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PREFACE

The editors are pleased to present the sixth volume of *Pacific Review of Ethnomusicology*, after a hiatus of over one year. We would like to offer our thanks and appreciation to those individuals and organizations who assisted us in the publication process: to Professor Jihad Racy, our faculty advisor, for his guidance; to the Department of Ethnomusicology and Systematic Musicology, for their cooperation in allowing us use of xerox, telephone, and computer facilities; to former editor Wanda Bryant, for providing us with the benefits of her experience; to Eran Fraenkel, Managing Editor of *Selected Reports in Ethnomusicology*, for putting up with our presence in his office; and to the UCLA Graduate Student Association for their financial support. Our thanks also go to Amy Corin, for her assistance in the final phases of the editorial process. Finally, we are deeply indebted to our anonymous referees, for their constructive critiques of submissions.

The Editors

MUSICAL CHANGE IN TURKISH *ZURNA* MUSIC

Wanda Bryant

Over the last twenty years, the study of musical change has increasingly become a focal point of ethnomusicological scholarship. Numerous studies have appeared in recent years; within the last five years, nearly every ethnomusicological journal issue has carried at least one article on the subject of change. A wide variety of culture-specific studies have been written (e.g., Nettl 1978, Shelemay 1978, Béhague 1986, Bryant 1989, Reynolds 1989), as well as many articles and chapters on various factors which engender change, such as politics, religion, and social change (e.g., Harnish 1988, Kaemmer 1989, Sooi-Beng 1989); music electronics, technology, and mass media (e.g., Chopyak 1987, Bakan 1988, Sutton 1985, Gronow 1975 and 1981, Racy 1977, Wallis and Malm 1984, Booth 1990); and on the nature of musical change in general (e.g., Nettl 1983, Blacking 1977 and 1986, Garfias 1984, Herndon 1987, Bohlman 1988). Several methodologies have been advanced for the purpose of studying musical change, but no one theory has been completely satisfactory. Indeed, scholars have not yet agreed upon the nature of musical change itself.

Early researchers such as Stumpf, von Hornbostel, Bartók, and Herzog tended to emphasize the stability of folk music, especially in rural isolated areas. Most recent scholars agree that folk music is a constantly changing tradition. Merriam states that change is "a constant factor in human experience" (1964:9). Nettl (1983:177), Garfias (1984), and others view change as the norm rather than the exception. John Blacking states that "laws of nature require that an organism, to survive, should constantly adapt to its changing environment,...and music obeys these laws, in that it has to be re-made at every performance." For this reason he felt that "musical change must be given a special status in studies of social and cultural change" (1977:5).

Blacking contends that musical changes "are not caused by cultural contact, population movements, or changes in technology," but rather are the results of decisions made by individuals (1986:3). He views change as a dialectic, distinguishing between changes which occur within a musical system (i.e., variation and innovation) and musical change, what he refers to as "significant change," wherein the musical system itself changes (1977). In the latter case, not only do the symbols and ideas of music change, but so do the ways in which they are used (1986:8). Blacking further narrows his definition of the concept of musical change, stating that "it must denote significant changes that are peculiar to *musical* systems, and

not simply the consequences of social, political, economic, or other changes" (1986:9).

Nettl, on the other hand, views musical change as varying degrees of one continuous process. He has identified four types of change, from the most radical whereby one musical system replaces another with no continuity, to the subtlety of individual variation (1983). He views these four types as general tendencies of all folk music. Béhague likewise sees musical change as a continuum of varying degrees, but argues that musical change and the evaluation of the degree of musical change should be culture-specific due to the diverse factors that motivate change (1986:20).

The approach used in this article will encompass various aspects of each of these philosophies, with the view that musical change exists on a continuum from the radical to the subtle, and is affected by the decisions of individual members of a specific culture as the result of social, political, economic, technological, and other changes that influence their lives. The musical system as a whole is also affected by the same outside influences, although perhaps in a different manner. Musical change is viewed as a cyclic process whereby individual musical decisions influence the musical decisions of other individuals which, in turn, influence the larger musical system. The resultant changes in the overall system then influence other individual decisions (see Figure 1). This article will contribute to a better understanding of how this process of musical change is evidenced at the individual level, through an examination of the Turkish *zurna* tradition.
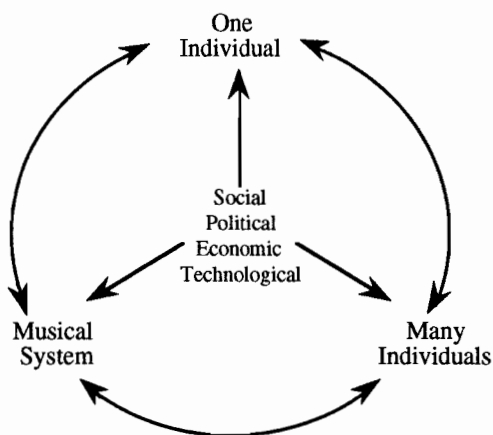
FIGURE 1. The cyclic nature of musical change.

THE *ZURNA* TRADITION

The music of the *zurna,* a keyless double reed aerophone (Figure 2), is part of the oral tradition of village music in Turkey. Tunes are passed from one person to another, traversing geographical locations and musical genres without notation. *Zurna* players learn new tunes from other players, from recordings, and from the radio. Once a melody or phrase is learned (or during the course of learning itself), many factors intervene and the process of change begins. Some of the agents that engender change are the increased dissemination of recorded music from many regions, influences from the Turkish classical and other traditions, changes in Turkish social structure, audience reaction, and individual musical creativity.

In Turkey today, the increased availability of recorded *zurna* music and the nationwide dissemination of that music via the radio are inspiring changes in traditional regional styles. Recording of Turkish music was begun by the Gramophone Co. of London, and between 1900 and 1910 almost two thousand recordings were made of classical and folk music (Gronow 1981:278). Most of these recordings "were produced for sale to members of minority groups...not for folklorists or interested outsiders" (Gronow 1975:97).

During the 1970s, however, the introduction of cheap cassette recorders dramatically increased the influence of recorded music worldwide. Wallis and Malm identify four types of change directly related to the music industry: changes in 1) mode of performance, 2) style and structure, 3) organization, and 4) the use and function of music (1984:270). In the area of traditional music one of the changes in style and structure which they specify is a "decrease in stylistic variations of traditional forms" (1984:278). They also note a "streamlining of music's form and content" (1984:15). Both of these types of changes appear to be occurring in Turkish *zurna* music.

Upper end
plug (nâzik)

Double reed
with pirouette
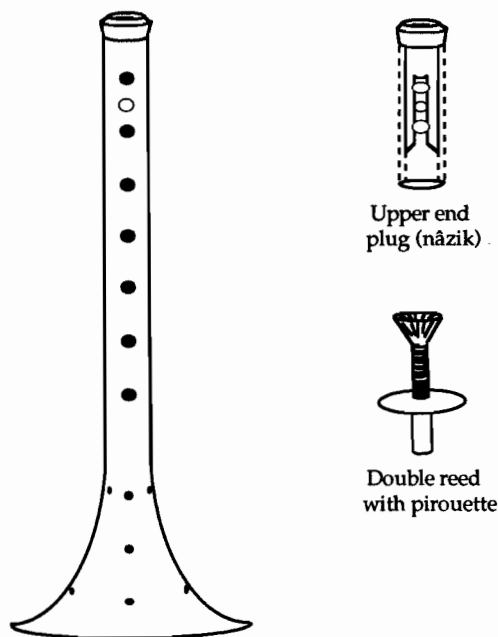
FIGURE 2. Turkish *zurna*, with upper end plug and reed with pirouette.

The introduction of music industry technology (phonograms and radio exposure) into non-Western cultures "inevitably affects the way music is performed and the people who perform it" (Wallis and Malm 1984:278). As Sutton notes, in oral traditions where many musical choices are left to the individual, "cassette recordings can have a direct and observable effect on performance practice" (1985:25). Not only are individual styles affected internally, but an entire genre of music previously confined to one or two regions may become accepted in other regions—a phenomenon documented by Sutton in Banyumas, Central Java (1985:35–40)—or may be transferred from one musical tradition into another. An example of the latter is "Dum Dum Kusune," a popular song heard on the radio throughout Turkey. The melody of this orchestral piece has now become part of the repertoire of many *zurna* players (Chittenden, pers. com., 1988).

Changes in the social structure of Turkey are also contributing to the changes in *zurna* music. Previously, almost every village had its own *zurna* player whose sole profession was to provide the necessary music for weddings and other rituals and festivities. The industrialization and modernization of the republic of Turkey, begun by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in the mid-1920s, have prompted many young men to leave their villages and seek work in larger towns. Few can survive solely as musicians. Today, many villages must

import a *zurna* player from a neighboring town or perhaps even from a different region to provide music for their celebrations. These *zurna* players must know a wide variety of tunes and regional styles in order to accommodate their different audiences. If requested to play a tune which he does not know, a *zurnaci* (*zurna* player) will improvise something, using bits and pieces from his repertoire (Chittenden, pers. com., 1988).[1]

Another aspect of the process of change is the audience's reaction to the music: what will be warmly accepted, what will be tolerated, and what will be rejected. As his audience's exposure to different styles of music increases, so must the *zurna* player's repertoire if he wishes to make a good impression. On the other hand, many villages, not having their own professional *zurna* player, must accept the music played by one brought in from elsewhere or must make do with a poor player from their area.

The human factor also figures in the process of change. Through human frailty, a musician learning a melody may inadvertently reverse the order of a note or two, or may alter a few pitches, transformations which are understandable considering the speed and complexity of some of the pieces. However, the conservative view (e.g., Barry 1933:4) that faulty memory is responsible for all changes is not acceptable. The musicians themselves must be given credit for some conscious, deliberate decisions about changes made in the music. These changes result from a wide range of motivations. A note or phrase may be altered because the musician or his audience prefers a slightly different melodic line, or simply because the new fingering is easier for him to play. In addition, improvisation and variation are valued in Turkish *zurna* music, just as they are in Turkish classical music. *Zurna* players who can improvise well, create many variations, and provide an entertaining and exhilarating performance are the most highly regarded. The musician's individuality plays an important role in the manner of change—what, when, and how to change the music. Shelemay notes that "the personality and background of the individual...is a decisive element" in the process of musical change (1978:96).

Another possible factor contributing to the process of change may be the use of drugs (mainly *esrar* or hashish) among *zurna* players. Although no empirical data has been collected concerning the use of hashish among *zurna* players, it is believed to be a fairly widespread practice. According to one *zurnaci* in Diyarbakir, smoking hashish and then playing the *zurna* "makes your head burn" (Chittenden, pers. com., 1988). Numerous studies have examined the physical and psychological effects of hashish and other drugs. At least two studies (Stringaris 1964 and Zinberg 1974) have included informa-

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[1]In Turkish society, the *zurna* is considered strictly a male's instrument. To my knowledge, there are no female *zurna* players in Turkey; hence the use of the pronoun "he" throughout this article.

tion specifically dealing with the effects of hashish on the perception of music. Zinberg notes that the use of hashish is often associated with a slowing down of time sense, a fact that may have a direct bearing on the *zurna* player's perception of his music.

Having identified some of the many factors contributing to change in Turkish music (the "why" of change), the analyses which follow will illustrate the specifics of the process of change (the "how" or "what" of change) as it occurs when the music of one regional tradition is adopted by musicians from other regions and traditions. This particular study will illustrate only one segment of the cycle of change: the interaction between one individual and many. Specific examples of *zurna* music are drawn from the *halay* dance genre from the region of Diyarbakir in southeastern Turkey. Analysis will show the transformation of the music from Diyarbakir when it is performed by musicians from outside that region, and to some extent how characteristics from other regions have been incorporated into the playing of the Diyarbakir musicians. Further research is required to investigate the full cycle of the process of change. To date, no investigation has been undertaken concerning the effects of changes in the music system as a whole upon the music of one specific region, for example how non-Diyarbakir renditions of traditional Diyarbakir repertoire are perceived by Diyarbakir residents and musicians, and in what manner, if any, they find their way back into the traditional playing style.

The evidence from the analyses presented here, supported by previous analyses of other genres and regional styles, indicates a process of change that is fueled in part by increased mobility and modernization within the country, rapid advances in technology, and the onset of widespread dissemination of *zurna* music through the mass media. In this article, mass media and the rapidly expanding music industry technology in Turkey today are viewed not as the causes of change, but rather as important means by which musicians are made aware of other regional styles and are informed of numerous options which they then may or may not decide to incorporate into their own repertoires and playing styles.

THE *HALAY* GENRE

The term *halay* can be defined in two ways. *Halay* refers in a general way to the line dances of southeastern Turkey which are Kurdish in origin. A *halay* can also be thought of as the one specific tune (or group of melodic patterns) that accompanies one particular version of the dance characteristic of one specific locale. That is, there is usually a certain tune that is considered the *halay* for its particular village or area (e.g., *Garzane* from Bitlis and *Siro* from

Siirt are specific *halay* tunes from specific villages, whereas the Van *halay* is accepted as the *halay* for the entire region).

Structurally, the music of the *halay* is fairly simple. It usually consists of two alternating sections, each comprising a sequence of variations on a single melodic skeleton. Usually, but not always, a dance-step pattern will correspond to one musical phrase. The sequence of dance patterns is at the command of the lead dancer, who arranges them as he sees fit. The *halay* is a very flexible form, and can be changed by either musicians or dancers. The musicians will follow the lead of a good dancer, changing phrases as the steps change, but there are also times when the *zurna* player will intervene and change to a different pattern (especially in the case of a lead dancer who is unsure of himself).

The interest and complexity of these simple, two-phrase tunes arise from the musicians' creative variations of each repeated phrase. Variations are created through changes in melody and rhythm, and through the use of ornaments, rests, and fingered articulations. Melodies are altered by reversing the positions of two adjacent notes, inserting an upper or lower neighboring tone or a passing tone, or by changing octaves within a phrase. Some *zurna* players create melodic sequences or extend the phrases by repetition of a pattern. Occasionally a variation will be created by altering pitches. Rhythmically, the tunes are varied through the use of dotted rhythms, augmentation, and diminution. Syncopation is also very common in *halays*. If syncopation is the norm in a tune, then variations are created by playing even rhythms. Triplet figures in a duple meter are also sometimes included. A variety of ornaments and articulations are used as variational techniques.

ZURNA PLAYING TECHNIQUES

Some of the improvisational and variational techniques heard in *zurna* music can be directly linked to the instrument's playing techniques.[2] Therefore, a brief description of its playing techniques follows. Figure 3 illustrates the basic fingering system used on the *zurna*.

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[2]My knowledge of *zurna* playing techniques and performance practices is based on two summers of study with *zurna* player George Chittenden, attendance at numerous dance events, and extensive listening to live *zurna* performances in the United States by both Turkish and American *zurnacis*. I have also spent considerable time studying videotapes of *zurna* performances filmed in the U.S. and Turkey.
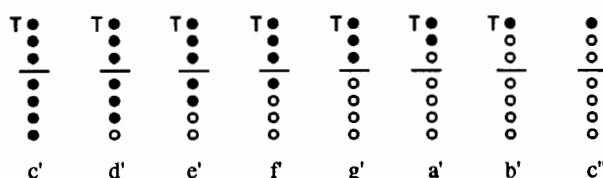
FIGURE 3. *Zurna* fingering chart. Filled circles indicate closed fingerholes; the symbol "T" indicates closed thumbhole.

Circular breathing creates the continuous sound that is characteristic of the *zurna*. Articulation is accomplished less by use of the tongue than by means of various fingering techniques which cause a brief interruption of the sound. Fingered articulations involve a rapid, sometimes barely perceptible, shift from one fingering to another and back again.[3] There are two ways in which fingered articulations can be accomplished. The examples in Figure 4 illustrate articulations produced by covering additional fingerholes between the two primary notes. The player rapidly covers and then uncovers all the remaining lower fingerholes simultaneously (Figure 4a and 4b). The player can also articulate by covering and uncovering the remaining upper fingerholes (Figure 4c). Figure 4d shows a less common variation, employed when cross-fingerings are necessary to obtain lowered pitches.

Examples of articulations accomplished by uncovering fingerholes are shown in Figure 5. Different articulations can be accomplished by lifting the lowest finger quickly and then moving to the next lower pitch (Figure 5a), by rapidly opening and closing the uppermost fingerhole (Figure 5b), or by opening and closing the thumbhole (Figures 5c and 5d).

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[3]The use of different fingered articulations is a common technique on wind instruments that use circular breathing, for example the bagpipes on which tonguing is impossible. Long notes can be subdivided by fingered articulations, in effect creating a rhythmic variation. Depending on the speed with which this is accomplished, the resulting sound may be a discernible pitch or (if rapidly and cleanly executed) a slight break in the flow of sound similar to the effect produced by tonguing.
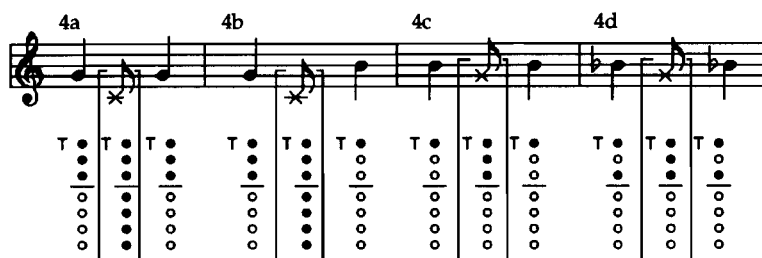
FIGURE 4. Articulation by covering additional fingerholes.
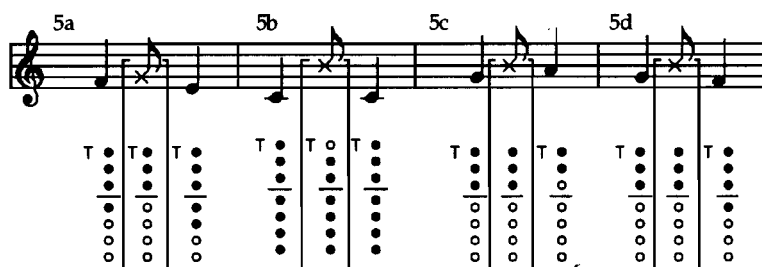
FIGURE 5. Articulation by uncovering fingerholes.

