (Harwood and Dowling 1986:238-239). Lomax (1976) is one of the few who has attempted to correlate specific music styles with specific cultural traits, with questionable results. Feld (1986) asks an important question, namely, how do musical sounds become meaningful, imbued with symbolic significance? He answers by highlighting the relationship of layers of cultural systems to musical sound. The relationship of man's basic biological nature with culture, however, has barely been examined. What is the role of man's biological makeup in music making and the aesthetic response? How is musical meaning related to biological and perceptual structures?

Aesthetic theories of Western art music have tended to focus solely on music structure. Meyer (1956), in his widely acclaimed *Emotion and Meaning in Music*, uses information theory as a basis of explanation of the emotional impact of music, stating that music is meaningful due to its either frustrating or fulfilling expectations. In this view, music is a symbol in a formal system. Other theories

have stressed the iconic nature of music, for example, Langer (1951), who posits that meaning in music stems from its similarities to the form, not content, of emotion. Ethnomusicologists, on the other hand, have generally eschewed the search for meaning, relying solely on descriptions of cultural context. In this case, meaning in music is related to its association with a particular cultural context. These three levels of meaning, the symbolic, the iconic, and the indexical, work together to provide meaning in music (Dowling and Harwood 1986:202-214).

In this article, the iconic nature of music will be considered in greater detail, especially iconicity with biological and cosmological systems. An attempt will be made to show that meaning in music is not found in form alone, nor as an appendage to a certain cultural context, but resides in the intersection of psychobiological and cultural experience, born out of the exigencies of sacred ritual and its concurrent unusual modes of perception.

The procedures for ascribing meaning to music take place on a level that transcends sensory experience, the roots of which have been glimpsed in the study of altered states of consciousness and mystic states. I will begin by showing how man organizes his experience on the basis of somatic structures, drawing on research from visual perception: the hierarchical perception of color, the form of sacred images, and their investment with emotion, which leads to meaning. I will then focus on how music, or art in general, is similar in structure to the structure of the brain, as indicated by research in altered states of consciousness which points to the idea that the process of perception is the content of the mystic or artistic experience. Evidence from modern physics will be presented which supports the congruence of structures within and outside of the brain, akin to the cosmological conceptions of many of the world's great religions. The psychobiological organization of culture posited above will be shown to have an affinity with archetypal symbols that summarize and help develop the relationship between the individual and his culture. Finally, a case study of the Finnish Karelian lament will be presented in an attempt to illustrate these layers of meaning in a musical context.

### Somatic Structures in Visual Perception

Turner, in the *Forest of Symbols* (1967), describes a tripartite classification of color and of the world among the Ndembu of the African Congo. Black, white, and red are the ritual

colors of these people, symbolizing a cosmic conception of the rivers of blackness, whiteness and redness. Comparative data from Africa, Malaysia, Australia, North America, ancient world cultures, and from Berlin and Kay (1969) establishes the primacy of these three colors in ritual use cross-culturally, with basic similarities in symbolism.

Turner's hypothesis is that "magico-religious ideas of a certain kind were responsible for the selection of the basic color triad" (1967:87), and that the choice of the three colors is a psychobiological one; they come from bodily experiences of heightened emotion, and symbolize bodily products such as sperm or milk (white), feces (black) or blood (red). Most importantly, "not only do the three colors stand for basic human experiences of the body...*they also provide a kind of primordial classification of reality*" (Turner 1967:90; italics added). Turner states that human cultural organization comes from the psychobiological experiences of the individual, and that the color symbolism is "biologically, psychologically, and logically prior to social classification by moieties, clans, sex totems, and all the rest" (1967:90).

Evidence from Berlin and Kay's *Basic Color Terms* (1969) shows that the choice of the three colors is not only the result of heightened bodily experiences but is also inherent in our visual perception system. Humans perceive color in exactly "eleven universal perceptual categories" (1969:5), as manifest in the application of basic color terms in all languages. Furthermore, the perception of color is hierarchical. A curious pattern emerged in the cross-cultural research of color terms. The primary perception of color is a binary one, into black and white. In cultures where only two color terms are used, they are always black and white, the dark colors subsumed under the rubric of "black," and the light colors under "white." When three color terms exist in a language, they are always black, white, and red. When four color terms are used, they are always black, white, red, and yellow or green. When five color terms are used, they are always black, white, red, yellow, and green. The other six basic color terms appear in a definite order thereafter. In the several hundred cultures tested there was not one deviation in the order of color terms (Figure 1, Berlin and Kay 1969:4). As noted above, the Ndembu color triad contains the first three colors in this perceptual hierarchy.

Black	Red	Yellow	Blue	Brown	Pink
White		Green			Orange
					Purple
					Grey

Figure 1. Order of Basic Color Terms (Berlin and Kay 1969:4)

With this additional evidence from the *Basic Color Terms* it could be postulated that the individual is lead to categorize his/her heightened bodily experiences by his/her preordained perceptual hierarchies, and that this is then elaborated upon in a culturally appropriate way.

Recent research on *phosphenes*, light patterns generated in the eye and brain which are not the result of external stimuli, has been applied to anthropological studies, providing another example of how meaning is attached to the perception of somatic structures. Phosphenes can be produced under certain conditions such as stress, exhaustion, rubbing the eyes, chemical stimulation, trance, or induced in the laboratory by electric shock (Knoll and Kugler 1959). Knoll has shown that a small fixed number of geometric patterns are seen by subjects after electronic stimulation to the brain. In addition to the consistency of the geometric images, this type of phosphene appears to be connected to a strong emotional response, as evidenced when subjects verbally described some of these patterns.

The patterns with the highest emotional intensity are variations on the circle (i.e., rotational geometric figures). McDougall (1977:399) has shown that these circular patterns have long been associated with mysticism and religious response, noting that "phosphene-like shapes in primitive art are associated with 'sacredness,' and principles of order." Examples are the mandala of some Eastern religions and other "center symbolisms" such as the tree-of-life (Eliade,1959:12-17). These patterns show up most vividly in ritual imagery, such as the *yantra* of Tibetan Buddhism. Reichel-Dolmatoff (1978:43-47) has shown that the motifs used in ritual hallucinatory sand paintings of the Tukano Indians, drawn under the influence of drug-induced trances, are identical to the phosphene patterns produced in laboratory conditions by Knoll

(Figure 2, Reichel-Dolmatoff 1978:45). Most important for a theory of meaning in art is that these phosphene-like images are connected with strong emotional response and have become the receptacles of religious significance and visions of absolute reality.