THE DIYARBAKIR STYLE

In order to illustrate the process of change within the *halay* genre, primary characteristics of the Diyarbakir *halay* will first be identified through analyses of two examples of the same *halay* as played by musicians from Diyarbakir. The same tune or pieces from the same genre played by musicians from outside that region will then be analyzed, and a comparison between the two groups, based on phrase structure, form, range, use of variation, articulation, and characteristic melodic features will reveal influences on the Diyarbakir *halay* from the musical traditions of other regions.[4]

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[4]In a comparative analysis of this type, based on pieces by different musicians from different regions, it can be difficult to identify which characteristics are regional and which are personal attributes and styles of the individual player. For this reason, I have conducted preliminary analysis on the available recorded literature. Both regional repertoire and individual playing styles were studied when more than one example was obtainable, and a cross-comparison was made in an attempt to attribute the musical characteristics to either a region or an individual. I encountered a number of difficulties in both areas due to the lack of previous

The basic characteristics of the Diyarbakir style include an alternating two-phrase form, a one-octave melodic range, far-ranging variations, and extensive use of one style of fingered articulations. The Diyarbakir style is represented by two examples (*halays* 1 and 2) which illustrate regional playing techniques and characteristics as well as differences between performances in dance context and in non-dance or rehearsal context.[5]

Halay 1 was recorded in a *halkevi* ("folk house," a type of community center) in Diyarbakir, by American musician George Chittenden, during a performance of a local dance group.[6] It is representative of the region of Diyarbakir, presenting the most straightforward version of this particular *halay*, and will function as the "control group," so to speak.

The formal structure of *halay* 1 comprises alternating sections of phrases A and B, obviously designed for public performance with the choreography of the dancers in mind. (See Table 1 for the formal structure of all *halays*.) This form is common in dance genres throughout Turkey and allows for both melodic variety and changes between different step patterns. In general, the use of alternating sections with a greater number of repetitions of the B phrase is more common in Diyarbakir.

Halay 2 was recorded by Ömer Isik, a folklorist from Diyarbakir, in a non-performance (rehearsal) situation. It is performed by another pair of musicians from the region of Diyarbakir and differs in some respects from the first *halay* example. The form of the piece does not follow the standard pattern of two alternating phrases, but instead comprises four contrasting sections based on three different phrases. The use of a third phrase in a *halay* is atypical of the Diyarbakir form. In this performance, the C phrase appears only six times before phrase B returns, almost as though the musician started on phrase C, but changed his mind and went back to phrase B. The difference in the forms of the two *halays* is probably due to the contexts. Since the second example was recorded during a rehearsal rather than a performance or a dance event, the phrases did not have to coincide with the choreographed steps of a dance troupe or with the desires of a dance line leader. Therefore, the *zurnaci* was

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scholarly work on this aspect of *zurna* music. Much of the commercially recorded literature available is not fully documented, leaving many questions concerning individual performers and the locations and contexts in which the recordings were made. Some of the recordings analyzed were the only examples available by those particular players, in which case I consulted background material dealing with their specific regions. A field recording was made of one performer playing pieces from several different regions, and two of the performers have recorded commercially, playing tunes from many regions, thus allowing for analysis of their personal playing styles.

[5]Note that these two *halays* also contain deviations from the Diyarbakir norm.
[6]Examples 1, 4, and 6 were recorded by George Chittenden, my *zurna* teacher, during his field work in Turkey in 1979, and are used here with his permission.

able to play whichever phrases he wanted to practice, and in any order he wished.

A one-octave melodic range is another Diyarbakir characteristic. Diyarbakir *zurnacis* rarely venture to play outside the first (lower) octave of their instrument. In *halay* 1, the player employs the upper octave (accomplished by overblowing) at only one point, in one variation of phrase A. When the upper octave of the *zurna* is heard it definitely attracts attention. This is the most common function of the upper octave in other regions of Turkey as well, where it is heard much more frequently than in Diyarbakir. The melodic range of *halay* 2 also stays mainly in the lower register of the *zurna*, but occasionally extends into the upper octave. Here the *zurnaci* does not play extensively in the upper register, but occasionally jumps up an octave to play a group of one to five notes before dropping back down to the lower pitches, as illustrated in Figure 6.

FIGURE 6. *Halay* 2. **Example of the use of the upper register.**

It is difficult in some cases to tell whether these upper octave occurrences are intentional or merely a result of inadvertent overblowing. There is only one instance where the player approaches the upper octave by step. The remaining occurrences of high register playing result from an ascending interval leap of between a seventh and an eleventh. These high notes, had they been played in the lower register, would have sounded as a repeated note or as one or two steps away from either the preceding or the following pitch. (See Figure 7.)

FIGURE 7. *Halay* 2. **Possible instance of inadvertent overblowing.**

One of the most distinctive characteristics of the Diyarbakir *zurna* playing style is melodic variation. Typically, the initial variations are fairly close to the melodic skeleton. Later variations tend to range far from the basic structure, both melodically and rhythmically. In *halay* 1, the variations are not as radical as in other examples analyzed, probably because it was performed as an accompaniment to dancing and any extreme alterations (especially of the length of the phrase) would have interfered with the pre-set choreography. (See Figure 8.)

Phrase A melodic skeleton

Variation A8

Variation A9

FIGURE 8. *Halay* 1. Melodic skeleton, followed by two far-ranging variations of that skeleton.

To borrow a phrase from jazz terminology, "playing outside" is a valued feature of the Diyarbakir *zurna* style. *Halay* 2 is an excellent example of playing outside, illustrating the widely divergent variations common in Diyarbakir *zurna* playing. The player begins with the two-measure phrase B and works his way through forty-seven variations. The amount and types of variations present in this piece may well be attributed to the creativity of the *zurnaci*. Variations in both B sections exhibit characteristics commonly found in the development section of a Western classical piece, including rhythmic changes, syncopation, passing tones, augmentation, diminution, register changes, and sequences. The musician follows a logical progression in his variations, beginning with a very simple two-measure phrase and working up to a fairly complex six-measure variation. (See Figure 9.)

Phrase B melodic skeleton

Complex variation B28
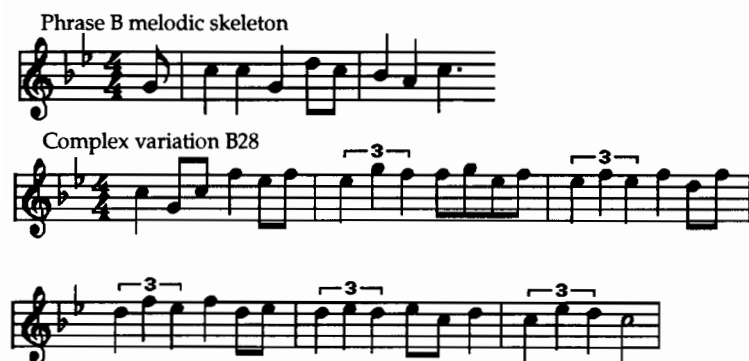
FIGURE 9. *Halay* 2. Comparison of melodic skeleton and variation.

Another characteristic of the Diyarbakir style is the type of fingered articulation employed. It has been shown that several

different types of fingered articulations (Figures 4 and 5) are used in *zurna* playing throughout Turkey. In Diyarbakir however, *zurnacis* typically use only one or two different types. The most commonly heard technique is the rapid covering and uncovering of all remaining lower fingerholes (Figure 4a). In both *halays* 1 and 2, this articulation is heard extensively between repeated pitches. In addition, articulations employing the thumbhole (Figures 5c and 5d) are heard in *halay* 2.

Typical Diyarbakir style then can be characterized as comprising an alternating two-phrase form with more repetitions of the B phrase, a one-octave range with incidental excursions to the upper octave to create excitement and attract attention, extensive use of one or two types of fingered articulations between repeated pitches (based on the technique of covering additional lower fingerholes), and multifarious variations beginning simply and becoming increasingly more complex.

NON-DIYARBAKIR PERFORMANCES

An analysis of five examples by non-Diyarbakir *zurnacis* playing Diyarbakir *halays*[7] reveals that musical change occurs in two identifiable ways: 1) players mold the Diyarbakir *halay* tunes to their own regional style or performance context, or 2) players manipulate the *halay* along individual lines, each drawing on his own style of variation and ornamentation, technical prowess, knowledge of other regions or genres, and inventiveness. Analysis of form, range, and use of ornaments and fingered articulations will illustrate instances in which the Diyarbakir *halay* has been adjusted to fit into various other regional styles. In this article, individual playing styles and creativity will be elucidated through analysis of technical prowess, variations (including the addition of characteristics from other regions or genres), and manipulation of melodic materials. The lines between these types of change are rarely clear-cut and it is often difficult to pinpoint specifically what causes or influences a change to be made. Without in-depth interviews with the performers, it is unlikely that the reasons behind changes would ever be exposed; even interviews might be insufficient to reveal them. The analysis presented here is based on recorded materials, and is therefore one step further removed from the performance itself. However, based on this material and comparison with a large repertoire of all genres of

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[7]With only one exception, each of the examples selected was identified as a Diyarbakir *halay* on the recording. The exception, *halay* 7, was labeled as a *çepik*, another dance genre, and bore no indication as to regional origin. However, it is included here because its tune is very closely related melodically to *halay* 1.

zurna music from all over Turkey, some general conclusions can be reached.

The examples analyzed were played by a diverse group of non-Diyarbakir performers. *Halays* 3 and 4 were performed by father and son musicians from Istanbul, Binali and Mahur Selman, both of whom are also well-versed in the Turkish classical music tradition. The fifth example is a medley of three *halays* from Diyarbakir, herein labeled 5a, 5b, and 5c. It is played by *zurna* virtuoso Ziya Aytekin, an emigrant to Sweden, originally from the region of Kars, Turkey. *Halay* 6 is performed by Musa Uzunkaya, from the region of Erzincan. The final example, *halay* 7, is taken from the Radio Ankara Archive. The musician, his region, and the context of the performance are unknown.

PHRASE STRUCTURE

To begin the comparison of various *halay* renditions, the phrase structure or basic melodic skeleton of each of the *halay* phrases, A and B, must first be identified. Since notation is not part of Turkish *zurna* tradition, the melodic skeleton is sometimes difficult to distinguish. Typically, the first occurrence of the phrase is not always the closest in structure to the skeletal melody. To determine the melodic skeleton of each phrase, repeated variations were identified. These variations were then compared with variations in other versions. Those variations which bore the closest resemblance to each other were taken as the melodic skeletons. If there were no repetitions of a phrase, all variations were compared to determine the melodic skeleton.[8] These melodic skeletons are illustrated in Figures 10 and 11.

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[8]For a more detailed exposition of this process, see Bryant 1989.

Halay 1: Diyarbakir performer, public dance performance

Halay 2: Diyarbakir performer, rehearsal

Halay 3 and 4: Binali and Mahur Selman (originally from the region of Erzincan, currently living in Istanbul)[9]

Halay 5a: Ziya Aytekin (originally from Kars, currently living in Sweden)[10]

Halay 5b: Ziya Aytekin

Halay 5c: Ziya Aytekin

Halay 6: Musa Uzunkaya (from Erzincan)
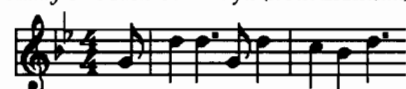
Halay 7: Radio Ankara recording, unknown performer
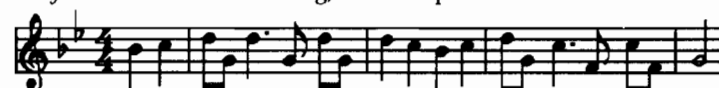
FIGURE 10. Phrase A melodic skeletons of all *halays*.

[9]Binali Selman performs *halay* 3 on the commercial cassette "Binali Selman" on the Çoskun label (No. 44).

[10]*Halay* 5 is played by *zurna* virtuoso Ziya Aytekin, on the cassette "Ziya Aytekin," Origo 9001 (1983).

Halay 1: Diyarbakir public dance performance

Halay 2: Diyarbakir rehearsal

Halay 3: Binali Selman

Halay 4: Mahur Selman

Halay 5a and 5b: Ziya Aytekin

Halay 6: Musa Uzunkaya

FIGURE 11. Phrase B melodic skeletons of *halays* 1–6. (*Halays* 7 and 5c have no B phrase.)

An interesting feature of this form is the interchangeability of phrases. Aytekin's A phrase in *halay* 5a is the same as a common variation on the A phrase in *halays* 3 and 4. His A phrase in *halay* 5b is the same as a common variation played by the Diyarbakir musicians in *halays* 1 and 2. The A phrases in both *halays* 5a and 5b are followed by the same B phrase, based on unrelated material. Uzunkaya, in *halay* 6, reverses the phrases; the one which is most similar to the other A phrases is heard as B, and vice versa. One variation of phrase B in this example closely resembles variation A6 of *halay* 5c (see Figure 12). Aytekin is originally from Kars and Uzunkaya is from Erzincan, so this *halay* is not part of the traditional repertoire of either of their native regions. In learning the piece they either learned the phrases in a different order, or as

phrases of different *halays*, or one of the players decided to rearrange them.

Halay 6.   Variation B1

Halay 5c.   Variation A6

FIGURE 12. Comparison of *halay* 6, variation B1 and *halay* 5c, variation A6.

It is this broad, large-scale type of musical change, a change in phrase order, that might possibly be among the most far-reaching in its effects. Phrase order is a musical component immediately grasped by musician, dancer, and audience alike. It is also among the first elements transmitted in the learning process: observed, understood, and adopted much more rapidly than minute internal changes such as variations in types of fingerings. In addition, it is likely to have a much broader impact in the cycle of musical change, passing more easily and rapidly from one player to the entire musical system.

The interchangeability of entire phrases in the repertoire of *zurna* music might be viewed as the function of melodic formulæ, used as the basis of re-creation, recomposition, and variation. Similarly, Adriaansz's research into *koto* traditions (1967, 1969) reveals that in some traditions several different pieces are made up of various arrangements of a small number of patterns. These various pieces are, in effect, variations of each other. Malm notes that some forms of Japanese music (e.g., *koto*, *shakuhachi*, and *noh*) are basically "a kind of skillful rearrangement of clichés" (1975:57). In his discussion on the distribution of melodic formulæ, List points out that "phrases...are not always found in association...but, like small building blocks, can be found in association with other phrasal structures" (1978:50). He views the diffusion of a particular melodic formula as the diffusion of a style:

> The creation of a new melody...whether in the oral or written tradi-
> tion, essentially involves the recombination of small units or build-
> ing blocks which form the basic material of the style. The style sets
> the limits of the forms in which the building blocks may be orga-
> nized. The building blocks, whether phrases or smaller units, may
> be modified but again within the limits of variation imposed by the
> style. (List 1978:50)

One might conclude that the *halay* genre comprises not a group of songs *per se*, but rather a regional repertoire of melodic phrases based on melodic formulæ suitable for combination and variation within the parameters of the style.

REGIONAL AND CONTEXTUAL CHARACTERISTICS

Form

The typical form heard in Diyarbakir is that of two alternating phrases. Three of the five non-Diyarbakir *halays* analyzed (3, 4, and 6) also employ this form. *Halay* 5, a medley of three *halays*, follows the two-phrase form for the first two sections of the medley; the third section uses only one phrase. *Halay* 7 also employs only one phrase. In *halays* 3, 4, and 6, the most common structure comprises many repetitions of the A phrase followed by fewer of the B phrase, unlike the general form found in Diyarbakir. In *halay* 5, this pattern varies.

In *halay* 3, played by Istanbul musician Binali Selman, not only are there more repetitions of phrase A than of B, there are also a greater number of different variations of A. In addition, Selman introduces a transitional phrase (t), as shown in Figure 13, when returning to the A sections, a practice not found in the Diyarbakir *halays*.

FIGURE 13. *Halay* 3. Transitional phrase.

The fourth *halay* is played on the *mey*[11] by Mahur Selman, Binali's eldest son. This particular piece was played during a demonstration of various *halays* from different regions, and is the least complicated performance presented here. The purpose was not to demonstrate technical prowess but to illustrate the basic melodic structure of the *halay* and some basic variational techniques. Again, the structure of the piece is the typical alternating two-phrase form associated with a dance performance, but with more repetitions of the A phrase rather than less as is usual in Diyarbakir.

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[11]The *mey*, a cylindrical keyless aerophone with a broad reed (Bryant 1990), is often used indoors in place of the *zurna*. Their fingerings are identical and their repertoires interchangeable.

Halay 5, a medley of three *halay* tunes, is performed by Ziya Aytekin. Both *halay* 5a and 5b employ the typical form of alternating phrases, although neither ends with phrase A as is often the case in the typical Diyarbakir style. Between 5b and the single repeated phrase which is 5c, Aytekin introduces new melodic material as a transitional phrase. It is only heard once, unlike Selman's repeated use of his transitional phrase.