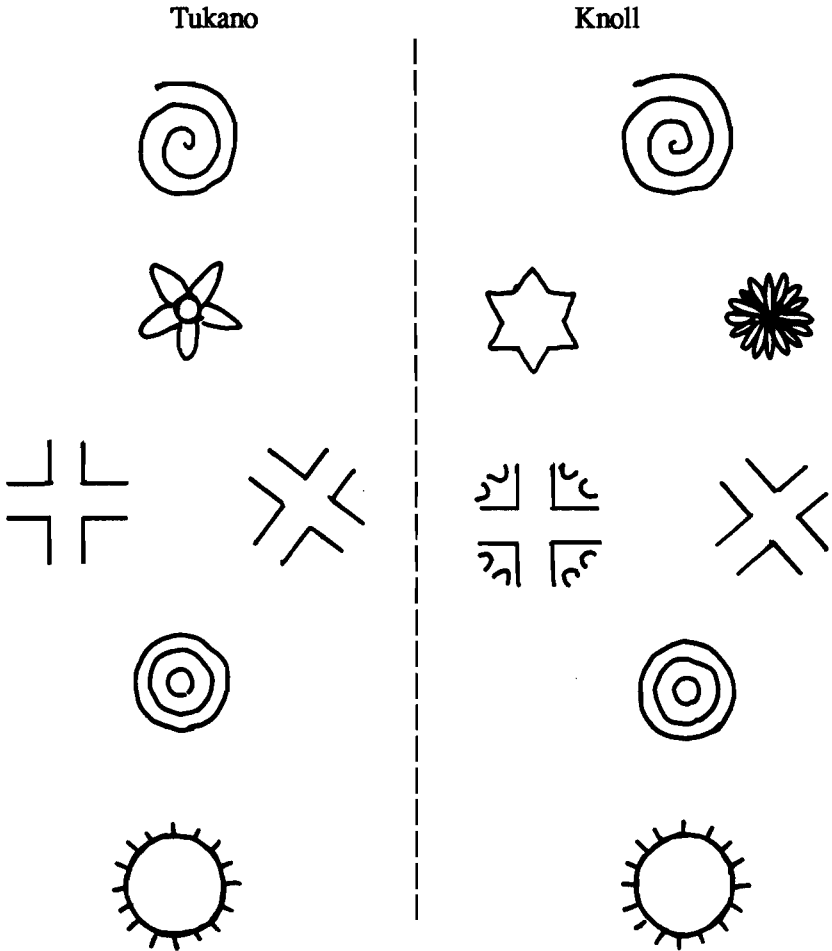


Figure 2. Comparison of Patterns in Tukano Ritual Art and Phosphenes Found by Knoll  
(Reichel-Dolmatoff 1978:45)



Scholars from widely divergent disciplines and points of view have similar observations regarding the nature of art and its relationship to biological forms. Hall (1976:25,69) focuses on how art is an extension of the brain, a representation of the mechanics of thought. Bateson (1979) notes that we recognize in art a form that is similar in structure to our own life structure. Trans-sensory perceptions during the mystical experience have also been thought to represent the structure of the mind. Deikman offers the view that perceiving the process of perception may be the content of the mystic, and by extension, artistic, experience. He posits a hypothetical perceptual mode of "sensory translation," where the process of perception itself is "perceived" via the five senses. In his own words, "'sensory translation' refers to the experience of nonverbal, simple, concrete perceptual equivalents of psychic action" (1969:37).

Increased meaning and significance are often reported in altered states of consciousness, especially the feeling of unity with the universe (Ludwig 1969:15; Deikman 1969:39). It has been proposed that during the mystical experience "the perception of unity may be the perception of one's own psychic structure" (Deikman 1969:39). Furthermore, the special perceptions of the mystic experience may gain emotional validity through their apparent congruence with an absolute external reality.

As far as anyone can tell, the actual *substance* of perception is the electrochemical activity that constitutes perception and thinking. From this point of view, the contents of awareness are homogeneous. They are variations of the same substance. If awareness were turned back upon itself, as postulated for sensory translation, this fundamental homogeneity (unity) of perceived reality -- the electrochemical activity -- might itself be experienced as a truth about the outer world...(Deikman 1969:39).

This feeling of absolute truth is reminiscent of the emotional intensity associated with phosphenes.

Modern physics supports the view of congruence between and inside and outside "reality," as "perceived" in the mystic state, or alluded to in artistic expression. Phosphene-like images may be one step removed from a picture of the structure of the brain, and the brain may be an accurate picture of the external universe as well. Deikman (1969:43) proposes that "the mystic vision is one of unity, and modern physics lends some support to this perception

when it asserts that the world and its living forms are variations of the same elements." Holographic theory, the idea that information about the whole is contained in the parts, also lends support to this proposition. The physicist Bohm uses holographic theory to describe implicate order,

where each part contains information about the whole. . . This contrasts with the explicate order now dominant in physics in which things are unfolded in the sense that each thing lies only in its own particular region of space (and time) and outside the regions belonging to other things (1980:177).

For example, Pribram's (1982:27-34) ground-breaking holographic theory of memory asserts that memory is imprinted on the brain in a holographic fashion. Hall's (1976:169-171) discussion of holographic memory, citing the work of Luria, Lashley, and Pietsch, shows that there is no localization of memory but rather "processing and contexting stations" (1976:171). Lashley showed that a trained rat could still remember its maze even when a portion of its cerebrum was cut away. Similarly, Pietsch's study of salamanders indicated that they had no memory impairment when their brains were rearranged surgically. In other words, information is stored in all parts of the brain at once in the form of rules and not as a representation of its three dimensional form in space. Any part of the brain can "remember" any memory imprint (Hall 1976:171). In speaking of holograms in the external physical world, Hall (1976:170) notes that

holographers can construct acoustical holograms and get the original back -- not with sound waves but with light in some other form. *The same principle enables organisms with brains, particularly man, to shift instantly, if need be, from one sense modality to another (italics added).*

This is especially important for cross-cultural meaning in music; the meanings that are generally considered associational (i.e. present in cultural context) could actually be expressed in music, yet not attached to a particular musical form, because the information has been coded in a holographic fashion, not dependent on time and space for its identity. This is complementary to the theory of "sensory translation" mentioned earlier in that complete and direct information can be grasped by the mind in a way that is not directly

tied to any one sense, and that the information itself can be translated from one sense to another. In other words, the brain functions as a hologram; "the brain is a hologram perceiving and participating in a holographic universe" (Wilber 1982:3).

### Archetypes and "Symbolism of the Center"

This recognition of the workings of the brain in culture, including art and mystical experience, brings to mind Jungian archetype theory. Knoll's work on phosphenes can be connected to Jung's hypothesis that archetypes originated from the subjective experience of internally perceived light patterns, common to all people (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1978:44). This, along with the evidence from the research on mystical experience, full of reports of heightened perception of unity and truth, and holographic theory from modern physics, offers a biological and physical explanation for Jung's archetypes, both in form and function.

The archetypes are the contents of the collective unconscious, which Jung defines as "a common psychic substrate of a suprapersonal nature which is present in every one of us" (1968 v.9i:4). He also states that meaning derives from "primordial archetypal forms whose concreteness dates from a time when consciousness did not *think*, but only *perceived*" (1969 v.9i:33), a concept analogous to sensory translation. Jung considers the archetypes not only to be reflective of the collective unconscious, but instrumental to its development. Bateson asserts that this is the function of art, remarking that art expresses "psychic integration" (Bateson 1972:129). Research on altered states of consciousness also points to the fact that artists seek out the kind of experience that has been noted in mystical experience. It is precisely this psychic integration that involves the reconciliation of psychobiological and cultural imperatives.

Jung (1968 v.9i:275-384) states explicitly that the mandala is the archetype that is reflective of and instrumental to the process of psychic integration, which he terms individuation. The mandala is the "archetype of wholeness" (Jung 1968 v.9i:388), which sums up the essence of the religious response, and as posited in this article, the aesthetic response, in its form and in our reaction to its form. As noted above, the mandala is part of a larger symbol complex that Eliade refers to as the "symbolism of the center" (Eliade 1959:12-17). As the center of the cosmos from which all was created and the abode of absolute reality, the center has been variously represented

as the tree-of-life, the fountain of youth, the cosmic mountain, the world axis, or the mandala. Jung (1968 v.9i:12, 13) found "center symbolism" in the religious cosmologies of East and West, as well as in the spontaneous drawings and dreams of his patients. The essence of the mandala is that it is "above all, a map of the cosmos. It is the whole universe in its essential plan, in its process of emanation and of reabsorption" (Tucci 1969:23). It is further implied that the mandala as a cosmological diagram corresponds to the structure of both the inner and outer realities (Tucci 1969:50). The studies in alternative states of consciousness suggest that this may be a map of the ultimate inner "reality," as per Deikman above, or a map of the ultimate outer "reality," as suggested by Dychtwald when describing the mandala as the holographic paradigm of existence (1982:106-108).

Especially important for music, is how the mandala appears in time. The mandala is

the universe not only in its inert spatial expanse, but as temporal revolution and both as a vital process which develops from an essential Principle and rotates around a central axis. . . (Tucci 1969:23).

In his *Psychology and Alchemy*, Jung (1968 v.12:128) interprets the search for the *lapis lazuli* in terms of mandala symbolism as the distilling of the four cardinal points around a circle to arrive at the essential secret of life. This symbolism is also evident in astrology and calendars. In a dream, a patient reports a cosmic clock in three dimensions, proceeding at different levels of time, a veritable mandala in time (1968 v.12:203-205). This recalls the phosphene shapes which are circular and rotational in character, suggesting that the mandala appears in time as well as space.

Eliade links the "symbolism of the center" to a non-linear concept of time, which has important implications for music. While both Tucci and Jung consider the mandala to be present in four dimensions, Eliade links the creation of the universe to a particular quality of time which he calls the "myth of the eternal return" (1959:17-48). This is the framework for ritual time, which "acquires effectiveness to the extent to which it exactly repeats an act performed at the beginning of time by a god, a hero, or an ancestor" (1959:22). Time is abolished through the "imitation of archetypes and the repetition of paradigmatic gestures" (1959:35).

He further explains that

just as profane space is abolished by the "Symbolism of the Center," which projects any temple, palace, or building into the same central point of mythical space, so any real act, i.e., any repetition of an archetypal gesture, suspends duration, abolishes profane time, and participates in mythical time (1959:36).

The "symbolism of the center" captures the essence of the religious response, and contains within itself the means toward achieving psychic integration, which Bateson considers the function of art. In this view, aesthetic response is closely tied to religious response, there being strong emotion and meaning attached to a symbol that is perceived in certain states to be the absolute inner and/or outer "reality." Recalling the phosphene-like shapes that are allied with strong emotional and sacred content, the symbol complex of the mandala or "center symbolism" is an archetype complex that is aptly allied with the perception of inner and outer "reality." By being a map of the inner cosmos, it represents the structure of the brain, or perhaps the process of perception alluded to earlier, and symbolizes the external universe in a holographic manner. This symbol is recursively embedded within itself in that it symbolizes "reality" and is itself the process of perceiving "reality" simultaneously, this infinite mirroring of multidimensionality being a hallmark of high aesthetic value.<sup>1</sup>

### A Theory of Meaning in Music: The Audio Archetype

What is the relationship of music to this archetype? How can music be said to gain an archetypal affinity? The means of making music acquire an archetypal tinge is entwined in layers of mutually reinforcing properties. The indexical, symbolic, and iconic all come into play. However, the emotional (i.e., meaningful) properties of the archetype seem to be bound to the iconicity to somatic structures, such as hierarchical perception, phosphene-like shapes, or perceiving the process of perception itself, as in some mystic states. Emotional affinity, and therefore meaning, is increased by congruence to biological structures. Furthermore, it must be stressed that an archetype is not a specific manifestation, rather the universal propensity toward a certain symbol, which is then elaborated upon in a culturally appropriate way. Bateson

(1972:129) points out that "if art is somehow expressive . . . of psychic integration, then the success of this expression might well be recognizable across cultural barriers." The manifestation of an archetype as a secondary state is a point that Jung also emphasizes (1968 v.9i:5,43).

An example from my own field work on Finnish Karelian funeral laments will illustrate some of these relationships in more detail.<sup>2</sup> The laments are part of the institution of the ancestor cult, probably the oldest form of Karelian religion. However, to understand some of the musical procedures used in the lament it is necessary to look to a wider world view. The Karelian epics and incantations come from a religious background that can originally be traced to a shamanistic world view, and I am convinced that the laments are also part of this system. As such they offer an opportunity to examine the concepts related earlier in regards to altered states of consciousness, religious response, and musical structure. Therefore, I will outline some shamanistic elements that I have found in laments before embarking on a symbolic and musical analysis; the magico-religious power associated with lamenting, the shamanistic cosmological conceptions, and the trance-like manner of performance of laments.

Honko (1985:905) maintains that the both the seer, who was primarily a healer, and the lamenter, who acted as a psychopomp, performed shamanistic tasks. The lamenter, or *itkijä*, who was a woman, was valued as a singer in direct proportion to her efficacy as a magician, as was the male seer, or *tietäjä* (Asplund 1981:40).<sup>3</sup> Singing was considered the most powerful form of knowledge and, for a shaman, was the primary means of defeating an enemy (Haavio 1952). In the *Kalevala*,<sup>4</sup> the shaman "sings" his opponent into a swamp, accomplishes acts of creation, or changes his shape by singing. Haavio (1952:73) has traced the etymology of the Finnish word *laulaa*, "to sing," to the word for "to exert a mysterious, magic influence."