Zurnaci Musa Uzunkaya from the region of Erzincan plays the sixth example, recorded during the performance of a dance troupe in Istanbul. Like *halays* 3 and 4, the structure is the typical two-phrase form, probably influenced by the pre-set choreography of the dancers. Like Selman and Aytekin, Uzunkaya also incorporates new melodic material as transitions between phrases, but each transition is different.

It would appear that performance context has a profound influence on the overall structure of the *halay*. Those examples which were performed in conjunction with a live dance performance (*halays* 1 and 6) have more regular alternations between the two phrases. Those performed for a commercial recording (*halays* 3 and 5) are much more symmetrical and regularly structured, and include transition sections which appear to have been thought out in advance. Of the *halays* which were performed outside the typical dance performance context, one (*halay* 2) exhibits a form far different from the rest, and the other (*halay* 4) is a "textbook" demonstration.

Halay	Form	Number of Different Variations		
1	14A / 20B / 13A / 6B / 8A	11A	13B	
2	9A / 17B / 6C / 59B	9A	45B	2C
3	18A / 3B / (t) / 11A / 4B / (t) / 11A / 4B / (t) / 13A / 6B / (t) / 9A	24A	9B	1(t)
4	8A / 7B / 5A / 4B / 1A	11A	8B	
5a	24A / 6B / 7A / 11B	17A	16B	
5b	6A / 2B / 8A / 16B / (t)	12A	14B	1(t)
5c	18A	10A		
6	19A / (t) / 9B / (t) / 11A / (t) / 7B	27A	13B	3(t)
7	56A	54A		

TABLE 1. **Formal structure and number of different variations of each phrase for each of the seven *halays*.**

Range

For the most part, the renditions of the Diyarbakir *halays* analyzed here remain within the melodic one-octave range characteristic of Diyarbakir playing. Binali Selman (*halay* 3) ranges

into the upper octave only three times, and then by just one step. In the fourth version, Mahur Selman never plays above the lower register, possibly due to the difficulties inherent in playing that octave on the *mey*. Uzunkaya also stays within the one-octave range.

The one-octave range is maintained by Aytekin in the A sections of *halay* 5a and 5c. In all remaining sections of his performance, however, he extends into the upper register in more than two-thirds of the variations. Of the twelve A variations of *halay* 5b, only two remain within the lower octave. He reaches the upper octave both by step and by leap, and also makes use of a high-pitched call which will be discussed later.

The melodic range of *halay* 7 extends into the upper register six times, in a manner similar to that employed in *halay* 2 by the Diyarbakir musicians; the player jumps up for one or two notes and then drops back to the lower octave. These variations form disjunct melodic lines which would have been conjunct had the higher notes been left in the lower register. (See Figure 14.)

Halay 2

Halay 7

FIGURE 14. *Halays* 2 and 7. Comparison of upper octave use.

Articulation and Ornamentation

Each region of Turkey appears to have a characteristic style of ornamentation and articulation, and each *zurnaci* appears to have his own unique manner of using these techniques. Shelemay notes a similar tradition among Falasha priests who "appear to know that ornamentation is desirable, even mandatory, in their musical tradition. Indeed, each ornaments his rendition, but with different figures at different points...[T]he nature and location of the ornamentation now appears less important...than its emphatic

presence" (1978:95). Among the techniques used by *zurnacis* for variation and ornamentation are several types of fingered articulations, the tongue trill, fingered trills, rests, and initiatory tonguing.

Binali Selman uses fingered articulations in his performance, but not as often as the musicians performing either *halays* 1 or 2. In his playing style, fingered articulations function to separate notes but also often serve to create variations. Selman plays the identical melodic variation but changes it by addition of different fingered articulations, as shown in Figure 15.

extra fingered articulation

FIGURE 15. *Halay* 3. **Two variations of phrase A created by fingered articulations.**

Ziya Aytekin's extraordinary technical prowess is evidenced in his use of fingered articulations. His performance, the fastest of all the examples (a quarter note = M.M. 312), includes a fingered articulation before almost every note. Most of the fingered articulation types discussed earlier are encountered here. In addition, Aytekin employs the fingered articulation as a variational device in the same manner as does Binali Selman in *halay* 3, a technique not commonly used in Diyarbakir.

One of the features which makes Uzunkaya's performance unique is his extensive use of the tongue trill.[12] This technique is rarely heard in Diyarbakir; it does not appear in either of the examples from that region included here. It is heard more commonly in the central and northeastern portions of Turkey, in the regions of Cankiri, Sivas, Malatya, Kars, Erzurum, Van, and along the Black Sea coast. In this study, the only other performance in which a tongue trill is heard is *halay* 3 by Binali Selman who, like Uzunkaya, came from Erzincan. Whereas the other performers studied here

[12]Picken mentions that *zurna* players use a controlled vibrato (1975:495), but does not state how it is accomplished. By rhythmically pressing the tongue against the lower corner of the reed, the *zurnaci* produces a controlled vibrato or trill, varied in pitch and speed by the forcefulness and speed of the tonguing (Rice 1982:134, Chittenden 1987).

employ a fingered articulation to break up longer notes, Uzunkaya includes a tongue trill on almost every note one beat or longer in duration. The effect is that of a very wide trill, usually sounding an interval of a minor third. (See Figure 16.)

FIGURE 16. *Halay* 6. Tongue trills, indicated as trill (a), and notated in full (b).

Though not commonly heard in Diyarbakir, fingered trills are found in variations toward the end of *halay* 1. In variation A37 of *halay* 7, the *zurnaci* introduces a fingered trill which serves as a variational technique and as an attention-getting device. Fingered trills appear in variations A37 and A38 and again in variations A42–46 and A50–52.

A rest is an extremely effective variation and immediately garners attention by interrupting the constant flow of sound created by circular breathing technique. The only rests in the pieces presented here occur in the performance by Mahur Selman on the *mey* (*halay* 4) and in *halay* 7. In Selman's performance, the rests are probably unintentional, occurring as a result of the difficulty in circular breathing on that instrument. The use of rests in *halay* 7, however, appears intentional. They are heard in seven variations and serve the same purpose as Aytekin's high-pitched call, as an attention-getting device. After the continuous sound of sixteen repetitions of the same phrase, a rest is quite startling.

Initiatory tonguing is not a common technique in *zurna* playing but it is sometimes used as a means of variation. It is extremely rare in Diyarbakir; in *halay* 1, only two notes are tongued. Uzunkaya, however, frequently articulates by tonguing at the beginning of a tone. He also uses initiatory tonguing as an alternative to fingered articulations, in much the same manner as he does the tongue trill. Instead of subdividing a long tone by fingering, he separates the tone into two distinct beats by tonguing. Tonguing also serves as a variational technique. In one variation, a fingered articulation will be employed; in another with identical melodic material, some of the notes will be tongued (see Figure 17, in which initiatory tonguing is indicated by small arrows).

Variation A15

Variation A16

FIGURE 17. *Halay* 6. The use of initiatory tonguing as a variational technique is indicated by small arrows.

Like the tongue trill, initiatory tonguing is much more common in central and northeastern Turkey. The widespread exchange of playing techniques in these areas is partly a result of the radio broadcasts heard by players in those regions. Aytekin mentions that his region was unable to receive broadcasts from Radio Istanbul and Radio Ankara. Instead, musicians in his region (and presumably other nearby regions) listened to the radio station from Erzurum, as well as stations from Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan (Aytekin 1983). This would account for the fact that many playing techniques are shared by these regions, techniques which differ from those heard in the western part of the country.

INDIVIDUAL STYLE CHARACTERISTICS

Technical prowess

Halay 5, performed by virtuoso Ziya Aytekin, is the most exciting and most complex of all the examples, played extremely rapidly (a quarter note = M.M. 312), and with great intensity and precision. In contrast, Mahur Selman's rendition on the *mey* is very slow for this tradition (a quarter note = M.M. 168) and seems quite stilted. Tempos of the other performances range in between. Both performers from Erzincan (the elder Selman and Uzunkaya) play very precisely and cleanly, a characteristic that is heard in other *zurna* music from that region.

Variations

Kolinski found that melodic changes are most prominent in a situation of cultural contact; Helen Roberts believed the greatest internal variation in melody to exist within a single culture (Merriam 1964:309–310). Both theories appear to apply in Turkey: as the seat of the Ottoman empire, cultural contact with Europe, Asia, and Africa took place for centuries; the Turkey of today is a multi-ethnic, multi-traditional society. Influences from Western music mingle with a vital Turkish classical music tradition and influence the oral tradition, itself constantly fluctuating in an interplay of regional characteristics and individual playing styles. In addition, within specific ethnic traditions, such as the Kurdish *halay*, there is a great deal of internal melodic variation.

Halay 2, played by Diyarbakir musicians, exhibits influences from other regions. Two variations (B27 and B28, the latter illustrated in Figure 9) show traces of influence from the music of the region of Erzurum: a shifting of rhythm within a phrase from duple to triple.

Four of Binali Selman's variations of phrase B (*halay* 3) contain two notes of altered pitch, indicating the influence of Turkish classical music on his playing.[13] By altering pitches, Selman gives the impression that he is about to change to another *makam* (a concept not normally associated with Turkish oral tradition). Although he never actually does so, he gives the impression of changing the modality, perhaps to fit into a *makam* in which he is more comfortable or that he feels is more appropriate to the phrase.

Selman's variational style is much more subtle than that heard in Diyarbakir. His variations never vary in length; they are always two measures long. Typically, only one or two notes are changed, and the melodic direction is usually scalar. Selman does, however, employ large intervallic leaps in three B variations, creating a disjunct melodic line. These three variations occur sequentially toward the end of the piece and serve to attract the listener's attention.

The majority of changes in *halay* 3, both melodic and rhythmic, occur at the beginning of the phrases. The end of phrase A has only two variations, both melodic. The rhythmic integrity always remains intact. These particular phrase endings, although not heard in either Diyarbakir performance, are common melodic and rhythmic figures in *halays* and other dance tunes from the regions of Elazig, Urfa, Bitlis, Siirt, and Van. (See Figure 18.)

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[13]A similar situation was also noted by Blacking in Venda society, whereby melodic "intervals...[are] selected according to their relationship with other music in the society" (1977:12).

FIGURE 18. *Halay* 3. Phrase A endings.

Binali's influence on his son Mahur's playing style is obvious. Like his father, Mahur Selman does not digress radically from the basic melodic skeleton. The style of his variations is very similar to that of Binali. In fact several of Mahur's variations are almost the same as his father's; two are identical. Melodically, most are altered by only one or two notes. Rhythmically, the differences are more noticeable. In several variations of phrase B, he employs a triplet figure which indicates influence from Erzurum, as shown in Figure 19.

FIGURE 19. *Halay* 4. Alternating duple and triple figures.

Syncopation is a very common feature of dance music throughout Turkey. Mahur Selman includes syncopation in every variation of phrase A and in 75% of the B variations. Figure 20 illustrates the extent to which syncopation is carried in one variation of phrase A.

FIGURE 20. *Halay* 4. Extended use of syncopation.

Most of the variations in Aytekin's performance are closely related to the melodic skeleton. Slight rhythmic changes occur as the result of the subdivision of notes by fingered articulations. In all three tunes, Aytekin typically modifies only the first portion of the A phrase and leaves the ending intact, both rhythmically and melodically. For example, in *halay* 5c, the first measure undergoes the greatest degree of change. The first measures of variations A1 and A4 are changed both melodically and rhythmically. In the remaining variations, only the second pitch of the measure varies; all are identical rhythmically. (See Figure 21.)

FIGURE 21. *Halay* 5c. Variant phrase beginnings.

The second measure of this phrase is never changed. The third measure is treated differently in variations A1 and A2, but then settles into two rhythmic patterns, as shown in Figure 22. The second pattern is the same as the endings of phrase A as heard in examples 3 and 4 performed by the Selmans (illustrated in Figure 18).

FIGURE 22. *Halay* 5c. Variant phrase endings.

Altered pitches occur in ten of Aytekin's variations of phrase B. The tonality in these cases includes a lowered second scale step and a raised third, creating the interval of an augmented second that has in the West become the stereotypical trademark of Near Eastern music. Altered pitches, specifically the augmented second interval, do not occur in the native Diyarbakir performances. Inclusion of these altered pitches by Aytekin may reflect not only his acquaintance with Turkish classical music but also an awareness of the character of his current audience. Aytekin was born and raised in Savsat in the region of Kars, but moved to Stockholm, Sweden to join the folk dance group "Davul" in 1978 (Aytekin 1983). Recording now in Sweden, Aytekin may believe that this sound is what Swedish and other European listeners want to hear and that the sound is not offensive to the Turks in his audience, which comprises immigrants originally from diverse regions of Turkey as well as Swedes and other Europeans. In order to please his audience, Aytekin must know numerous genres, regional styles, and melodies associated with different areas. His playing reflects characteristics of many traditions combined with his own unique style.

One interesting and unusual feature of Aytekin's performance is the introduction of a high-pitched call. This occurs in *halay* 5a at the beginning of the last B section and in *halay* 5b in the middle of the last B section. This call is actually an augmented variation of the B phrase. Aytekin holds the highest pitch (g") for 10 measures and inserts a fingered tremolo (between g" and b") in the middle. The sustained high pitch immediately commands the attention of the listener, creates excitement, and heightens the level of tension in the piece. (See Figure 23.)

Variation B6

High-pitched call (augmented B variation)

FIGURE 23. *Halay* 5. Comparison of variation B6 and its augmented variant, a high-pitched call.

The seventh piece is an excellent example of individual creativity. The most remarkable feature of this performance is the musician's amazing ability to create new variations without repeating previous ones. Of the fifty-six A phrases, only two variations are repeated.

Another variational technique employed throughout the performance is the ostinato, a repeated alternation of two notes. This particular pattern is commonly heard in the region of Erzurum, but not in Diyarbakir. (See Figure 24.)

Variation A10

FIGURE 24. *Halay* 7. Ostinato pattern.

The differences between the rendition of *halay* 7 and the others can most likely be attributed to the regional style of the player. Although the musician's region is unknown, analysis indicates that many of the characteristics of the piece are those found in the central

part of Turkey, in the regions of Sivas, Erzurum, and Cankiri, indi-
cating that the player is probably from one of the central regions.

Manipulation of melodic materials (two-note motif)

An interesting feature of the *halays* analyzed here is the use of a
two-note motif based on the interval of the descending fifth (see
Figure 25). This motif is extremely common, almost a cliché, and is
found in all seven examples. It cannot be said to be strictly a charac-
teristic of Diyarbakir, since it is also found in *halays* from other re-
gions (e.g., the regions of Artvin, Urfa, Bitlis, and Malatya). Nor can
one claim that it is solely a *halay* characteristic, since it also occurs in
other genres (e.g., a *horon* from the Black Sea area). More accu-
rately, it could be viewed as an outgrowth of the most common
fingered articulation. Variations of the motif include those based on
intervals of the ascending fourth, the descending fourth (or ascend-
ing fifth), and the sixth (ascending or descending).

Original starting pitch = g'
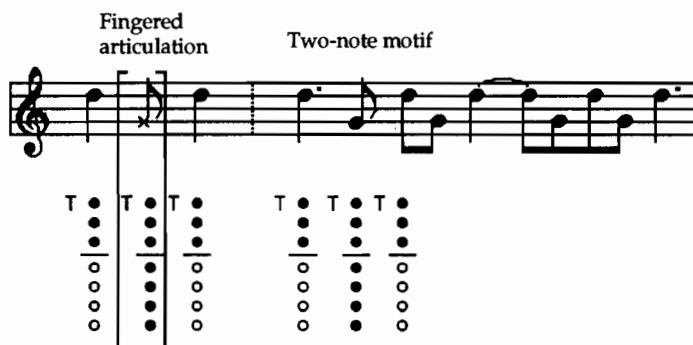
**FIGURE 25. Comparison of common fingered articulation with
typical two-note motif.**

Of interest here are the divergent functions of this motif. It
sometimes serves as a fanfare, signaling the beginning of a piece and
announcing that the dancing is about to begin. At times, its func-
tion is to "mark time" while the player contemplates new varia-
tions. On other occasions, it alerts the dancers to an upcoming tran-
sition to a different phrase. This motif may also be incorporated
into a phrase or, in an extended form, may serve as the entire phrase
itself. The various uses of this motif do not in general seem to cor-
respond to a specific region of the country or to a specific genre.

Instead its functions and variations appear to be a matter of individual choice, and may give some insight into individual creativity and compositional processes.

In *halay* 1, this motif is used as a transition between the A and B sections and is later incorporated into the B phrase itself. For the first transition from A to B, the player plays the first half of an A variation and finishes with a fanfare-like version of the motif (see Figure 26). This shift between the two sections by introducing a new motif may serve as a signaling device to the dancers that a new step pattern is imminent. This same technique occurs in an abbreviated form in the second transition from A to B. (See Figure 27.)

FIGURE 26. *Halay* 1. First transition from A to B.
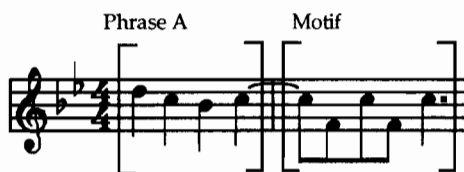
FIGURE 27. *Halay* 1. Second transition from A to B.