Similarly, the aura of mystery surrounding the power of laments makes it clear that they are no ordinary songs. The overwhelming power of the lament is attested to in almost every description of early lament collecting.<sup>5</sup> My personal experience in Finland in 1985 confirms this. Lamenters readily express how lamenting is bad for the heart, and can even cause death if one gets too carried away (i.e., "forgets oneself") while singing. This is a reference to the fact that while lamenting one is also conducting the soul of the dead to the other world, a dangerous journey. A woman

testified to me that her mother nearly died when giving in to an inappropriate request to lament. Similarly, the shaman has to be careful not to lose his soul while he is out of his body traveling to other realms. In the *Kalevala*, the shamanic figure Antero Vipunen dies because his helper "forgets" the magic words that will bring him back to his body (Kalevala 1969:103-112).

The cosmological "symbolism of the center" is evident in the world view of the Finnish Karelian laments, and is pervasive in the rituals of the ancestor worship cult. The cosmos was conceptualized in three levels: the underworld; the world of the living; and the world above, the tree-of-life being the "center" of this world (Kuusi 1976:246; Hoppal 1976:222), a cosmological map similar to the Indo-Tibetan mandala. It was also considered as the pillar that supported the world, nailed to the sky at the north star, around which the sky revolved (Eliade 1964:261). The shaman used the world tree as the means of travel from one world to another, as the connecting passage to the worlds above and below this one (Eliade 1964:259). Trees themselves were worshipped in holy groves, and in these groves special cultic ceremonies and sacrifices took place (Honko 1985:905). The "center symbol" of the tree-of-life also appears as decoration on textiles, houses, grave markers, grave houses, and on sacred trees.

The lamenter was intimately familiar with this cosmology, because she, like the shaman, had extended communication with the dead in her role as religious specialist of the ancestor cult (Honko 1974:36-44).<sup>6</sup> A shamanistic journey to the land of the dead would be accompanied by trance, and the manner of performance of the lament points to trance-like qualities, thereby setting up the conditions necessary for the extraordinary modes of perception mentioned earlier in reference to altered states of consciousness.<sup>7</sup> As evidenced in lament texts, the lamenter brought the dead to the other world and carried messages back and forth between the living and the dead. Descriptions of Tuonela and the dangerous journey to the other world are also common. Because the lamenter contacted the dead by means of laments, and the lament itself acted as the path to the other world, I postulate that the lament is an aural archetypal equivalent of the shamanic tree-of-life.

Further evidence from the context of the death rituals points to the concept of the lament as an archetypal path, or tree-of-life. A journey to the cemetery to invite the dead to a remembrance feast was accompanied by lamenting. While lamenting, the lamenter followed a path of towels which led from the window of the house

to the graveyard. The towels had tree-of-life symbolism embroidered on them, again a concrete manifestation of the world tree as path to the other world. Towels were also used at other points in the funeral ceremonies. For example, the coffin was lowered into the grave by means of towels, and a towel was left on the grave when the mourners departed (Peltonen, Näreaho, and Tsutsunen 1979:29). A towel also was draped in the icon corner of the house, which was the center of the ancestor cult in the home. Another manifestation of the towels being a path for the soul was the practice of hanging a white cloth on a pole (itself a tree-of-life symbol) to help the soul find its way to the other world (Stora 1971:189-191).<sup>8</sup> The lamenter also made use of a towel as part of her paraphernalia to hold over her face while lamenting.

The previous examples all point to how the context of the lament imbues it with significance on many levels, as in the holographic paradigm, where the whole is contained in any part. The tree-of-life symbolism is evident from the micro to the macro levels of structure, from the decorations on textiles to the conception of the cosmos. The levels of meaning are both referential and iconic.

### **Macro**

center symbolism (tripartite cosmos)

tree-of-life

journey to the underworld

lament text (description of journey)

path of towels

decoration on towels

**Micro**

Figure 3. Macro and Micro Levels of Center Symbolism



Magico-religious symbolism is evident not only in these external structural levels of the lament; musical features abound which help identify the lament as an audio archetype. The manner of performance and musical structure of the lament assist the process of sensory translation mentioned earlier, which can be triggered by the deautomatization of our habitual perception.

Deautomatization may be conceptualized as the undoing of automatization, presumably by reinvesting actions and percepts with attention (Deikman 1969:31).

Deautomatization can be achieved by a number of means, including the abolishment of time that Eliade assigns to "center symbolism," (an example of the holographic paradigm) or by an increase in levels of meaning through multi-level associations, a process that occurs in ritual contexts due to the codification of cosmological symbolism.<sup>9</sup> The trance-like manner of performance of the lament is an example of this process. The lamenter covers her face with a cloth, blocking external stimuli, and sways gently in a circle to assist the altered state of consciousness necessary for travel to the other world. The lament itself consists of a descending step-wise melody, usually within the range of a fifth, that is performed in an overtly tearful and crying manner, with ritualized sobs inserted after every phrase. The lament is iconic for a sigh, a heightened experience of bodily emotion and a "paradigmatic gesture" in Eliade's sense, belonging to "ritual time."

The musical structure of the lament contains features that seem especially designed to facilitate deautomatization and to participate in non-linear time, such as an endlessly repeating melodic core which is improvised upon indefinitely. This, along with irregular speech-like rhythm, abolishes the usual time sense and places the lament in Eliade's ritual time. This endlessly repeating melodic contour can be conceptualized circularly, always starting at the fifth and gradually descending to the tonic in spontaneous spurts of emotion. This circularity of form highlights yet another relationship between the lament and "center symbolism" (see Figure 4).