In *halay* 2, the interjection of the two-note motif appears to serve as thinking time. Obviously it is not intended as a signal to dancers since no dancers are present. The same motif is heard in the middle of the B section and twice in the middle of the C section. It seems most likely that in each case the *zurnaci* is using this familiar pattern with its simple fingering to give himself time to consider the direction in which he wishes to go with his variations.

In *halay* 2, the *zurnaci* also transforms the typical melodic motif of a descending fifth into a rhythmic motif. He begins by repeating the standard form of the motif, employing the rhythmic pattern which is heard frequently in *halays*. Once that particular version of the motif is firmly established, he begins to change the pitches one by one while maintaining the same rhythm, as illustrated in Figure 28.

Typical two-note motif

Motif with altered pitches

FIGURE 28. *Halay* 2. **Comparison of typical motif and motif with altered pitches.**

The employment of smaller melodic units like this two-note motif, plus flexibility of phrase usage and the use of very similar or identical phrase endings in different *halay* tunes (e.g., Binali Selman's A and (t) phrases as well as in other examples from his repertoire, Aytekin's C phrase, and Uzunkaya's B phrase) suggest a similarity between melodic formulæ of Turkish *zurna* music and the oral formulæ used in epic poetry. In his analysis of Serbo-Croatian heroic songs, Albert Lord (1960) maintained that folk poets do not retain or memorize these epic songs; instead they recreate and recompose by building metrical lines and half-lines based on formulæ, groups of ideas regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea. Themes expand, contract, and are connected through the use of these formulæ. In a similar manner, Ó Canainn suggests that in Irish traditional music "the performer is clearly part composer as well" (1978:41). Cowdery agrees, coming to the conclusion that if "folk tunes are infinitely transformable,...then any particular tune or performance may be seen as a response to a field of possibilities within successively larger fields of possibilities" (1990:78).

The analogy between words and melodic phrases appears to assume that they are processed cognitively in a similar manner. Studies of brain function to date have shown, however, that speech production and musical perception are located in different areas of the brain. Garfias (1984:8) notes that these studies focused on recognition of melodies, and not on the process of composition. He states:

> It is clear that creation must depend on memory in some way and that in all probability memory must draw on some of the same brain functions which were engaged in the actual execution of this activity or event being remembered...I would here like to propose that although the speech and melodic recognition functions are located in different areas of the brain, in the creation of music the process links these two functions in some way and that by extension the

creation of music naturally follows a pattern congruent with the
tone and stress patterns already learned for speech. (1984:8)

This proposal may be applicable to the connection between com-
positional techniques of epic poetry and Turkish *zurna* music.
While *zurna* phrases are probably not based on language, their usage
and the manner in which they are combined may be closely linked
to the processes of oral composition. Further study might well pro-
vide some interesting insights into the process of composition cross-
culturally.

CONCLUSIONS

The *zurna* music of Turkey is part of a continually changing oral
tradition. Each region of the country has its own basic style of *zurna*
playing and each *zurnaci* has his own particular individual charac-
teristics. Features from both regional and individual styles are bor-
rowed freely among musicians in different regions and adopted into
their own repertoires. A cyclic process exists whereby individual
musical decisions influence the musical decisions of other individ-
uals and the larger musical system. These, in turn, influence and
are influenced by the musical decisions of still other individuals.

The analysis of the *halay* genre illustrates this process of musical
change. Analysis of Diyarbakir *halays* performed by non-Diyarbakir
zurnacis indicates that musical change occurs in two ways: by play-
ers molding the Diyarbakir *halay* tunes to their own regional style or
performance context, or by players manipulating the *halay* along in-
dividual lines. Changes influenced by regional styles or perfor-
mance contexts impact form, melodic range, ornaments, and articu-
lation. Changes based on individual creativity include techniques of
variation, such as the incorporation of characteristics from other
traditions (e.g., the use of altered pitches from the classical *makam*
system), and the manipulation of melodic material. Changes made
within the genre are heard via the radio, public performance, pri-
vate study, or commercial recordings, and impact upon other play-
ers. When any of these changes are incorporated into another per-
formance, the cycle of change continues.

The question of the media's role in the process of change in mu-
sic is one which is just beginning to receive scholarly attention. A
few studies have been done in this area, for instance Racy's *Musical
Change and Commercial Recording in Egypt, 1904–1932* (1977) and
Wallis and Malm's excellent study, *Big Sounds from Small Peoples*
(1984), but the subject needs more exploration. The mass media in
Turkey play a significant role in the dissemination of different styles
of *zurna* music, broadening the awareness of both musicians and
audiences as to various regional styles. At the same time, regional

styles, melodic patterns, and playing characteristics appear to be uni-
fying through continuing interaction among musicians resulting in
part from this increasing awareness through media. If the current
trends continue on their present course, the ever-widening cycle of
change may result in the establishment of a pan-Turkish style of
zurna music.

Although not the sole agents of change, the media play an im-
portant part, which should not be overlooked or diminished. As
Garfias reminds us, "[i]ncreased proximity between formerly isolated
cultures has resulted in intensified contact and stimuli of such pro-
portions that we need to be consistently mindful of this altered con-
dition when considering the nature of change in musical tradition"
(1984:1). Indeed, the "mediaization" (adaptation to modern media)
of music (Wallis and Malm 1984:15) is changing the way music is
performed, perceived, and employed both inside and outside of its
native culture and will unquestionably have an impact on the way
in which scholars investigate musical change.

While we can point to the social and political forces which influ-
ence change, it is still valuable to examine the actual musical di-
mensions in which these changes are worked out. Change involves
an encounter between traditions, and a kind of fusing, rather than
an abandonment of musical characteristics and styles. Musical anal-
ysis provides an implicit, nonverbal map of music cognition. Those
musical patterns elucidated by analysis might only be articulated in
our theory, but they provide evidence of musically understood and
applied distinctions.

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MUSIC AS PROTEST STRATEGY: THE EXAMPLE OF TIANANMEN SQUARE, 1989[1]

Valerie Samson

During the spring of 1989, the capital city of the People's Republic of China became paralyzed by demonstrations that brought the nation to the brink of civil war.[2] At that time I was studying at the Central Conservatory of Music in Beijing, only a fifteen-minute bicycle ride from Tiananmen Square. The music students and I were able to participate in, observe, and document the events as they unfolded. My role as both an American and a student enhanced my status with demonstrators, enabling me to spend many hours in the square and on the streets of Beijing recording extensively with a video camera.   Until the invasion on June 4, I enjoyed unprecedented freedom of movement, even under martial law at the end of May, but my activities were more noticeable because I was a foreigner. This put me at risk, eventually resulting in my arrest and the confiscation of my camera as well as two videotapes.

The speed at which the population became politically activated astonished even veteran China-watchers. The period from the catalytic event of Hu Yaobang's death[3] on April 15 to the military invasion of Beijing on the night of June 3 was only seven weeks. As a major feature of the demonstrations in Beijing, music contributed to this dramatic transformation. Singing or chanting could be heard wherever people congregated in large groups. Protesters sang children's songs, Communist party songs, folk songs, popular songs, and at least one theme song from a television program.

In spite of the ubiquitous use of music, its importance to the protest movement during this time was not obvious to many observers. One reporter wrote that the demonstrators in April appeared to be out on the streets simply enjoying a holiday rather than protesting (Shapiro 1989a:74). Even student leader Wuer Kaixi remarked later that the students were more interested in their

[2]According to Consul General Zheng Wanzhen, in a statement to the U.S.–China Peoples' Friendship Association, March 18, 1990, in San Francisco. The last name is given first according to Chinese practice.
[3]Hu Yaobang, formerly the general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, was respected as sympathetic to intellectuals.

popular music than in the ideas of reformist intellectuals (Feigon 1990:186).

Yet music was a significant factor in politically arousing protesters to such a degree that they increasingly engaged in risky behavior. By the beginning of June, protesters openly printed political fliers in the square, affixed posters in broad daylight, and broadcast propaganda to the soldiers. It was not only the young men in the "Dare To Die" squad who became willing to sacrifice their lives, but also countless ordinary citizens of all ages.

The role of music in political protest has been studied in a number of world contexts and interpreted in many ways. Many of these studies have focused on song texts or musical style. Marty (1988), Greenway (1960), and Watson (1983) have shown that textual content contributes to the political value of songs, expressing political sentiments either directly or indirectly through symbolic language. In her study of revolutionary song in China, Ferguson demonstrates that musical style contributes to political value. For example, the use of dotted rhythms, melodies based on chordal harmonies, and loud dynamics helps ensure that songs are motivational and memorable (Ferguson 1979:51).

However, the political impact of music heard in Beijing during the spring of 1989 was far greater than what one might expect from examining either musical style or textual content alone. There was no obvious connection between the musical or textual content of some songs and the ongoing struggle. It appeared that almost any kind of music could have value as political protest depending on the circumstances of performance. The effectiveness of music as a protest strategy appeared to depend on aspects beyond musical and textual content.

Blacking makes several observations concerning the political value of music in South African churches that relate to the situation in Beijing. He notes that singing promoted a black collective consciousness that church members could not express in words. "Music is non-referential and sensuous, and no claim can be made that it is directly political. But some music can become and be used as a symbol of group identity, regardless of its structure" (Blacking 1981: 35). Of great political importance is the ability of the performer to adapt to the context of performance: "Singing required constantly creative decision-making, as congregations adapted their model for performance to the unique character of every social situation, and...it enhanced rather than anesthetized political consciousness" (Blacking 1981:51).

This paper describes some of the many contextual and performance factors that contributed to the efficacy of music as a protest medium in Beijing, 1989. My observations at Tiananmen Square suggest that Blacking's statements have validity when applied to other political struggles around the world and that creative adaptation in performance enhances the political value of many kinds of

music. Indeed, performance process and context are critical in establishing the power of music as a protest strategy.

Because of the dramatic growth of the political movement over a short period of time, I present my observations in roughly chronological order. My discussion focuses primarily on the chanting and singing of student demonstrators; the struggle for control of the sound-space at Tiananmen Square; music and the Goddess of Democracy; the invasion of Beijing on June 3 and 4, 1989; and the use of the "Internationale."

THE CHANTING AND SINGING OF THE EARLY DEMONSTRATIONS (APRIL 23 TO APRIL 30)

On the morning of Hu Yaobang's funeral, April 23, a thousand or so students sat and chanted in Tiananmen Square so that the officials at the Great Hall of the People would hear them. They had marched for hours during the night and had waited patiently all morning without access to bathrooms or drinking water. The area had been sealed off by more than a hundred police at 7 A.M. to keep people away from the funeral service, but the students had already installed themselves in Tiananmen Square. As the officials climbed the steps to the hall around 10 A.M., the students chanted: "*Aiguo wu zui*" ("Patriotism is no crime"), and "*Li Peng duihua!*" ("Li Peng talk with us!"). The chanting generated a momentum of its own, like the steady lapping of waves on a shore. The chanting consisted of short phrases of texts, recited rhythmically but without specific pitches, usually delivered in a call-and-response format. Using a bullhorn or simply cupping a hand and yelling, the leader would chant the first half of a phrase, pause for the group to repeat it, then continue with the second half. The chanting was well-coordinated and clearly audible, but once the government-controlled loudspeakers started emitting funeral music, it was virtually impossible for the students to make themselves heard. The repeated dirge forced the students to stop chanting and effectively told them that the officials would not listen to them.

On April 27, the university students staged their first daytime march in Beijing. Leaving their campuses early in the morning, students literally walked all day, circulating around town, sporadically chanting and singing. The authorities inadvertently gave a great boost to the movement by refusing the students access to Tiananmen Square that day. By continuing to march around the city, the students disseminated their ideas to a wider audience than if they had settled in the square.

Most chants consisted of a phrase divided into two parts of four syllables each. Some rhymed: "*Fandui ponei, aiguo wu zui*" ("Oppose internal persecution, patriotism is no crime"); others did

not: *"Guojia xing wang, pifu you zi"* ("The common man is respon-
sible for the rise and fall of the country"). Where the chant consisted
of only four syllables, it was recited in its entirety, for example, *"Li
Peng wan sui"* ("Long live Li Peng"),[4] and *"Renmin wan sui"*
("Long live the people"). Sometimes longer chants were performed.
The leader decided whether the completed chant would be repeated
before the introduction of a new phrase, or whether it would be re-
peated at a later time.

The streets were lined with people who had come out to observe
and encourage the marchers. Naturally the students directed their
chants at these bystanders, especially the press. At the beginning of
the march and again at several places along the way, the students
encountered uniformed police and soldiers. Wherever there were
soldiers present, the students directed their chanting at them. On
the west side of town I heard the chant *"Renmin jundui ai renmin,
renmin jundui baohu renmin"* ("The people's army loves the peo-
ple, the people's army protects the people"). Just east of Tiananmen
Square, along the Avenue of Eternal Peace, the students cheered,
waved, and broke into song when they saw the large groups of sol-
diers there. They explained to me that the song they sang was from
a popular television program about an undercover policeman who
followed his conscience rather than his orders.

Each group of marchers consisted of students from one school or
one department within a school. The identity of each group was
clearly displayed on banners, and members of the group had strict
control over who could march with them. In order to keep a digni-
fied front, the students in the first row of a group usually linked
their arms or held onto a long school banner. The sides of the group
were maintained by students holding hands, creating a human wall
that kept out intruders. Chant leaders were normally situated in the
protected area within this human wall. In the early days of the
demonstrations, most women marched within the protected area as
well. On later marches more women maintained the edges of their
groups. Eventually few groups bothered with the protective hand-
holding.

The students took the advice of their university teachers, who
had warned them to stick together while demonstrating. Chant uni-
fied groups of students, reinforcing audibly what was evident visu-
ally. Everyone present in a group participated. Only the chant lead-
ers were responsible for the content of chants, and because they of-
ten composed these chants in advance, erratic interjections were
kept to a minimum. Through uniformity of expression, group
chanting provided safety. At the same time, the call-and-response
format encouraged the more timid students to find their voices by

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[4]Li Peng, protégé of respected former premier Chou Enlai, currently serves as
premier of the People's Republic of China. On this early march, students solicited
his support.

giving them words to repeat. Both men and women initiated and led chants.

At the beginning of the movement, chant leaders avoided expressing strong, impulsive feelings, but as the conflict intensified, the chants became more daring, such as those calling for Premier Li Peng's resignation. The stronger the solidarity with the citizens of Beijing, the more the student groups dared to chant criticism of the government, yet this criticism was mild in comparison with the speeches and interjections made by individuals. In the absence of group chant, individuals expressed a much broader range of content and feeling.

Throughout the demonstrations singing was a common group activity. A conscious effort was made to insure that participants knew how to sing a few important songs. By the end of April, several scores with words to political songs had been posted outdoors on the walls of buildings at Beijing Normal Teachers College. One poster listed the titles of four important songs: the "Internationale"; the National Anthem by Nie Er;[5] "Tuanjie Jiushi Liliang" ("Unity is Strength");[6] and "Gong, Nong, Bing Lianhe Qilai" ("Workers, Farmers, and Soldiers Unite").[7] The scores in cipher notation and the lyrics, often including several verses, were written out on other posters. In addition, there were scores and lyrics of a few other songs: "Zhengqi zhi Ge" ("Song of Healthy Atmosphere"); "Ru Huo Gui Qingchun" ("Like Fire, Youth Returns"); and even "Blowing in the Wind" with lyrics in both Chinese and English. Scores like these, along with a plethora of political writings and cartoons, were posted on the walls of buildings at various local colleges. All day students copied these works into their notebooks, photographed them, or read them into tape recorders. By night, new material was posted.

In cases where there was more than one version of the text of a Communist song, demonstrators typically sang the earlier version. Most song lyrics that were changed during the Cultural Revolution were restored after the deaths of Chairman Mao and Zhou Enlai (Ferguson Rebollo-Sporgi, pers. com. 1992) so this preference was not unusual. To my knowledge, no one questioned the choice of the older texts, yet, as in the case of the National Anthem, the difference between the newer and older text was sometimes significant. The original version of the National Anthem, written by Nie Er as the theme song for a movie in 1932 and adopted as the national anthem in 1949, made no mention of the Communist party:

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[5]The National Anthem is published in *Chairman Mao, You are the Unsetting Red Sun in Our Hearts* (Anon. 1977:1–2,4).

[6]There are two settings of this text: One uses the melody of "Glory, Glory, Hallelujah" from "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" and simply repeats the words of the title. The second setting uses additional text by Mu Hong with music by Lu Su, composed in 1944 (Wang 1986: 494 , 651).

[7]This song is published in 1956 (Wang 1986: 115).

> Arise, people unwilling to be slaves! With our blood and flesh, con-
> struct our new Great Wall. The Chinese people have arrived at the
> most perilous time, each person must urgently give his last cry!
> Arise! Arise! Arise! Ten thousand as one mind, risk the enemy's fire,
> advance! Risk the enemy's fire, advance! Advance! Advance![8]

The lyrics published in 1978 mention both the Communist party
and Chairman Mao, and delete the reference to the threat of slavery:

> March on, brave people of our nation! Our Communist party leads us
> on a new Long March. Million as one, march on, towards the
> Communist goal! Build our country, guard our country! We will work
> and fight. March on, march on, march on! For ever and ever, raising
> Mao Tse-tung's banner, march on! (Reed 1985: 112)

By singing the original version of the National Anthem,
protesters projected a strong plea for action without making a direct
statement against the Communist leaders.   According to one
Chinese student, the National Anthem "got resonance from the
people" (Zhou, pers. com. 1991) because of its call to defend the na-
tion and its historical importance during the Japanese invasion.

The obvious high spirits of the students on their first daytime
march of April 27 did not detract from the effectiveness of the
demonstrations. Many young women wore their best clothes in or-
der to make a good impression. Even if the protesters' good sports-
manship and ready sense of humor masked their seriousness of
purpose, their audacity in demonstrating at all acted as a vital stimu-
lant to the people of Beijing. Within a few weeks, at least a million
people a day would demonstrate on the streets of Beijing. The early
marches thus had political consequences far greater than the actions
and attitudes of the students seemed to warrant.

THE CHANTING AND SINGING AT TIANANMEN SQUARE AND AROUND
THE CITY DURING THE HUNGER STRIKE (MAY 13 TO 19)

From May 13 through May 19, both the students and the general
population of Beijing became extraordinarily vocal. The hunger
strikers sang, chanted, and played instruments, while visitors to
Tiananmen Square sang to entertain them. Several different cho-
ruses performed special programs to crowds seated in the square.
Accompanied by an accordion, two women circulated among the
buses housing the fasters, singing for each small group in an inti-
mate setting. As the fast continued, sympathetic city people chanted,
sang, beat out rhythms, and played recorded music as they

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[8]My translation from *Kangri Zhanzheng Gequ Xuanji* (*Selected Songs from the War
of Resistance against Japan*) (Anon. 1957:12).

demonstrated on the streets. Most supporters were young, but many older workers also marched, chanted, and sang.

It seemed to me that certain songs were performed only by particular groups of students and workers. For example, only artists, musicians, and dancers sang the song "Women Dou Shi Meishujia" ("We Are All Artists"). Art and music students seemed to gloat aloud in their rendition of this song, making up their own lyrics but always ending in "*Bu huijia*" ("We won't go home"). Some students smiled when they sang this song, others could not keep from laughing. They seemed to derive great satisfaction from proclaiming their unity and defying the authorities to make them go home.

May 19, 1989, Beijing: "Artists are sick and tired of performing the disgraceful schemes of the officials" ("Qiong yishujia yan jin taishang qun chou tu").

While sitting in Tiananmen Square on May 15, the art students sang "San Da Jilu Ba Xiang Zhuyi"[9] ("The Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention"), appearing highly amused by the politically-correct lyrics of this People's Liberation Army song: "We must be polite when we're speaking to the masses, Respect the people, don't be arrogant...Get rid of all habits decadent" (Ferguson 1979:93). This text outlined exactly what the protesters were criticizing in the current regime.

Students from the Traditional Music Conservatory often sang a hilarious and lively rendition of the call-and-response song "Ho! Hei!" Originally a Gansu folk song, it was transformed into an

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[9]This is the third song in the book *Zhandi Xin Ge* (Anon. 1972). For a translation, see Ferguson 1979:93.

Eighth Route Army song in support of the War of Resistance against Japan. Instead of singing the army's verses, the students made up their own: "For freedom, let's *ho! hei!* For democracy, let's *ho! hei!* We all arise, so *ho! hei!* We're not afraid, so *ho! hei!*" The refrain *"ho! hei!"* was accented as if accompanying the motions of work, reflecting the original folk song (Wong, pers. com. 1990). During the hunger strike, the students who sang this song always included a verse thanking the fasters. Sometimes verses were made up on the spur of the moment in response to a particular event. With the arrival of dancers at the square on May 15 the artists sang: "For the dancers, let's *ho! hei!* Let them in, so *ho! hei!*" This verse caused an outburst of laughter. Leaders sometimes repeated a phrase of the song. While entertaining the fasters on May 16, one student leader rhythmically shouted the phrase *"jiu shengli!"* ("victory!") in the song "Ho! Hei!" until the crowd of participants had worked up to a frenzied state of excitement. Repeated over and over, it elicited pulsating body-motion in the crowd and an outburst of cheers and applause afterwards.

At Tiananmen Square, and elsewhere around the city, people often used well-known tunes as carriers of new texts. The tune of "Frère Jacques," for example, was given the new words *"Dadao guandao"* ("Fight for the fall of the government"). The origin of the music did not seem to be as important as the familiarity of the melody. Well-known melodies could be adapted with new words and quickly taught to demonstrators.

Protesters usually limited their musical material to familiar melodies, including some recent songs, although newly composed songs were not considered to have the impact of older, more established material. Newer songs such as "Hand in Hand We Stand" and "Blood-Stained Glory" had clear political associations, and to my knowledge, no new texts were sung to the melodies of these songs.

By May 18 even school-aged children were participating in the demonstrations around Beijing. The youngsters I observed asserted their independence without disrespect for their elders. The children from the Central Conservatory of Music would not chant what their elders suggested they chant, showing independence from any authority regardless of political orientation. They insisted on complete control over the form and contents of their chants, which differed from those of the older students in several ways. The chants were in shorter fragments. The leader would give the first two syllables and the group would answer with the last two or three. For example, a boy about 10 years old might start with *"Gongren"* ("Workers") followed by the group with *"Wan sui!"* ("Long live!") This lack of repetition made the chants seem shorter. The young leaders generally could not keep the attention of the group for more than a few chants and the orderliness of the group easily deteriorated into noise-making.

Children showed less restraint than adults in expressing them-
selves in chant. The thrill of self-expression seemed to outweigh
their intent to communicate the textual meanings of their chants.
These 8-to-12-year-olds were the only demonstrators I heard who
dared name Deng Xiaoping in a chant, and they did so with reckless
humor. Despite the occasional daring content of their chants, their
purpose was less to shock than to please their audience, and they
maintained respect for the bounds set for them by their elders.
When their teachers forbade them to march, they complied.

THE STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL OF TIANANMEN SQUARE (MAY 13 TO
JUNE 2)

With the beginning of the hunger strike and continuous occupa-
tion of Tiananmen Square on May 13, conflict between demonstra-
tors and officials escalated, manifesting itself as a struggle for control
of the sound-space at the square. The fact that both sides wanted to
use the sound-space for their own ends suggests that both sides rec-
ognized the importance of auditory communications in achieving
political goals.
     When I arrived at the square at 5:20 A.M. on May 15, patriotic
Mao-era band music was already emanating from the official loud-
speakers. It was still dark, but even at this hour, small groups of
fasters were marching around the square for their morning exercise.
Instead of listening to the broadcast, the students sang as they
walked.   One tired-looking group sang the "Internationale," a
Communist anthem that appeared to be the most popular song in
Beijing during this period.   A group of students from the
Traditional Music Conservatory sang a folk song with new words.
Often more than one group of students would sing simultaneously,
either different songs or unsynchronized renditions of the same
song.
     The students attached loudspeakers to poles to amplify an-
nouncements, speeches, and live performances ˙ of songs.
Microphones helped singers˙ lead call-and-response songs involving
the participation of large crowds and helped them compete with the
official broadcasts. Eventually the students disabled many official
loudspeakers and the People's Liberation Army reportedly shot out
the student loudspeakers.
     Judging by volume, one reporter concluded at the end of May
that the students were overpowered by the government broadcasts
(Bernstein 1989). Another reporter pointed out that superiority in
volume was not a measure of success because the students ignored
these broadcasts:

     The sound of Tiananmen Square was not like any other sound. It was
     a mix of oppressive government loudspeakers that never stopped

> blaring and as many as a million human voices speaking individu-
> ally and freely. Often the government loudspeakers were louder,
> but people no more cared that the propaganda was so loud than
> they cared that the afternoon sun was so hot. In the midst of all
> that blare you could hear people laughing and singing. Very
> clearly, way over on the other side of the square, you could hear a
> little megaphone emitting Beethoven's *Ode to Joy*. (Allman
> 1989:230)

Most people, young and old, expected the broadcasts and perfor-
mances at Tiananmen Square to be important to them. They
brought cassette tape recorders to the square to record speeches, live
performances, and even other people's private conversations. Their
desire to document the aural and visual environment of the square
was sometimes passionate. When pop singer Hou Dejian and three
other celebrities began their fast on the afternoon of June 2, many
amateur photographers held cameras high over their heads and
clicked their shutters without even looking through the viewfind-
ers. At their peril, crowds climbed whatever was available as they
jockeyed for good viewing positions.

Since Tiananmen Square held up to a million people during the
demonstrations, the occurrence of multiple, simultaneous events
was common. In the latter part of May, the result resembled a per-
formance of John Cage's multi-media performance piece *Circus*, in
which the audience wanders around a space defined by booths of
various events lined up side by side. In this case the events un-
folded at each tent, and the sounds from many loudspeakers mixed
and spread over the crowds. While chaotic, the effect was highly
stimulating. Students were not always aware of whether broadcasts
were official or not, and moreover, did not always seem to care. If
they felt the broadcasts were important, they would ask each other to
quiet down.

The audience and the performers were mobile, often changing
places. We heard a variety of instruments, including the *dizi*
(Chinese flute), an amplified plucked instrument resembling a
yueqin (short-necked lute), guitars, and accordions. Battery-powered
bullhorns were used to play simple tunes, by pressing different but-
tons for different pitches. During the latter part of the hunger strike,
ambulance sirens sounded sporadically day and night.

The environment in the square was also visually saturated with
banners, posters, drawings, and many kinds of art works. Students
wrote on and wore costumes made from cloth, paper, plastic, and
straw.

Activity was everywhere. Long chains of students holding hands
rapidly crossed the square; young men climbed high on each other's
shoulders to adjust banners on poles. Shortly after the beginning of
martial law, students flew balloons and a Mickey Mouse kite over
Tiananmen Square in an attempt to discourage attack by helicopter.
Tents were continuously being put up, repaired, or improved. Large

groups marched; food and beverage delivery wagons inched through the crowds. The net result was a kind of hum:

> The sound of Tiananmen Square periodically would change pitch in such a way that from a hundred yards you could tell something new was happening. Most of the time it was a soprano hum that, even through closed windows, said, Everything is still O.K. Then the pitch would drop and you'd know immediately to rush to the balcony. Sometimes the pitch would change in a way you didn't so much hear as feel, and on those occasions you didn't run to the balcony. You ran right out of the room, out of the Beijing Hotel, up Chang'an, so as to get to Tiananmen Square as fast as possible. (Allman 1989:230)

The stimulating aural and visual environment promoted intense feelings. Greater risk-taking behavior was observable at this time. Crowds gathered in front of the official residence at Zhongnanhai to kick symbolically towards the main gate during their morning exercises, and commentators speaking to large crowds on the square made scathing remarks, no longer wishing Li Peng a long life. In addition to risk-taking, there were many manifestations of generosity, trust, and kindness between strangers. The Chinese press noted that pickpockets must have gone on holiday because crime was practically non-existent. Vendors no longer tripled their prices when they saw me coming and housewives pressed homemade dumplings into my hand. On the night of May 19, I heard reports of a wedding ceremony in the square.

THE DEMONSTRATIONS DURING MARTIAL LAW (MAY 20 TO JUNE 3)

Singing and chanting continued in a wide variety of contexts during the period of martial law. Around 1 A.M. on the first night of martial law, I arrived at Gongzhufen, on the west side of the city, to find a huge, impromptu chorus sitting in front of a convoy of parked military vehicles. The group was so large that three conductors were coordinating its singing of the "Internationale." A full moon and the floodlights of television cameramen provided the necessary lighting. The soldiers on duty had no choice but to listen to the songs being sung to them by protesters.

In Tiananmen Square itself, large crowds coordinated their singing by broadcasting with microphones and loudspeakers. This was especially useful at night when visibility was poor. Choral groups both at Tiananmen Square and on the streets of Beijing often used multiple conductors, regardless of musical need. Many wanted to conduct not only music, but also traffic. Volunteers sometimes

claimed an intersection or a stretch of road and gave hand signals well into the night.[10]

When I visited the square later in the day on May 20, a group of sports students who had just ended their hunger strike beckoned me to their bus. Smiling broadly, they immediately sang "Wo Ai Beijing Tiananmen." The text of this well-known children's song expressed the common cultural and political experience the students shared: "I love Beijing, Tiananmen, the sun always rises on Tiananmen, our great leader Chairman Mao leads us forward." The ironic circumstance of performance appeared to give these students great satisfaction. By singing the Communist doctrine they had been taught as children while physically present in Tiananmen Square, the students validated their defiance of the current regime.

Another group of sports students sang a popular song with lyrics that seemed to reflect their plight: "Stay awhile, there's too much I haven't said." The leader smiled as he sang and put his arms around a classmate. During the period of martial law, people often sang and chanted with their arms around one another. Following the song, the leader gave a short speech denouncing Premier Li Peng. He continued smiling as if no political topic could erase the good feelings he had just experienced in singing with his peers.

During martial law, the students sang several songs important in the history of the Chinese Communists. Accompanied by a guitar, youngsters atop a bus at Tiananmen sang "Nan Ni Wan," from the period when the Communists were establishing themselves in Yunnan Province (Zhou, pers. com. 1991). While marching into Tiananmen Square at dawn on May 22, the group of young men calling themselves the "City People's Dare To Die Squad" sang the National Anthem. Within the human wall formed by the men holding hands, one young man raised his arms high over his head and, smiling as if amazed by his own confidence, jubilantly proclaimed that he was not afraid.

On the afternoon of May 18, demonstrators drove a large truck displaying a huge likeness of Mao Zedong very slowly past the square while broadcasting a stately instrumental rendition of the "Internationale." In keeping with many other references to Chairman Mao during this political movement, the slow tempo afforded respect and honor to the immortalized leader whose embalmed remains rest in a mausoleum in Tiananmen Square itself. The students were ambivalent about Mao's status, but some of the older workers clearly cherished his memory. On May 19 a sign on the side of a truck full of demonstrating workers stated "Chairman Mao lives forever in the hearts of the people."

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[10]The increase in traffic directing may have been an attempt to prove that the demonstrators were orderly: "It was obvious to even casual observers that the municipal government had ordered traffic police withdrawn from the center of the city, in what seemed a deliberate effort to show that the demonstrators were bringing disorder to the city" (Barmé 1991: 42).

Each night for about a week the students expected a military invasion of the square before dawn. Because it was difficult to sleep under the threat of violence, they intermittently sang patriotic songs, performed slowly and with emotion. The paced renditions of the "Internationale" in the darkness seemed to be a way of confirming vows and praying for justice. They seemed to calm nerves and fortify resolve, maintaining the spirits of the protesters, just as afternoon naps helped maintain their bodies.

THE GODDESS OF DEMOCRACY (MAY 29 TO JUNE 3)

On the evening of May 29, students from the Central Academy of Art ceremoniously erected a ten-meter plaster statue of a woman holding a torch in the north part of Tiananmen Square. They named her the "Goddess of Democracy." The event was solemnized by music and spectacle. By the time I arrived in the square around 7 P.M., student guards had sectioned off a large area. They controlled the pressing crowds by chanting "*Yi, er, zuo xia!*" ("One, two, sit down!"). As the students erected the scaffold in preparation for the arrival of the segments of the statue, their broadcast system played J. S. Bach's chorale *A Mighty Fortress* and a choral piece by Handel. Once the scaffold was in place, a student climbed to the highest horizontal pole to hang a basket of flowers. Then the young men raised school flags and the national flag to fly at the top. With the arrival of the four statue segments after midnight, the crowd cheered victoriously and a group of young people burst into song. Barely audible above the cheering, it was the "Internationale." The students continued to broadcast the Bach chorale from a small tent well into the night as the men on the scaffold labored to raise the segments of the statue without the help of machines. To coordinate their pulling and pushing, the men chanted together. By the time the first segment of the statue, the head, was in place, many people in the crowd were in tears.

The repetition of the Bach chorale during the raising of the statue accented the seriousness of the event by giving it a solemn aura. The rhythmically unified chorale style seemed to proclaim the unity and strength of the people, while the "mighty fortress" reference may have symbolized the indomitable will of the Chinese masses. While I did not speak directly with the person who chose this music to discuss its intended effect, it seemed to me that through music the people claimed the mandate of heaven to self-rule, and with the raising of the statue, they inaugurated themselves. This was a very emotional experience for observers and participants alike.

According to a report by participant Tsao Hsingyuan, the unveiling ceremony the next day was accompanied by music:

As these "veils" fell the crowd burst into cheers, there were shouts of "Long live democracy!" and other slogans, and some began to sing the "Internationale." A musical performance was given by students from the Central Academy of Music: choral renditions of the "Hymn to Joy" from Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, another foreign song and one Chinese, and finally the "Internationale" again. (Han 1990: 347-8)

Celebrations continued day and night at the foot of the statue with a wide variety of performances, both planned and unplanned. All performances took place facing north towards Mao Zedong's portrait on Tiananmen Gate, with the statue also facing north and serving as a backdrop. I observed many kinds of vocal and instrumental music; drama, in the form of story-telling and comedy; dance; and martial arts. Performers were mostly young, ranging in age from kindergartners to men in their forties.

Among the planned musical performances were traditional instrumental pieces, Communist songs, children's songs, Western and popular songs, and songs with new lyrics written especially for the occasion. One child sang a song with lyrics in English: "Happy New Year!" A mixed chorus singing in unison rehearsed off to the side of the statue, then took up a position in front of it to perform. Unplanned performances involved audience participation. Anyone present might be asked to get up and perform, regardless of ability to sing or play. Like the flowers and plants that had been offered to the Goddess at her base, the performances appeared to be offered with love and respect.

Their faces glowing with pleasure, audiences at the statue responded enthusiastically to all the performances, including the Communist songs. Mistakes and imperfections sometimes elicited laughter, but never derision. The children's musical contributions seemed especially effective. One listener mentioned that he fervently wanted the demonstrators to succeed for the benefit of the children.