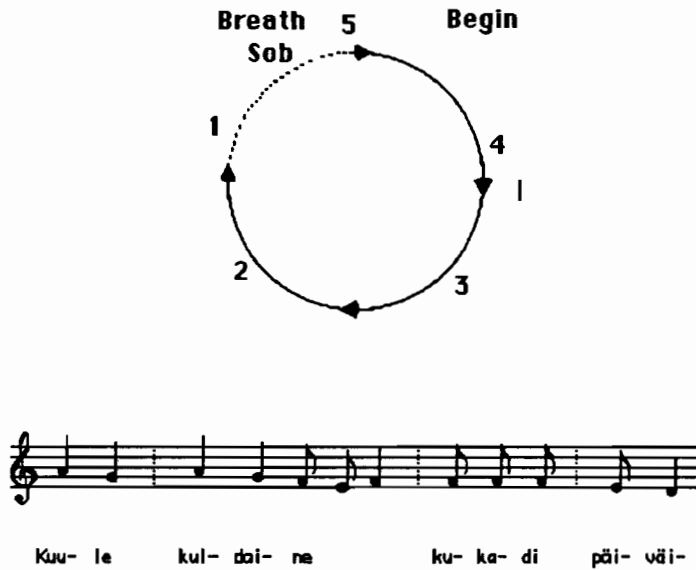
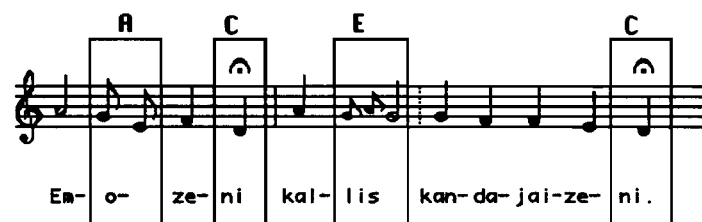
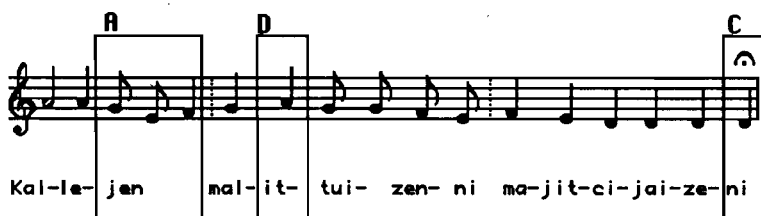
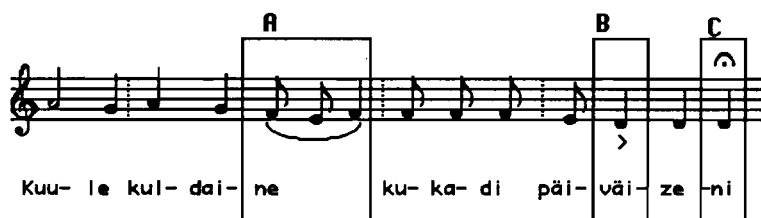


Figure 4. A Karelian Lament Phrase Transcribed in Conventional Notation and its Melodic Contour in Circular Form

The language of the lament is practically a secret language composed of words and grammatical forms that do not occur in ordinary Karelian dialects. Words are often completely lacking in semantic content, chosen rather for their sound alone. Alliteration and parallelism are extensive. Furthermore, the deceased or bride is never spoken to in direct terms due to the presence of a name taboo, and is instead addressed with obscure, metaphorical pet names (Honko 1974:57). This is also a shamanistic feature; shamans often sing in secret language that derives from animal cries (Eliade 1964:96-99). The texts are not readily understood by the audience, and sometimes the obscure meanings are not clear to the lamenter herself. Further confusing any possibility of literal meaning of the text are musical accents that are contrary to the natural speech accent, both in rhythm and pitch. In the ordinary spoken language the first syllable of a word is always accented and higher in pitch, whereas in laments the second syllable is often accented by pitch, melisma, or volume. The rhythm of the lament, which is completely without regular pulse, although related to speech

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rhythm, actually goes contrary to speech rhythm, obfuscating divisions between words. Even the domain of pitch is affected by the exigencies of magic; the lament relies on pitch areas rather than concrete fixed pitches, similar to the oral expressive magic found among the Yurok Indians (Keeling 1982). All of these features together create a kind of musical "masking," a taboo against clarity of expression for ritual protection which becomes a musical equivalent of the name taboo. These extreme measures of magical intent in the musical structure of the lament further support the idea that the lamenter is literally journeying to the other world (see Figure 5).





Syllables other than the first are accented in the following ways:

- |              |                           |
|--------------|---------------------------|
| A - melisma  | D - pitch and dynamic     |
| B - duration | E - grace notes and trill |
| C - fermata  | F - duration and dynamic  |

Figure 5. The Relationship of Music and Text in the Karelian Lament, Illustrating the Technique of Musical Masking

In summary, a cluster of relationships can be noted that give the lament meaning. First, the "symbolism of the center" and its specific representation as the tree-of-life has the associations with sacred meanings and altered states of consciousness related earlier. It is the archetype of psychic integration and of the aesthetic response. It is also evident as a cosmological concept in the shamanistic world view.

Second, the lament is a cosmological journey along the tree-of-life. It acts simultaneously as the means of travel along the tree-of-life and as a representation of the tree-of-life. This is evidenced externally by the fact that the lamenter laments while following a path of towels that represents the tree-of-life, and by tree-of-life symbolism on various cult objects such as towels and grave markers. It is also evident in the content of lament texts.

Third, this archetypal symbolism is evident in musical structure. Singing, considered both powerful and dangerous, is represented by a musical masking of the text, a form of the name taboo. The musical phrase of a lament is iconic for a sigh, and as such is a paradigmatic gesture taking place in mythical, non-linear time (i.e., encoded holographically).

And finally, the manner of performance of the lament leads to trance by deautomatization, and to the perception of "sacredness and principles of order" inherent in the structure of the universe. The lament is thus an audio archetype, both in form and function.

An attempt has been made to show that meaning is present in the ritual genre of the Karelian lament not only in the presence of

"center symbolism" in its external context, but in the archetypal nature of this symbolism. The archetype in turn gains its emotional content from proximity to somatic structures. The content of the archetype can be understood or expressed via any of our senses while not properly belonging to any sense due to the hypothetical mode of perception known as sensory translation, demonstrated in the physical world as a hologram. While an archetype can theoretically manifest via any of the senses, I have posited an audio archetype for music, referring specifically to archetypal structures in sound.

The musical experience itself facilitates sensory translation by the process of deautomatization, the means to an altered state of consciousness, whereby musical and performance practices abolish the linear time sense and increase levels of association, as in the holographic paradigm. Meaning in music or other arts stems from preverbal psychobiological constants perceived by this process of sensory translation, while the aesthetic response provides a shadow in sensory terms of this normally unperceivable reality. The specifics of form are then elaborated upon in a way that is unique and appropriate to each individual culture. If the function of art is to mediate psychic integration, as proposed by Bateson and alluded to by Jung, the strong aesthetic response to what has been called form may be because of the perception of congruence between an "absolute" inner and outer "reality" via the process of sensory translation.

*So you see!  
There's no end  
To the things you might know,  
Depending how far beyond Zebra you go!*

Dr. Seuss *On Beyond Zebra*

## NOTES

1. Hall's (1976:80) discussion of art as a high-context system is a related concept.
2. The material for this section was drawn from field research conducted in Finland on Karelian laments in 1984-85, under the auspices of a Fulbright Grant for Research and Study Abroad.
3. Eliade (1985:1033) considers the *tietäjä* to be equivalent to a shaman.
4. Although the *Kalevala* is known as the national epic of the Finns, it is actually an edited compilation of epic poems.
5. Honko (1974) has several descriptions in English translation.
6. Honko (1974) describes in greater detail the Karelian funeral ceremonies and the cult of the dead.
7. The expression in Finnish for "going to Tuonela," the land of the dead, originally meant "to fall into a trance" (Haavio 1952:86).
8. Stora's (1971) work on the Skolt Lapps draws heavily on Karelian material because of the close cultural contacts between these two groups.
9. An example is Feld (1986), concerning the layers of symbolism in the *Kaluli* drum.

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## REVIEWS

Turner, Victor W., and Edward M. Bruner, eds. *The Anthropology of Experience*. With an Epilogue by Clifford Geertz. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986. 391 p., figures, photographs, notes, references, index. \$35.00 (cloth), \$15.95 (paper).

This collection of essays developed from a symposium on the anthropology of experience organized by Victor Turner, Edward Bruner, and Barbara Myerhoff for the American Anthropological Association annual meeting of 1980. Turner, who is credited with the formulation of an anthropology of experience, passed away while the volume was still in preparation and the publication has become a memorial to him. With the more recent death of Myerhoff, the anthropology of experience has lost another of its leading figures.

The book includes an introduction by Bruner, an epilogue by Clifford Geertz, and essays by prominent anthropologists and other scholars. The volume proposes that the field of anthropology has shifted from structuralism and positivist-oriented research to an interpretive, dynamic, and almost phenomenological approach to the study and understanding of culture. Whether or not the book itself lives up to these ideals, the authors hope that it will become the landmark in addressing and formulating the new perspectives in anthropology. From the chapter titles: "The Concept of Experience," "Narrative," "Images," "Reflexivity," and "Enactments," it is evident that the authors have abandoned the schools of behaviorism to battle the windmills of hermeneutics.

This "new" direction for anthropology is not really very new; authors have been encouraging and promoting a change in methodology for many years, though perhaps not in such an articulated fashion. The 1984 collection of essays, *Text, Play, and Story: The Construction and Reconstruction of Self and Society*, was a forerunner which presented similar concepts when they were fresh and still forming. It was the pioneering Turner who first hinted at a shift in approach in 1969, when he declared that his work "... represents an attempt to free my own thought, and I hope that of others in my field as well, from grooved dependence on 'structure' as the sole sociological dimension" (1969:viii). In 1982, he stated, "The positivist and functionalist schools of anthropology in whose concepts and methods I was first instructed could give me only limited insight . . ." into understanding the experience and

expressions of social dramas and theater. He turned to the great German thinker, Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911), and argued that experience, "... a journey, a test (of self, of suppositions about others), a ritual passage, an exposure to peril or risk, a source of fear ... is richer than can be accounted for by general formal categories." Experiences are the stuff of social drama and art and "every type of cultural performance, including ritual, ceremony, carnival, theatre, and poetry, is explanation and explication of life itself..." (1982:12,18,13).

Bruner's introduction to *The Anthropology of Experience* and his discussion of Dilthey's hermeneutics orients the reader to the premise and practice of these concepts. This premise asserts that individually lived experience is the primary reality. Since we can only experience our own life, we can never know completely another's experience. To help understand the experiences of the Other, we must interpret their expressions -- which are the encapsulations of their experience. These expressions objectify themselves in the forms of expressive culture, and, for the experiences to remain meaningful and vital, these expressions must be reexperienced through performance. The "expressions" analyzed in the book by the various authors include theater, narratives, hunting stories, revitalization movements, curing rites, murals, parades, carnival, Thoreau's *Walden*, Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, and Helen Cordero's pottery.

Victor Turner's article, "Dewey, Dilthey, and Drama: An Essay in the Anthropology of Experience," is both a good summation of his theses on experience, social drama, and the magic of theater and an analysis of the contributions of Dewey and Dilthey to anthropology. Roger Abrahams and Frederick Turner close out the first chapter with further expositions on the concepts of experience and the individual, entitled "Ordinary and Extraordinary Experience" and "Reflexivity as Evolution in Thoreau's *Walden*," respectively. These contributions indicate the American nature of the anthropology of experience; under the guidance of Turner and Bruner, this concept has developed and flourished in America. All three contributions in the first chapter provide good introductory reading for non-anthropologists.

Renato Rosaldo, in the "Narrative" chapter, provides the first evidence that the approach of the anthropology of experience can actually yield fascinating results. Through the hunting stories of the Ilongots, we are taken into a world of dangers, expectations, and jubilant successes which allow us to truly imagine their life. Further, the stories manifest concepts of time, allusion, association,

fear, pain, and initiation and resolution which reveal much of Ilongot experience and world view. The stories by themselves, however, would be meaningless to readers without Rosaldo's illuminating symbol and allegory interpretations. Bruner's article, "Ethnography as Narrative," discusses how the stories Native Americans and ethnographers tell about Native Americans have changed over the decades, suggesting that ethnographies themselves are a genre of storytelling which ethnographer and informant coauthor.

James Fernandez, in a long-winded dialogue, comments on three African religious groups in the "Images" chapter. He discusses how the "performance of images," as in the symbols activated in a parade, can be utilized to "drive the mechanisms of revitalization movements" in returning to the depths, to the "whole" of culture. One of his most startling revelations is that "the whole is never fully graspable. It is *there*, implied in our symbolic activity but inchoate." Bruce Kapferer takes a more phenomenological approach in analyzing how experience is communicated, suggesting the possibility of mutual experience -- the sense of experiencing together, or communing in, the one experience. Though his example of Sri Lankan exorcism is fascinating, he fails to connect sufficiently the exorcisms to the concept of communal experience to truly demonstrate his argument.

In the next chapter, "Reflexivity," Phyllis Gorfain offers multiple interpretations of *Hamlet* and Barbara Myerhoff discusses the visual defining of elderly Jewish immigrants living in Venice, California. In Gorfain's "interpretive anthropology," she challenges anthropologists to perceive the performance of *Hamlet* as an enlightening journey into "their own processes and those of the people they study" in an article evoking hermeneutical analysis. Myerhoff examines how the immigrants grasp symbols for self-definition and how they translate those symbols into artistic representations to attain visibility and respect in the Venice community. Her ideas call to mind Fernandez's arguments about how revitalized images reassert cultural identity. Also included in the chapter is James Boon's innovative article on culture as dialectic text, the interpretation of institutionalized semantic simile and metaphor -- or "machineries" -- and how these machineries apply to Balinese culture and cosmology. However, the article does not mention experience and seems out of place in the edition. With a culture so rich in art, ritual, and performance like that of Bali, it is strange that Boon would not undertake a contribution more in line with the designs of the book.