During the time the Goddess of Democracy reigned over the square, the students named one of their loudspeaker systems the "Goddess of Democracy Broadcast Station." This was controlled by young women in a small red tent near the statue. In the quiet early-morning hours of June 2, the Goddess of Democracy Broadcast Station played the Largo movement of Handel's *Xerxes* and other Western classical music as swallows chirped and soared above Tiananmen Gate. The square seemed bathed in a calm serenity detached from time and place.

Besides confronting Mao Zedong's portrait, the strategic placement of the Goddess facing north allowed all traffic on the Avenue of Eternal Peace to pass under her gaze and receive her symbolic blessing. Those who performed at her feet not only received her blessing, but temporarily became her voice.

By modeling the statue of the Goddess of Democracy somewhat after the Statue of Liberty,[11] the young students implied that their ideals were rooted in the long history of another civilization. The repetition of the Bach chorale and the Handel piece enhanced the link to the West. At the same time, the Goddess of Democracy was distinctive enough to show that the students were not simply mimicking Western concepts of democracy. Many observers have remarked on the statue's use of both arms to hold up her torch. Besides the obvious implications of fragility, this variation from the Statue of Liberty was a statement of individuality, demonstrating that her creators were fully prepared to make their own decisions.

By allowing diverse people to perform, the student organizers showed that they were willing to cooperate with others outside their immediate group. This acceptance of a wide variety of musical styles echoed the attitudes of participants in the black South African churches:

> Performance of their church music was the chief sign of their commitment to the Zionist way of life, and it occupied much of their spare time, but their appreciation and performance of other musical styles reflected their view that they were not an exclusive in-group so much as a community that encompassed all walks of black African life. (Blacking 1981:51)

In Beijing, the performance of patriotic music was often a clear sign of commitment to the student movement, but protesters also appreciated and used many other kinds of music. By accepting songs of diverse origins, including the Communist songs, the protesters showed that the Goddess of Democracy accepted the voices of all who came to her. Enhanced by audience participation, these performances were auditory realizations of the abstract concept of democracy.

Even though the morale of the people was already high after the statue was completed, the performances raised it even higher. They helped create a celebratory mood at the statue, counteracting the pall of anxiety that had hung over the square since the beginning of martial law on May 20. Live performances and broadcasts added to the fragile illusion of peace and security around the Goddess, providing relief to the many city people who visited the square, as well as to the students who had written their wills and night after night risked violent eviction from their encampments.

Besides raising morale, performing and attending performances at the statue channeled energy that otherwise might have caused trouble during the tense period of martial law. Participation in these activities was a harmless way to pass the time while waiting

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[11]According to Tsao Hsingyuan, the Goddess of Democracy was modeled after the statue *A Worker and Collective Farm Woman*, by Russian revolutionary realist Vera Mukhjina (Tsao 1989:16), yet the resemblance to the Statue of Liberty was unmistakable.

for a resolution to the brewing conflict. On the other hand, many students had tired of the demonstrations by the end of May. If the statue and the events at the statue had not given them a focus of interest, many more might have given up and gone home.

THE MILITARY INVASION OF BEIJING (JUNE 3 AND 4) AND THE AFTERMATH

Although martial law went into effect on May 20, applying only to the inner districts of the city of Beijing, it was not until the night of June 3 that the army made a determined assault on the city. Many people at different locations around Beijing used music and chant as a way of coping with the crisis of this military invasion. People of all ages, from infants to the elderly, both male and female, were on the streets that night. At first, people had difficulty believing that the army was shooting its way into Beijing and joked about it. They argued about which gunshots were blank and which were real bullets and scrambled to collect spent shells as souvenirs. They applauded when the windows popped out of their burning buses at Fuxingmen and yelled "*Hao!*" ("Good!") when tires exploded with a bang. These buses had been set on fire by the city people to block the road. As the severity of the situation became more apparent, some young men yelled insults at the soldiers or threw bricks or Molotov cocktails. In an effort to maintain order and reduce the danger to individuals, an older man at Fuxingmen, west of Tiananmen Square, instructed the agitated crowds to chant as one voice. Shortly after midnight a great number of male and female voices rose up together out of the darkness and repeated the question: "*Ni shi shenma jundui?*" ("Whose army are you?") to the soldiers as they passed by. This amorphous group thus reminded the soldiers that the People's Liberation Army was never intended to be used against the people. The call-and-response pattern of chanting was still employed, but the leader's role seemed less prominent. Probably for safety reasons, the leader's voice was loud enough for only those in the immediate vicinity to hear. Chanting like this allowed people to address the soldiers without drawing attention to themselves as individuals. Under cover of darkness, the disembodied sound seemed to float up from many directions. Anonymity was complete. I heard one man chant an earlier favorite, "The people's army loves the people, the people's army protects the people," but he did so quietly and to himself.

Around two o'clock in the morning just east of Fuxingmen, a group of young and middle-aged men walking their bicycles followed a battalion of foot soldiers eastward down the Avenue of Eternal Peace towards Tiananmen Square. Sometimes they sang; sometimes they chanted. Normally they ducked behind their

bicycles when the soldiers turned around to shoot, but on one blood-chilling occasion they were in the midst of vigorously singing the "Internationale" when the soldiers began shooting. Instead of ducking, the men held their ground and kept singing in spite of the machine gun fire. The song continued as if nothing could stop it, transfixing the listeners standing on the sidewalk, myself included. Nobody retreated. After this incident was over, the crowd continued towards Tiananmen Square, putting itself at risk regardless of the violent tendencies of the soldiers. I learned later that this was not an isolated event, but that others witnessed similar singing. According to Shapiro's report in the *New Yorker*, which quotes observer Peter Thompson:

> "I think the most awful moment came when [the confrontation] reached a point a couple of blocks west of the square, just north of our building, and we could hear really large groups of people singing 'The East is Red'—an old Maoist anthem—and the 'Internationale,' and then we could hear the machine guns, and then the crowd would begin singing again." The "Internationale" was sung by Beijing Normal Teachers College students, who linked arms and marched forward in an insane and terribly courageous attempt to block the armored column at Xi Dan. Two hundred were later reported killed. (Shapiro 1989b: 84)

Patrick Finley quoted Tsao Hsingyuan in *The Monthly*: "We held each other's hands and sang the 'Internationale' and walked toward the soldiers. I forgot who I was. I forgot where I was. I followed the people" (Finley 1989: 21).

According to excerpts of a report by student leader Chai Ling, there was singing in the Square that night:

> At this time, megaphones inside the headquarters tent and loudspeakers outside played the song, "The Descendents of the Dragon" [a popular song about the Chinese race by Hou Dejian]. Our classmates sang along with the music, their eyes welling up with tears. Everybody hugged each other and held hands, for each person knew the last moment of his or her life had arrived, the moment had come to sacrifice our lives for the Chinese people....The students began singing the "Internationale"; over and over they sang it, hands clasped tightly together. (Han 1990: 363-4)

The "Internationale" and a few other songs helped the people meet their most urgent needs during this time of crisis. The value of singing the "Internationale" was so great that many protesters took no further measures besides singing this song to save their lives during gunfire or while approaching the soldiers. Through song, the protesters dramatically demonstrated the strength of their faith in non-violent methods.

Immediately after June 4, all public performances of music, dance, and drama in Beijing were canceled by authorities, reducing opportunities for self-expression. Even three weeks after the invasion professional dancers and musicians still could not perform in

public. A dancer explained to me that for safety reasons no one wanted to be out at night anyway. Yet even daytime performances were temporarily discontinued. Elderly Peking Opera musicians who usually gathered at a small grassy spot west of Fuxingmen dispersed during the time soldiers were camping on the north side of the street. On the other hand, some outdoor performances of music still took place. While soldiers kept vigil nearby on the evening of June 24, an informal band played tango music outdoors in Binhe Park on the west side of Beijing. Anyone who wanted to dance could do so, and many did, although the students in my group just sat on a retaining wall and watched. After June 4, individuals generally refrained from singing while out in the street. Humming a patriotic song while approaching a military roadblock at night was considered to be far more dangerous than allowing small children to point their toy guns at the soldiers.

On June 5 a clock tower on the Avenue of Eternal Peace continued to chime out the melody of "The East is Red" even as the avenue lay quiet in ruins below. Army vehicles had torn up some of the ornamental trees, the tanks had chewed up the pavement and crushed the cement lane dividers, many vehicles were still burning, and the rubble of destruction brought all but military traffic to a halt. As if this scene were not painful enough, a reminder of the lyrics of the third verse of this song added insult to injury: "the Communist Party is like the sun/Bringing light wherever it shines/Where there's the Communist Party...there the people win liberation."

THE "INTERNATIONALE"

More than any other song, the "Internationale" characterized the protest movement in 1989. It was heard so often and in so many different contexts that it seemed to fill every possible role. The "Internationale" originated in France after the fall of the Paris Commune. The text was written by Eugene Pottier in 1871; Pierre Degeyter composed the music in 1888. Sung by the proletariat of the late nineteenth century, it then served as the national anthem of the Soviet Union from 1917 to 1944. Translated into Chinese first in 1920 in France, and then again in 1923 in Beijing, the "Internationale" was revised by the People's Republic in 1962 for the following role:

> To unite in struggle the world's proletariat and revolutionary people, to overthrow the system of exploitation, to use one's own strength to liberate one's self, and to be the bugle call for the struggle to realize Communist theory. (Wang 1985:137, my translation)

It survived the Cultural Revolution's purge of European music be-
cause of its role as "the emblem of the rise of proletarian music"
(Kraus 1989:173).

The "Internationale" strengthened the fragile position of the
protesters by referring to past Communist struggles around the
world. Used by the Chinese Communist Party for more than half a
century, the "Internationale" was given the most prominent posi-
tion in a book of more than one hundred political songs in 1977.[12]
By singing a song with such high political status among the
Communists, the people suggested that they were the true inheri-
tors of the revolutionary spirit, and that their actions were patriotic
and reasonable. This helped validate their purpose.

The lyrics of the "Internationale" promoted solidarity. The first
verse and refrain translate roughly as:

> Arise, poverty-stricken slaves; Arise, suffering people of the world;
> Full of seething hot blood, struggle for the truth! The old world
> passes like falling flowers and flowing water; slaves arise, arise!
> Don't say we have nothing, we can become the masters of the world.
> [refrain] This is the ultimate struggle, unite and arise until tomor-
> row. Heroes calling forth endurance will definitely succeed. (My
> translation)

The Chinese characters "Yingtenaxiongna," transliterated from
the title "Internationale" in the last phrase of the refrain, can also be
loosely interpreted to mean "International Communist theory will
definitely become a reality throughout the world" (Anon. 1972: 2).
On the other hand, a middle-aged Chinese-born composer (Wong,
pers. com. 1990) told me later that the lyrics "Yingtenaxiongna" re-
ferred only to the name of the song and had no other meaning. It is
possible that the words in this phrase were less important than the
allusion to the early days of struggle.

The importance of the "Internationale" during the crisis of June
3 and 4 can be explained in many ways. Its performance had an im-
pact on both singers and audience. It is almost certain that the sol-
diers heard and recognized the "Internationale," although what
meaning it had for them is not clear. In any case, the song did serve
to identify the people to the soldiers, letting them know that the
"baotu" ("hooligans") their officers had warned them against were
in fact citizens with ideals inherited from the Chinese Communist
Party founders. The protesters apparently had confidence that the
soldiers would not want to hurt their own people. This confidence
was still evident in the first weeks after the invasion when mothers
held up their babies for soldiers to admire and middle-aged men

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[12]*Mao Zhuxi Nin Shi Women Xinzhong Bu Luo de Hong Taiyang (Chairman Mao,
You are the Unsetting Red Sun in Our Hearts)* (Anon. 1977). The high status of the
"Internationale" has not been continuous. There is no mention of it in *China's
Patriots Sing*, a collection of 22 patriotic songs published in 1944.

brought them orange sodas. I observed one soldier kindly repairing a woman's bicycle.

By singing behind the backs of the soldiers as well as to their faces, the people indicated that they were not planning to commit acts of violence. To my knowledge, no one engaged in acts of violence while singing. Since fear increased the likelihood that some skittish young soldiers would shoot, anything that helped reduce fear would also have helped reduce chaos and bloodshed. Throughout the uprising protesters showed a distaste for chaos. According to Blacking, the black nationalists in the churches of South Africa also shunned chaos (Blacking 1981:46).

The act of singing the "Internationale" also promoted solidarity among the singers themselves. The circumstances of performance along with its historical associations and its text enhanced the feeling of solidarity to such a degree that the sense of individual importance seemed to vanish. John Fraser sums up the strength of the "Internationale" in his story of the Democracy Wall in 1978:

> Finally, after about fifteen minutes, the organizers restored discipline, and everyone relaxed after a very inspired bit of crowd control: a man simply started singing the "Internationale," the stirring anthem of the world's working classes....Everyone sang lustily. I have never heard such singing, never heard a song so moving. I saw what had first seemed a ragtag, disorderly mob transformed into a melded whole, and I got a vision of what "the masses" really meant. The force of their singing was a symbol of the force of their power. (Fraser 1980: 244)

Besides promoting solidarity, singing the "Internationale" also helped demonstrators maintain a positive self-concept in spite of the dehumanizing treatment they received during the invasion on the night of June 3. Like the *sefela* songs of South Africa described by Coplan, the "Internationale" and other patriotic songs were powerful vehicles in establishing self-identity (Coplan 1987: 419). Feelings of solidarity and a secure self-identity gave individuals the courage to face perilous conditions on behalf of their group.

Coplan has suggested that war anthems sung by black South Africans served the role of preparing participants for death rather than victory (Coplan 1987: 416). It is possible that singing in Tiananmen Square at this time served a similar purpose. According to student leader Chai Ling, those in the square on the night of the invasion were preparing to sacrifice themselves. The sound of the "Internationale" radiated like a beacon of conviction that left no doubt about the worthiness of the cause. It seemed to represent a moral commitment that was not negotiable even in the face of death. Encouraged by the lyrics "struggle for the truth," the people may have felt that moral victory was theirs regardless of military outcome, and that at worst, the song would provide an honorable context in which to fall. The singers represented not only themselves, but their fellow countrymen as well. Those who sang

assumed the voices of those who fell, demonstrating to the soldiers that their ideals were not easily dispatched. The song would continue even if the individuals did not. The desire for honor was apparent in the actions of the students as they began to leave Tiananmen Square shortly before 5 A.M. on June 4.[13] Holding their banners high, they marched out as if in victory for some invincible power.

Singing the "Internationale" during the military invasion may have helped neutralize the horror of violence, enabling protesters to focus their thoughts enough to continue forward in difficult circumstances. Together with the National Anthem, it helped suppress fear, both during martial law and during the invasion. The jubilant boasting of fearlessness by the member of the "Dare-to-Die" squad mentioned above suggested to me that overcoming fear had been difficult. With the help of a few important songs, protesters reduced the probability that fear would prevent them from committing heroic acts. The people on the streets of Beijing during the military invasion succeeded well enough to convince one reporter that there was a total lack of fear in their faces (Allman 1989:231).

By singing in the face of imminent danger during the military invasion, the people showed how important the "Internationale" was to them in all its different strategic roles. Liu Liang-mo observed in 1945 that the mass-singing movement in China had reached phenomenal heights and that it had a tremendous effect on China's ability to resist the Japanese invasion (Liu 1945). In 1989 singing neither halted the invading army nor gained protesters a voice in the government, yet it formed a fundamental strategy used by the Chinese people to gather their political strength. Singing enhanced the protesters' ability to resist internal oppression and helped establish such a strong network of social bonds that the foundation for subsequent political agitation was firmly established.

MUSIC AS A "DANGER ZONE"

All public performances in Beijing were cancelled immediately after the invasion. This phenomenon was in keeping with what Zhou Fangyang encountered as chairman of the Shanghai Radio and Television Bureau:

> In 1960 I came to work at the radio station (in Shanghai). At that time, music was a "danger zone." Music was called "the sacred sensor of class struggle" and was considered a sensitive area. Every time there was political turbulence, music was always the first area

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[13]My ability to observe was severely curtailed after 5:15 A.M., June 4, 1989, when soldiers took me into custody, confiscated my video camera and tape, and detained me all day.

> to be affected. The time allotted for music programs was cut time
> and again, many programs were banned. (Zhou 1988, quoted in
> Hamm 1991:24)

In 1989 music was still considered to be a "danger zone," with live performances having more subversive potential than broadcast ones. Before the invasion of Beijing on June 4, dissidents sang songs together in public while soldiers typically listened to popular music on their truck radios. Even though I observed soldiers daily on the streets of Beijing from May 20 to July 8, and spent the whole day of June 4 surrounded by soldiers in their temporary stronghold at the Workers' Cultural Palace, I never heard them sing anything. After the invasion I did hear groups of soldiers chanting together while exercising. In Beijing, not only was the performance of patriotic music a chief sign of commitment to the student movement, but the public performance of music in general was seen as a clear sign of political activism. Blacking's observation that the performance of church music in South Africa was a chief sign of commitment to the Zionist way of life is a specialized example of the general theory that any music can play a political role. If music-making in general is politically dangerous, then Tiananmen Square was a hotbed of upheaval during the few weeks of spring in 1989. The phenomenal rise of political and social feelings in such a short span of time attests to the potency of the methods used.

Part of the "danger" of music was due to the potential of singing and chanting to bridge the physical space between people. During times of threatened invasion, protesters often held hands or hugged each other while singing. Physical contact was not limited to the young. Older scientists also put their arms around each other while chanting. Physical contact during singing or chanting generally enhanced feelings of solidarity, and sometimes continued after performances.

The combination of activity in Tiananmen Square had significance beyond the details of its content in the same way that the early daytime marches had political consequences beyond the implications of the students' individual actions. A look at the chanting of the elementary-school children helps explain this phenomenon. The act of chanting itself was exhilarating, regardless of what was being chanted. Temporarily and within prescribed bounds, the youngsters freely expressed themselves, usually imitating the older students, but never forced to do so. Moreover, their audience gave them immediate, positive feedback. The demonstrators passing by either on foot or in their decorated vehicles provided a steady stream of appreciative responses. This feedback was an exciting reward for the young demonstrators because it proved that they were able to achieve solidarity with other protesters on their own terms. Politics and patriotism, though important, were secondary to the establishment of strength in numbers and the feeling of empowerment that accompanied it. To establish the broadest popular

support, the basis for solidarity was quite general and echoed the desire for empowerment: *"renmin wansui"* ("long live the people"). Many chants were variations on this theme. With the supremacy of the people foremost in importance, it was assumed that a responsive and responsible government would follow.

The quest for solidarity with others cut across social strata and divisions by occupation, education, and age. The city people cheered the police and the police cheered back. Older workers marched in support of the student hunger strikers. Communist party members and non-members helped each other demonstrate. Businesses donated goods and funds while workers volunteered services. To safeguard the health of demonstrators at Tiananmen Square, farmers' families distributed garlic and doctors dispensed free medication and advice on how to avoid catching cold while sleeping outdoors. The university students had even hoped to achieve solidarity with foreigners, preparing a warm welcome for Soviet Premier Gorbachev on his May 15 visit. Although prevented from seeing Gorbachev, they were nevertheless successful in forging solidarity with many other people using a variety of means.

The act of chanting was one of the means of establishing strength in numbers. Protesters of all ages became audible and intelligible to onlookers by uniting their voices in chant. Sheer volume was not the goal—a solitary chanter could easily have been amplified with the use of a bullhorn. Numbers of participants were as important as volume in achieving and expressing solidarity. The more endorsement ideas got, the more acceptable they became.[14] Group chanting was therefore an effective way of presenting ideas.

Music was not simply a reflection of the conflict between protesters and officials, it was a central part of the struggle. By accepting each others' singing and chanting, demonstrators accepted each others' freedom of expression. This freedom of expression was a threat to party leaders, especially since the solidarity that resulted from it led to feelings of empowerment, encouraging further independence. Beyond the control of the authorities, music in this context was clearly a "danger zone." The usually silent masses united their voices group by group and delivered their very audible messages. On the most fundamental level, the cacophony on the streets of Beijing and at Tiananmen Square was the emergence of the sound of self-determination and feelings of solidarity made possible by its realization.

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[14]The value of endorsement was nowhere more prominent than in Tiananmen Square itself during the hunger strike when the students spent many hours soliciting signatures and statements of support from visitors and other hunger strikers. They invited people to write on their clothing, their hats, their school identification cards, and even on their bodies. Heavily "endorsed," these youngsters endured their self-imposed starvation.

CREATIVE ADAPTATION, CULTURAL AUTHORITY, AND SYMBOLISM

The rationale of music as a "danger zone" becomes clearer upon examining the role of creative adaptation in performance and the invocation of cultural authority through historical reference and symbolism. According to an observer in Xi'An, the demonstrators followed a tradition of ritual and political theater, which they manipulated to assert their own identities:

> Whenever students are brought together for a ceremonial occasion, they will try to transform the ritual into an opportunity to affirm their own identities and express their own views. The "Internationale" was the most important anthem of 1989, and it will remain the anthem of the students. It is very hard to ban the "Internationale" as a symbol of bourgeois liberalism.

> The problem goes beyond a specific song. Ritual has always been central to Chinese governance, especially given the Confucian preference for ritual over law. In the Twentieth century, when Confucian ritual began to lose force in the political realm, politicians tried to substitute political theatre....the spring of 1989 has shown us that young people schooled in a politics of theatre will adapt the official repertoire to scripts of their own making. Once they bring their theatre to the streets, they are strikingly creative in devising new repertoires of symbolic protest....the creative potential of China's young actors was proved beyond a doubt. (Esherick 1991: 104-5)

Creative adaptation in performance is an essential ingredient of successful political protest. Contextual factors such as the location and timing of performances were as important as the selection of songs and texts. The call-and-response format of chanting involving large numbers of people might appear to demand little creativity, and yet the interaction between leaders, followers, and audience allowed for considerable creative adaptation. Individual phrases could be added, repeated, or emphasized. Gestures, tone of voice, and shifts from singing to chanting within a song all allowed leaders to shape expression in order to maximize impact on listeners and performers alike. This flexibility in performance heightened the political consciousness of the people of Beijing in the same way that it heightened the political consciousness of church members in South Africa, as noted by Blacking. In addition, the creative manipulation of performance elements helps explain why a wide range of music had political value at Tiananmen Square in 1989. Similarly, Caraveli notes that laments could be used in a variety of contexts in rural Greece: "The manipulation of textual and performance elements can render a lament applicable to a variety of contexts" (1986:187).

Partly through creative adaptation, older songs acquired new meaning in the context of the struggle at Tiananmen Square, contradicting arguments by Greenway and Watson that political songs

rarely outlive their composers: "most are occasional songs that lose their meaning when the events for which they were composed are forgotten, or displaced by greater crises" (Greenway 1960:5). The "Internationale" outlived its composer to become the most frequently heard song of the 1989 demonstrations in Beijing, possessing greater political value than the newer songs. Whether or not songs retain political value over time appears to depend on the ability of performers to adapt them to new contexts.

History and tradition furnished a rich and important source of material to be creatively manipulated in performance. In China, the performing arts and popular culture are strongly linked with the traditional heritage:

> The cultural scene as a whole consists of a wide variety of genres and forms. When performing arts are studied alongside written literature, and popular arts are given the same depth of analysis as elite forms, phenomena such as the strength of the traditional heritage in contemporary Chinese culture become more apparent. (McDougall 1984: xiii)

The activities of the students drew upon these connections. The use of human walls to keep out strangers echoed the Great Wall, the all-day march echoed the Long March of Mao's supporters, and the call-and-response format in political chanting echoed protests of the 1930s.[15] Many of the songs heard in 1989 had folk origins, and banners made reference to the demonstrations of 1919.

Besides the practicality of using well-known melodies and songs, references to the past bestowed cultural authority on performers. According to Coplan, historical references are important in legitimizing political criticism by establishing the cultural authority of the performer. The use of metaphors, symbolism, and traditional imagery in creative self-expression helped confirm the cultural authority of the performers, enhancing their status in the eyes of viewers, who often loudly and enthusiastically expressed their admiration. This cultural authority strengthened the identity of the demonstrators, encouraging them to develop heroic self-concepts and entitling them to express dissatisfaction with the current leadership (Coplan 1987:415).

Often ironic or humorous, historical references established the cultural authority of protesters and enhanced group identity while delighting both performers and audiences. When the authorities promised to pay 30 *renminbi*, the equivalent of an average city worker's weekly salary, to each person demonstrating in favor of the government, protesters accepted the offer but circumvented the government's intent by symbolically evoking historical references. Participants on this march of June 2 donned historic masks or hats, some of which referred to the Ming Dynasty, and recited slogans

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[15]In 1930, workers sang a call-and-response song when reminded of their recent strike for a 10-hour day in a silk factory (Smedley 1943: 92).

taken from feudal ideology, ironically espousing conservative, deliberately anti-modern sentiment, as they marched to Tiananmen Square. Thrilled onlookers ran up to them laughing, yelling, and applauding. By associating the current leadership with Ming Dynasty feudalism, participants in this government-sponsored demonstration were able to make a very effective, ironic statement supporting reform.

Barmé suggests that the protests were especially powerful because they "used the symbols and emotions created by years of government propaganda to oppose the government itself" (Barmé 1991: 52–3). The "Internationale" had greater political value to protesters because of its origins as a Communist song. Likewise Mao-era songs that originated as government propaganda, such as "I Love Beijing, Tiananmen" and "The Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention," were particularly effective as protest. This "subversion of symbols" was a powerful tool in the hands of demonstrators.

Referential meaning was not always essential to a song's political impact. The common use of vocables, such as "e-i-o," "fa la la," and "ho! hei!" in some songs suggests that participants sought to free themselves from the restrictions of words. Even the "Internationale" contained transliterated syllables whose meaning was obscure. The use of these syllables indicates that other aspects of the songs' performance, such as mood, historical association, or accompanying physical motions, may have been as significant as referential content. The frequent use of non-lexical syllables also suggests that self-expression was important in itself, independent of referential meanings in the texts.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

During the seven weeks of demonstrations in the spring of 1989, music served as a multi-faceted protest strategy in Beijing. It helped maintain order, both on the streets and in Tiananmen Square, and strengthened bonds between people while also distinguishing insiders from outsiders. Chanting unified groups of people, provided safety in numbers, promoted participation of the more timid demonstrators while checking the behavior of the more daring ones, and enhanced the intelligibility of groups to observers. By establishing strength in numbers, chanting promoted solidarity and feelings of empowerment.

Singing and chanting were important in maintaining high morale during the hunger strike, dispelling doubt and fear, and channeling energy for constructive purposes. They assisted in validating the protesters' actions as legal and patriotic, and helped disseminate information, raise money, and minimize danger. Music,

as well as other arts, such as literature, calligraphy, painting, drawing, fashion, and even food, were essential in meeting these critical needs during the uprising.

Demonstrators at Tiananmen Square were expected to be able to sing a few patriotic songs such as the "Internationale" and the National Anthem. In addition, individuals and small groups performed a wide variety of music including folk, popular, and classical songs. Sometimes new verses were written or improvised, and phrases were repeated or modified to fit the circumstances of performance. Instrumental music played or broadcast as part of the demonstrations showed a similar breadth of styles and origins. The context of performance or broadcast contributed significantly to the meaning of this music.

The struggle for control of the sound-space at Tiananmen Square enhanced the political consciousness of those on the square and ultimately increased their willingness to act. The sheer bulk of sound-mass at Tiananmen had a stimulating effect on listeners irrespective of the details of its content, indicating that self-expression was as important as the content of what was being expressed. Music not only reflected the conflict between students and government officials, it was itself part of the struggle.

Music played a major role at the Goddess of Democracy statue. It added to the sense of ritual during her construction. The choice of Western classical music helped to validate the project by evoking strong historical and ideological connections. The continuous performances at the statue had symbolic value not only as offerings to the Goddess, but also as representations of her voice. By actively seeking audience participation in performances at the Goddess's base and welcoming a wide variety of music, student organizers indicated a desire not only to be democratic, but also to cultivate solidarity. By accepting all kinds of self-expression, organizers and participants "endorsed" one another, forging strong solidarity regardless of political orientation.

During the invasion of Beijing, singing served as a means of non-violent protest. By singing, the people were able to identify themselves and their non-violent intentions to the soldiers. The act of singing together, as well as the lyrics of the songs, promoted solidarity, enabling people to focus their attention on facing the army and helping them counteract the impact of violence on their ability to respond. Thanks to its high status among the Communists, the "Internationale" provided singers with historical validity and honor regardless of military outcome.

My observations support Blacking's theories concerning the importance of context in music as a protest strategy. The act of singing together at the square and on the streets of Beijing enhanced a collective consciousness. As both Blacking and Caraveli have observed, creative decision-making in performance heightens the political feelings of the performers. In Beijing, singers accentuated

timely ideas in their verses and adapted their performances to immediate circumstances. My observations firmly support McDougall's theories about the importance of traditional heritage, and also support Coplan's interpretation that historical references strengthen the cultural authority of demonstrators, validating their right to self-expression. As a vehicle for self-expression, music was an integral part of the struggle at Tiananmen Square in 1989, and its remarkable strength as protest strategy depended significantly on contextual factors.

By examining and comparing political protests around the world, we can reach a better understanding of how music affects the development of uprisings. The strength of music as a protest strategy in Beijing illustrates the important position the arts may play in world political events, and suggests that further study in this area will yield valuable results.

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ELECTRONIC MAIL SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS IN MUSIC AND DANCE: AN ASSESSMENT[1]

Samuel Will Parnes

Editor's introduction:

Over the last twenty years or so, wide-area electronic computer communications networks have become increasingly accessible, primarily within universities and high-technology industry around the world. Such networks, consisting of computers interconnected by telecommunications lines and switching equipment, are designed to facilitate rapid exchange of data and the sharing of computer services. They have consequently wrought certain transformations in *social* communication. Perhaps the most prominent social effect of the new technology is electronic mail, a facility which delivers electronic messages from a user on one computer (or "host") to the electronic "mailbox" of any other user at any other host in the network.

Electronic mail is distinctive for its speed (though not all networks offer immediate message delivery), for its compatibility with other computer software (electronic messages can be generated, sorted, searched, filed, duplicated, edited, and redistributed using the computer), and for its multi-addressing capability. This last feature is a critical advantage: a message can be delivered to any number of users at once, "broadcast," as it were, to a select (or self-selecting) group. Thus, the user population of a network may be divided into overlapping, electronically linked, "special interest groups" ("SIGs"). Given the appropriate communications software, a network user can (sometimes with the permission of a group "moderator") distribute a message to the entire group by mailing it (electronically) to a single network location. In this way, electronic mail enables a mode of rapid textual communication within a potentially worldwide user population which shares only network access and a common interest in a particular topic. The sender may

have no detailed knowledge about recipients, other than their common devotion to the particular topic unifying the SIG.

Thus, perhaps for the first time in history, rapid informal discussion may take place within an abstract social group defined only by mutual interests, and unconstrained by spatial proximity (though certainly constrained by network access—a factor with significant sociocultural correlates—as well as by the social conventions of electronic mail interaction, and the technological limitations of electronic mail itself). As network access continues to expand, such a mode of communication may be expected to have increasingly revolutionary consequences, both for scholarly research and for society at large.

One can do more than hope for positive consequences. Scholars concerned to ensure that electronic mail becomes a constructive tool for research can do much to shape its future through critical examination and participation (particularly in the humanities, where the computer-network flow of information is still relatively a trickle). Those who participate also stand to benefit from the practical advantages of electronic scholarly discourse. Finally, the scholarly study of electronic mail as a communicative medium will become increasingly important to all who take the study of human communications seriously. Ethnomusicologists will likely find themselves in all three camps. —MF

Music research can become more collaborative and standardized thanks to electronic mail ("e-mail") and the special interest groups that have resulted. Electronic mail is usually faster than regular mail, and offers more services and flexibility in searching for, sharing, and manipulating information.

The major public, non-commercial, international computer networks offering electronic mail include UUCP-net (a worldwide network of computers, most of them running the UNIX operating system), Bitnet ("Because It's Time network," linking together many academic institutions), and a collection of networks, overseen by the National Science Foundation, known as the Internet. The Internet is an interconnection of many regional networks, each of which links together computer facilities in universities, industry, the U.S. government, and other organizations. These three major networks are interlinked by "gateways" which permit electronic mail to pass between them.[2,3]

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[2]The three networks overlap: hosts may have connections to more than one network. In particular, many Internet hosts belong to UUCP-net as well. A gateway is simply a host which has been programmed to forward mail from one to another of the networks to which it is connected.

[3]See Appendix II on network access, which follows this article. Once network access is secured, one must learn, minimally, how to send and read electronic mail, or how to post to and read newsgroups. Details will depend upon your system software. In this article, limited technical assistance has been relegated to footnotes. In the event of trouble, you should consult your own system administrator.

Electronic mail special interest groups (SIGs, for short) communicate via mailing lists (both simple mailing lists and digests), and bulletin boards. A simple mailing list consists of a set of electronic mail "addresses" identifying the electronic mailbox of each SIG member. This list is stored at a commonly known network location. An e-mail message sent to this location is redistributed (usually automatically by software) to each address on the list, and thus to the SIG. A digest reduces network overhead by collecting the messages sent to the redistribution location over a period of time, then sending the collection to the list in a single e-mail message. Some digests are accumulated and redistributed automatically, while others require the intervention of a human moderator. The inclusion of a moderator in a mailing list SIG can help to weed out inappropriate material (although with the added risk of censorship). Both SIG formats allow network users to "subscribe" or "unsubscribe" by communicating with a SIG administrator (which may itself be software). Most SIGs based on Internet and Bitnet, as well as some on UUCP-net, are of the mailing list type. Thanks to the existence of electronic mail gateways, mailing list SIGs are generally available to users with access to any of the three networks, regardless of the SIG's network of origin.

Mailing list SIGs may also be associated with archives, containing not only the history of communications within the SIG, but also related files, often including directories of subscribers. Archive files are available to SIG subscribers, either through electronic mail or another network communications service (such as Internet's File Transfer Protocol, FTP).[4] SIG members are generally notified about special additions to the archive databases. Instructions on how to access archives can usually be obtained from the SIG administrator.

Electronic bulletin boards operate somewhat differently from mailing lists. Using the former technology, each SIG is associated with a "bulletin board": a list of messages, from newest to oldest (very old messages are eventually deleted). Every computer on the network which chooses to support a particular bulletin board maintains an identical copy of it. When a user "posts" a message to a SIG, the message is automatically distributed to each copy of the SIG's bulletin board. Network users can "browse" through the accumulated messages in each SIG, respond to posted items, or initiate new discussions, using special software. "Usenet" is the name of one such bulletin board system, distributed mainly across UUCP-net and Internet. With hundreds of bulletin boards (called "newsgroups"), and worldwide distribution to thousands of sites, Usenet is by far the most extensive system of its kind.