The last chapter, "Enactments," contains John Stewart's discussion of politics and changes in meaning of Carnival in Trinidad, Barbara Babcock's examination of Helen Cordero (a Cochiti Pueblo woman) and the identity and significance of her "little people" pottery figurines, and Richard Schechner's analysis of neurology and performance in both *Kathakali* and Western theater. Stewart describes the history and evolution of Carnival while analyzing how it eases racial and social tensions and promotes political agendas; he also focuses on how the various participants interpret Carnival. Babcock's work sensitively reveals Cordero's personal experience through the "recreated images" of her figurines, illustrating how objects can make significant statements about personal and cultural reflexivity. Though these contributions, particularly Babcock's, do contain the "is-ness" of experience, Schechner's article truly reaches for the core and roots of experience in harmony with the ambitious zeal of Turner's theses, but from his own unique perspective. Perhaps because he is a performance artist and not a schooled anthropologist, Schechner bravely dives into a number of issues including the acting and training processes of various performers in relation to lived experience, their abilities of emotional and facial muscle manipulation, and how their brains function during performance. He also asserts that ritual and performance behavior extend far back into early primate human evolution -- all supported with neurological data or his own experiments with theater groups. Though his presentation is sometimes slightly incoherent, he does not lose touch with the theme of experience and provides a fresh and enthusiastic contribution to the edition.

Clifford Geertz reacquaints us with the premise and concepts of the anthropology of experience in the epilogue. He does not attempt to force the various contributions together into a whole; rather, he mentions the ideas separately and incorporates appropriate parts of the essays. He adds one important thought: that we all have "very much more of the stuff [experience] than we know what to do with" which, if we have the means do so, should be put into some graspable form. The "means" are the abilities to articulate and be imaginative; the "forms" are the modes of expressions, art and performance, put into circulation within culture.

The book overall approaches the topic of experience with diversity, and it is both a rich contribution to the field and an impressive collection of essays. Several of the articles actually have little to do with experience as defined in the introduction and first

chapter, but certain papers, such as Rosaldo's, demonstrate the rich potential of this form of inquiry.

So, what does this all mean for ethnomusicologists? Perhaps we can investigate music as experience, perhaps as a set of aural symbols, but at least we can finally free ourselves from the arguments of perceiving music simply as a set of behaviors. Anthropology, physics, and even the natural sciences have begun to turn away from positivism. It is certainly time we did likewise. The new anthropology has also rejected paradigmatic structure; we should concur. Each culture is unique and should be approached existentially -- that is, as a world unto itself.

It is remarkable that the lists of "expressions" in the book do not include music. Apart from Kapferer's and Stewart's articles, music is not mentioned as being born of experience, nor as a sign of identity; in fact, music is not really mentioned at all. Kapferer (p.198) alone makes one significant comment:

An essential property of the time-structure of music and dance is that it constitutes a continuous present. Musical time is movement and passage filled out in it existential immediacy. Because of these aspects, members of the ritual gathering who are engaged within the musical context of the patient [of an exorcism] can share the same vivid and continuous present, which is an experiential possibility of music.

It is disappointing to note that none of the authors mention ethnomusicology, and only one author cites a single ethnomusicologist. Yet, the anthropology of experience claims to examine the meaningful experiences which are embedded in the performing arts, other arts, and spoken literature. Anthropologists may be leaving musical problems for ethnomusicologists or they may simply be ignorant of pertinent research conducted by ethnomusicologists. Ethnomusicology has undertaken a shift in perspective and scholars now regularly pursue questions of experience, symbolism in music and musical instruments, the meaning and significance of music and of ritual, the relationships between music and biology, music in religion and trance, and the cultural identity attached to music, among a plethora of topics. I also believe that all musicians would attest to the magic of the performance of music, the experience of performing music. In this rarely studied area, musically-trained and musically-experienced ethnomusicologists hold an advantage over anthropologists. Perhaps in the near future, ethnomusicologists will study the



emotional, the neurological, and even the spiritual affects of the performance of music and how they relate to the experience of life.

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Keil, Charles, ed. *Echology*. "A green annual of theoretical and applied sociomusicology." 81 Crescent Avenue, Buffalo, New York. 14214: Path Publications.

## **ECHOLOGY IS OUT!**

*Echology* is an alternative forum for creative communication between ethnomusicologists, performers, and people who want to restimulate cooperative cultural expression. *Echology* exhorts scholars to lay down the passive practices of reading, writing, and lecturing, perfected during years in the university, and to engage their musicianship and communication skills on a local level. Charles Keil, *Echology*'s initiator, editor, and primary contributor, encourages readers to apply what they have learned in the field in a popular rather than an academic context.

Keil's main premise seems to be that the function, meaning, enthusiasm, and continuity of expressive cultural processes in Western society have been lost, if indeed we ever had them at all. Class hierarchies, institutionalized education, technology, and music notation are considered categorically detrimental to the kinds of cultural manifestations to which we ethnomusicologists devote our scholarly lives. He proposes we reinvent "collective rites," and recreate "core culture," looking both to the people we have documented in the field as well as to "locals who were here before us" for models. Keil's ambitious initiative stems from a desire "to point ethnomusicology and sociomusicology toward the play and joy of transforming this society locality by locality." *Echology* is the medium through which we ethnomusicologists and sociomusicologists are to report to each other on "how we are using egalitarian expressive practices to increase participation in our own localities," and "what problems we are solving in making live, life-affirming music."

Our great nemesis as musicologists is communicating about music with words. Words have crippled us as artists, but advanced our positions as academicians and scholars. *Echology* is as multi-dimensional as a printed medium can be. There are poems, anecdotes, reflections, music, letters, articles, drawings, bibliographies, and cartoons. Although Keil's ideology, as set forth in his piece "Culture, Music, and Collaborative Learning," is not expressed in so many words by all of the authors, poets, musicians, and artists who comprise this year's *Echology* communication

forum, their contributions do work with the editor's concerns and propositions.

*Echology* is outspoken, humorous, and provocative. The journal calls for future position papers on copyright. Copyright policy and our delinquent or respectful interpretation of fluctuating ownership and royalty laws are central to our concerns today as creators and teachers. While Keil clearly opposes the packaging, marketing, and ownership of music, he favors a more conservative policy on written material.

In the same breath he opposes all subsidies to arts and artists, proclaiming that such nourishment is reserved for bourgeois art forms alone. Those of us interested in applied ethnomusicology may beg to differ. The "artificial respiration" provided by state-sponsored folk art programs enriches the cultural fabric of local communities and enlightens society as a whole. Furthermore, these programs, combined with private and government monies acquired for the expressive traditions of distinct communities, are viable options for ethnomusicologists facing the already saturated job scene.

In "The Musical Cultural Echocatastrophe," a correlation is made between our musical products -- the printed score, the pressed record, and the music video -- and the echocatastrophe: "man's desire to see more of himself in nature." Using mythic analogy, Keil asserts that it was Narcissus who initiated the mind/body, sound/flesh distinction; that it is Narcissism which has made Western society so preoccupied with "seeing song."

The arrangement of *Ruby, My Dear* represents applied echology; one contributor is using "egalitarian expressive practices to increase participation in his own locality." The "simple brass trio" arranged by Steve Feld is Thelonius Monk *Gebrauchtsmusik* and represents a step towards making "live, life-affirming music" on a local level (e.g., grade school orchestras or high school marching bands). Paradoxically, this is abstract music, beautifully printed on a perfectly aligned, computer generated score. Keil speaks out against written music -- the separation of art from life -- proposing instead that we adopt categories of our non-Western colleagues, such as "song," "sound," or "voice." Feld's arrangement testifies both to the usefulness of written music in the West, as well as to the increased accessibility of music composition and scoring using computer and synthesizer technology.

Several pages from Roswell Rudd introduce the "Science of Improvised Music," a "therapy particularly well suited to contemporary needs". Ten "synchronies" of the science of improvised

music are diagrammed, defined, and exemplified in terms of performance modes. This innovative description of improvisation also serves as an advertisement for workshops offered by Rudd.

Joe Blum's contribution, "Beyond the Creative Music Studio," describes Karl Berger, instigator of the Creative Music Studio in Woodstock, New York. The pedagogical environment of the studio has attracted students, collaborators, and artists from all over the world. Berger, a conservatory-trained pianist has been making "life-affirming music" both locally and globally on a circuit which is perhaps little known to the academicians in world music, but familiar to those involved with traditional and avant-garde jazz, and international music fusion.

A descriptive plan of a performance piece entitled "The Princess and the Stars," a selection of poems, and two bibliographies -- one on musical therapy in the field of psychiatry and neurology, and one on street performance -- balance this issue. Perhaps the most delightful contribution to *Echology* is R. Crumb's "Diatribes on Modern Music," a superbly illustrated cartoon which documents the history of music from the time "when everybody lived in teepees or caves" to the techno-pop music created by media molded "goony birds" who dream of making hit records. The cartoon is prefaced by a several pages of correspondence between Keil and Crumb which is as self-indulgent as it is enlightening.

*Echology* is both scholarly and personal, with the emphasis on the latter. It constitutes a challenge to the academician to come out from behind the podium and encourages the scholar who has decended from the ivory tower to join the ranks of musicians, dancers, social activists, and teachers. It is an opportunity for ethnomusicologists to wax either poetic or pessimistic in the raw, to be unabashedly idealist and pragmatic, and, most importantly, to communicate. Contributions to this year's issue seem to have been solicited from Keil's colleagues and cohorts. In order for *Echology* to be successful it needs more contributors and wider distribution. Whether a publication like *Echology* will capture the attention of the broader scholarly community or whether it will remain confined to a finite network of performers, scholars, and innovators, remains to be seen. The lines are open, call in now. This publication is worthy of our attention and participation.

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*Musica Autoctona del Totonacapan: El Volador, Hua Huas.* Manuel Moreno Bernabe and Ismael San Martin Ramirez. Produced, notes in Spanish and English, and photographs by Guadalupe Castro de DeLaRosa. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc., 1986. Discos Pueblo - 002. \$10.00.

The ancient *Volador* and *Hua-hua* dances of the Totonacs of Mexico are little known. Individual selections of these genres are available on a few previously recorded albums (see, for instance, Folkways 8851), but this is the first recording devoted entirely to them. The sound quality is exceptional and presumably recorded out of context, since parts of the rituals take place on a platform dangerously high up in the air. The *Volador* is performed at the top of a vertical pole, nowadays between twenty-five and thirty meters, while the *Hua-huas* dance is performed on a horizontal beam supported by two Y-shaped posts planted in the ground. Both rituals are characterized by the use of rotating platforms for performance, the *tecomate* and the *molinete* respectively, which are not found elsewhere in Mesoamerica. In the *Voladores* ritual, the dancers descend in a spiraling flight from the *tecomate*, to which they hang by ropes. In the *Hua-huas*, toward the end of the ritual, the dancers climb and rotate on the *molinete* with their combined weight.

These are considered to have been very important fertility rituals, heavily laden with symbolism which some believe to be cosmological. Indeed, these may be the only surviving remnants of a type of ritual once widespread among indigenous peoples in North America. The music is presented here in its entirety, providing an opportunity for scholarly comparison. Both the *Volador* and *Hua-huas* are played by one musician, who plays the two instruments at the same time. The *púscol*, a three-hole reed flute, and the *litláqni* a small hand drum with double head, are both held in the left hand while the drum is beaten with a stick by the right hand. On this recording the *Volador* is performed by Manuel Moreno Bernabe, whose photo demonstrates the style of holding the instruments. The *Hua-huas* is performed by Manuel's elderly teacher, Ismael San Martin Ramirez (not Garcia as indicated on the cover).

The dance pieces of both genres are *sones*, a generic term for regional musical forms in Mexico. Some of the *sones* are always the same each time the ritual is performed; among these are the *son de la calle* and the *son del perdon*. Other *sones*, among them the *son alegre* and the *son huasanga*, are chosen from a number of possible

variants of the same type. The titles of the various *sones* (without translations) lend insight into the nature of the ritual; they are the *sones* of the street, of forgiveness, of the wheel, for the cutting of the sacred pole of the *volador*, for moving the sacred pole, for the offering, of the rabbit, of the dawn, of the bird, of the lark, of the four cardinal directions, of the invocation, of the descent, and once again, of the street. The *sones* are somewhat subdued; all begin the same way but show minor variations. The melodies are characterized by the *puscol's* clear, high, birdlike, whistling timbre, with constant drum accompaniment. They frequently give way to spontaneous birdcall sections. Notably, the *son del amanecer* and the *son de los 4 puntos cardinales* stand out, the former for its exquisite melody and the latter for its contrasting rhythms and birdcalls. The contrasting rhythms no doubt reflect the drama evoked by the dancer as he stands on one foot -- perhaps in imitation of a bird -- and bends toward each cardinal direction while on the *tecomate* on top of the pole.

The term "*Hua-huas*" is obscure; it is also known among the Totonacs as *la'ah*, which means *guacamaya* (a great big bird). Less is known about this ritual than about the *Volador*, but the Totonac people believe that it functions less as a petition and more as thanksgiving. The music is faster, of greater intensity, and more varied than that of the *Volador*. The ten *sones* of the *Hua-huas* are the *son* of the street; of forgiveness; of the sacred; the happy *son*; the *son* of the chain; of the *huasanga* (a folk dance); the *son* of the handkerchief; of the *cruzada* (the *molinete*); of the *zapateado* (a foot-tapped dance); and, again, of the street. The music is compelling. One perceives more than a well integrated musical rendition, which it truly is; it is also a privileged sharing of a transcendent state.

Guadalupe Castro de DeLaRosa provides extensive notes, complete with an excellent bibliography. she includes notes on the history of the rituals, on the costume, the ritual pole and the "*molinete*," the musical instruments, and the music symbolism. Photographs of the two players are accompanied by brief biographies. All proceeds from the sale of this record are sent to these two performers. This is a valuable addition to the record collections of those who are interested in the folkloric and indigenous traditions of the Americas.

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