Although the metaphors (one speaks of "posting" messages, rather than "mailing") and technology are different, bulletin boards and mailing lists provide similar services to the SIG user, and will

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[4]Contact your local computing office for information on using FTP and other protocols to transfer archive files.

be considered together in this article. While mailing lists originating on Internet, Bitnet, or UUCP-net are accessible to users with access to any of these three networks, Usenet newsgroups are generally available only to users with access to UNIX hosts on UUCP-net or Internet (although a few newsgroups are linked with Internet/Bitnet digests).

It is not known exactly how many electronic mail SIGs exists, because they are constantly in flux. Overall the number of such groups is steadily increasing. As of February 1991, there were at least 2,627 such SIGs, with over 1,400 on Bitnet alone.[5] Of these groups, 68 were related to music. Five months later 169 music-related groups existed, as shown in the table at the end of this article. Most of these SIGs are general interest unmoderated forums, often consisting of the fans of given popular bands. Of the SIGs relating to popular music, Allmusic ("Discussion on All Forms of Music") was one of the first to be established.

To remain abreast of the development of network SIGs, one may access certain lists of SIGs, as indicated in the fourth column of the table at the end of this article. Steven Bjork's list, called "Interest Groups," is broken up into twelve files which are stored in the archives of New-List,[6] a SIG devoted to the dissemination of information about new SIGs.[7] Other useful files are found in the same archives: Eric Thomas's Listserv list, Gene Spafford's Internet and Usenet lists, and Andrew Partan's list of Usenet News lists available on regional networks. As of September 1991, information regarding lists of SIGs on Bitnet and Internet has been compiled into a package by Robert E. Maas called MaasInfo which can be acquired by sending the e-mail message "sendme MaasInfo" to fileserv@shsu (Bitnet).[8]

Jason Kraley and John Rowland have collaborated on a list of SIGs in music and dance. This list is accessed either using FTP to the Internet host managed by David Datta at the University of Wisconsin, vacs.wisc.uwp.edu, or by accessing the file "Music sig" in the archives of the Music Library Association list.[9] Dr. Richard Haefer is in the process of compiling a list of interest groups in anthropology, including ethnomusicology and area studies. He may be contacted at Icrjh@Asuacad for more information.

Scholarly SIGs in music include Ethno Forum and Music-Research. The first was proposed by Dr. Karl Signell, professor at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County, at the 1989 Society for

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[5]See the following paragraph for information on obtaining such statistics.
[6]Subscribe to this Bitnet list via Listserv at NEW-L@NDSUVM1 (see footnotes below and Appendices I-III for more information on SIG subscription). Listserv will then automatically send you information on accessing archives.
[7]In some locations one need not e-mail the list manager or access the archives at a distant server to obtain this list; for example on the IBM mainframe system at UCLA one enters the command DO SIGLISTS in Wylbur.
[8]See Appendix III on electronic mail addressing which follows this article.
[9]Subscribe via Listserv at MLA-L@IUBVM (on Bitnet).

Ethnomusicology Conference in Boston; Dr. Signell founded the SIG in December of that year. The second was planned at a convention held at the University of Oxford during July 1986, then founded the next month by one of the meeting's attendees, Dr. Stephen Page. Outside of the United Kingdom, Music-Research materials are distributed from a server at the psychology department of the University of Pennsylvania, and managed there by Peter Marvit. Both SIGs maintain archives.

As of December 1991, Ethno Forum has 170 listed members from seventeen countries.[10] During the first two years of existence Ethno Forum produced sixty-eight issues of *Ethnomusicology Research Digest* which appeared irregularly. *Ethnomusicology Research Digest* typically includes ongoing research, dissertation abstracts, book and record reviews, inquiries addressed to all, and announcements and reviews of conferences. Two lengthy contributions stand out: an interview with John Blacking by Keith Howard (issue 15, May 17, 1990), and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's essay "Confusing Pleasures," relating to the 1990 Los Angeles Festival (issues 71–75, Jan. 26–Feb. 12, 1992).

The archives for Ethno Forum contain files (such as a listing of university programs in ethnomusicology, the schedule of events associated with the 1990–91 Indonesia Festival, and Jim Kippen's essay "Ethnomusicology and the Electronic Medium"), whose appearance or revision is announced in *Ethnomusicology Research Digest*. Subscribers have also been informed about a database containing recent bibliography from the journal *Ethnomusicology*, a list of current members of the Society for Ethnomusicology, and an electronic version of this society's newsletter. As of September 1991, Ethno Forum files are available through FTP.

Music-Research, with 252 listed members from twenty-nine nations (as of January 1992), produces *Music Research Digest;* the archives contain six volumes of back-issues.[11] The digest focuses upon music research using the computer, including discussion about music cognition, computer music, computer analysis of music, electronic music databases, and music hardware and software. One also finds in it announcements of various events such as

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[10]To subscribe to Ethno Forum send the message "SUB ETHMUS-L [your name]" to Listserv@umdd (Bitnet), or Listserv@umdd.umd.edu (Internet). On IBM mainframe systems, subscription may also be available using a simple command. Thus, in Wylbur type "TO LISTSERV@UMDD SUB ETHMUS-L [your name]"; in VM/CMS type "TELL LISTSERV AT UMDD SUB ETHMUS-L [your name]". Similar instructions pertain to subscriptions to other mailing list SIGs which employ the Listserv software (most of which are on Bitnet; however, not all Bitnet SIGs employ Listserv). For other electronic mail SIGs, one must contact the SIG administrator. Subscription addresses are provided in the table which follows this article.

[11]To subscribe to Music-Research from Bitnet send the message "SUB MUSIC [your name]" to Listserv@finhutc (Bitnet), or frame system commands analogous to those described for Ethno Forum, above. From Internet, send a message to Music-Research-Request@prg.oxford.ac.uk.

computer music conferences or symposia, and electronic music concerts. Archives contain related files of interest to subscribers.

The Computer-Aided Research Study Group of the International Council for Traditional Music operates the ICTM Study Group forum.[12] This SIG is managed at the University of Essen, Germany by Dr. Helmut Schaffrath, a specialist in music education and German folk song. Since its founding in 1986, thirty-five issues of the newsletter, INFO 1–35, have appeared. Although there is neither directory nor archives, subscribers benefit from free music software applications produced in Essen, such as Mappet, Estaff, and Pat (pattern). These programs are based on ESAC, a music-representation code similar to MIDI[13] (Musical Instrument Digital Interface): Mappet generates, analyzes, and replays ESAC code; Estaff converts ESAC code to staff notation; Pat locates melodic and rhythmic patterns. INFO 27 from August 29, 1989 contains the "Database of All Databases," including catalogues of many electronic databases relating to music. Also included are announcements and descriptions of conferences organized by the International Council for Traditional Music and the Computer-Aided Research Study Group, as well as descriptions of selected projects in musical research.

The international traditional dance forum Dance-L began in May 1990.[14] Its founder is Leo van der Heijden, a public relations officer for the Dutch Ministry of Agriculture as well as a dance researcher and a member of the international dance troupe Iduna. As of January 1992, the SIG included 155 subscribers from seventeen countries. The archives consist of the back issues of the monthly newsletter, which has been discontinued. Current archive files consist of contributions from various subscribers. Those who use Dance-L have been informed of an international database providing information on current dance events, located on a server in Honolulu, Hawaii.

An international folk dance Usenet newsgroup, rec.folk-dancing, was established in February 1988. Although unmoderated, it is managed by Terry J. Wood, who is a systems analyst at the University of Pittsburgh. This newsgroup is gatewayed to Internet as well.[15] In November 1991 Internet distribution included about ninety members from the United States, Canada, Japan, England, France, and Sweden. Each weekly Internet newsletter contains as many as fifty contributions. An examination of five issues revealed that about half the subjects relate to square and contra dancing, and the other half to international dance, with a slight emphasis on

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[12]As this forum does not operate through Listserv, one must contact Dr. Schaffrath at JMP100@DE0HRZ1A (Bitnet) in order to subscribe.

[13]Software is also available to convert ESAC code into MIDI.

[14]To subscribe to Dance-L send the message "SUB DANCE-L [your name]" to Listserv@hearn (Bitnet), or frame system commands analogous to those described for Ethno Forum, above.

[15]To subscribe via Internet send an e-mail message to tjw@unix.cis.pitt.edu.

Israeli dancing. Most contributors are not scholars, but dance as a hobby.

The following table is useful in several respects. Participation in scholarly groups facilitates efficient discussions, and may assist in scholarly research, as well as provide practical information on conferences, concerts, prizes, and job openings. Other SIGs may contain information of value to the research scholar, including texts, attitudes, values and aesthetics—particularly in the domain of popular music. Finally, the existence of music SIGs should be of vast importance to the sociology of music, as a phenomenon of discourse about music.

APPENDIX I: NOTES ON THE TABLE

The table is organized alphabetically by subject within five general categories of SIG. The first category consists of SIGs devoted to general topics within or involving music. The second category contains SIGs which focus upon categories and genres of music and related arts, while the third includes those SIGs dedicated to particular bands, musicians, and recording labels. The fourth is a small selection from among the many SIGs which cover fields of interest to ethnomusicologists, such as anthropology, folklore, and linguistics. The last category gathers together a large number of SIGs focusing upon particular languages, cultures, religions, nations, and geographical areas. For more thorough listings of SIGs, consult the archives of the New-List SIG, described above.

Columns of the table, reading left to right, provide for each SIG a description, contact address, network of contact address, and the source list(s) of SIGs.[16] Multiple addresses for a single SIG are separated by commas; these commas are *not* part of the address.

To subscribe to a mailing list SIG on Internet or UUCP-net, send a message to the address given in the table. The administrator will then instruct you on how to distribute messages to the SIG, how to access archives, and other matters of protocol. To subscribe to a Bitnet SIG with address "x@y", send the message "sub x [your name]" to "Listserv@y".[17] For Usenet newgroups, the given "address" is actually the name of the newsgroup; your newsgroup software should provide instructions for subscribing to a newsgroup. Note that SIGs frequently change address, or disappear

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[16]The latter two columns are abbreviated. In column three (Network): B=Bitnet, I=Internet, U=UUCP-net, N=Usenet newsgroup system. In column four (Source): B=Bjork, H=Haefer, K=Kraley/Rowland, S=Spafford.

[17]If Listserv is not installed at host y, this procedure will return an error message. In this case, simply send a message to the given address ("x@y") stating that you wish to subscribe.

entirely. Consult the list of SIGs as given in the fourth table column for the most recent information.

APPENDIX II: NOTES ON ACQUIRING NETWORK ACCESS

In order to make use of electronic mail and other network services, one must gain access to these networks. Most universities provide access to UUCP-net, Bitnet, or Internet for their faculty, staff, and students. Individuals should contact their local computing office for detailed information on establishing accounts and accessing the networks. Network accounts can also be rented from commercial firms. Using a terminal (or PC with appropriate communications software), modem and telephone line, one "dials up" the account to gain access to newsgroups, e-mail, or other services.[18] Finally, any computer running UNIX with sufficient storage capacity may join Usenet; necessary communications software is public domain.[19]

APPENDIX III: NOTES ON ELECTRONIC MAIL ADDRESSING

Electronic mail addresses take the form "user@host", where "user" identifies the mailbox, and "host" identifies the computer. Note that, where the mailbox is owned by a person, "user" generally will not correspond exactly to that person's real name; often last names and initials (or more cryptic designations) are used. On Internet, and increasingly on other networks as well, host names are given in the "domain" format: the network is divided into a hierarchical taxonomy, and each host is named by listing the taxa (domains) of which it is a member, from specific to general, separated by periods (e.g.: "pollux.ucdavis.edu", "gnosys.svle.ma.us"). In general, host names are case-insensitive (i.e., may be given in any combination of upper and lower case). User names *may* be case-sensitive. In the table which follows, case is given according to the list of SIGs source.

Usenet newsgroups are named according to the reverse taxonomic convention: taxa are combined, from general to specific, separated by periods (e.g.: "rec.music.beatles"). The user posts a message to a SIG's bulletin board by supplying the newsgroup name to the system software.

Note that the addressing formats described above are guaranteed to work only if sender and destination are located on the same

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[18]Consult local computer organizations or dealers for information.
[19]Contact Gene Spafford, spaf@cs.purdue.edu, for details.

network. When sending mail from one network to another, one may be required to route through a gateway, or provide the destination network name explicitly.[20] However, many electronic mail applications now handle addresses on all three networks automatically, routing mail through a gateway, if necessary, transparently to the user. In the future, as software address handling becomes increasingly sophisticated and the burden of routing is relieved from the user, distinctions between UUCP-net, Bitnet, and Internet will become irrelevant from the point of view of electronic mail.

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[20]Consult your system administrator for details on selecting and using electronic mail gateways.

ELECTRONIC MAIL SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS OF INTEREST TO ETHNOMUSICOLOGISTS

GENERAL TOPICS WITHIN OR INVOLVING MUSIC:

SIG Subject	Address	Net	Src
Acoustics: digital signal processing	DASP-L@CSEARN	B	B
Amiga system	comp.sys.amiga.audio	N	S
Arizona State U Music School	ASUSOM@ASUACAD	B	B
Audio	AUDIO-L@VCTECMEX	B	B
Audio	info-high-audio-request @csd4.csd.uwn.edu, rec.audio	U, N	BKS
Audio	rec.audio.high-end	N	S
Audio technology	SEE: New pop		
Boston, music in	Boston-Music-Request @fuggles.acc.Virginia.EDU	I	K
Brass musicians	brass-request@geomag.gly.fsu.edu	U	BKS
Cataloging of music: Notis	NOTMUS-L@UBVM	B	B
Cataloging of music: OCLC	NMP-L@IUBVM	B	B
Cognition, music	COGSCI-L@MCGILL1	B	B
Compact discs	rec.music.cd	N	S
Compact discs	cdrequest@cisco.nosc.mil, INFOCO@CISCO.NOSC.MIL	I	K B
Compact discs	wb1j+CD.request@andrew.cmu.edu	I	K
Computational music research	Music@Finhutc, Music-Research-Request @prg.oxford.ac.uk	B, I	KBH
Computational music research	comp.music	N	S
Computer sounds for PCs	sound@ccb.ucsf.edu	I	K
Dance: folk	tjw@unix.cis.pitt.edu, tjw@pittvms, rec.folk-dancing	U, B, N	K S
Dance: general	rec.arts.dance	N	S
Dance: international	DANCE-L@HEARN	B	B
Disc jockeys, campus	DJ-L@NDSUVM1	B	B
Double bass	bass-request@uwplatt.edu	I	K
Ethnomusicology, computers in	JMP100@DE0HRZ1A	B	H
Ethnomusicology: general	ETHMUS-L@UMDD	B	B
Latin, music theory writings in	TML-L@IUBVM	B	B
Massachusetts, music in	SEE: Boston		
Multimedia	comp.multimedia	N	S
Multimedia applications	alt.binaries.multimedia	N	S

Music education	k12.ed.music	N	S
Music education	MUSIC-ED@UMINN1	B	B
Music Library Assoc.	MLA-L@IUBVM, MLA-L@IUBVM.ucs.Indiana.Edu	B, I	K B
Music Library Assoc.: research	MLARES-L@IUBVM	B	B
Music lovers	rec.music.misc	N	S
Music Theory, Society for	smt-request@husc.harvard.edu	U	
Music, general (simple list)	ALLMUSIC@AUVM, bit.listserv.allmusic	B, N	K B
Music, general	alt.exotic.music	N	S
Music, general (digest)	AMUSIC-D@AUVM	B	B
Musical Instrument Digital Interface	SEE: Amiga System		
New England, music in	SEE: Boston		
Performers of music	rec.music.makers	N	S
Phi Mu Alpha Sinfonia	SINFONIA@ASUACAD	B	B
Phoenix area, music in	SEE: Arizona State U		
Phonographs	SEE: Recordings, vinyl		
Pirate radio listeners	brewer@ace.enet.dec.com	U	K
Recordings, vinyl	info-vinyl-freaks-request@dartvax.uucp	U	K
Reviews: audio	murph@Maine	B	K
Reviews: music	rec.music.reviews	N	S
Reviews: music	clari.news.music	N	S
Sounds	SEE: Computer sounds		
Stagecraft	stagecraft-request @jaguar.cs.utah.edu	U	BKS
Synthesizers	rec.music.synth	N	S
Theater	rec.arts.theater	N	S
Theater	THEATRE@GREARN	B	B
Typesetting, computer	MUTEX@STOLAF.EDU	I	B

CATEGORIES AND GENRES OF MUSIC:

SIG Subject	Address	Net	Src
Afro-Latin	rec.music.afro-latin	N	S
Ballroom dance	ballroom-request@athena.mit.edu	U	S B
Billboard Top 10	prince@rpi.edu	I	K
Bluegrass	BGRASS-L@UKCC	B	B
Blues	SEE: Jazz		
China, Assoc. Music Research	Acmr-l@Uhccvm	B	
Christian pop	rec.music.christian	N	S
Classical music	CLASSM-L@BROWNVM	B	B
Classical music	rec.music.classical	N	S
Comedy/Novelty	rec.music.dementia	N	S
Country & Western	rec.music.country.western	N	S
Cyberpunk/Industrial	SEE: Industrial/Cyberpunk		

Dance: ballroom	SEE: Ballroom dance		
Dance: folk	tjw@unix.cis.pitt.edu, tjw@pittvms, rec.folk-dancing	U, B, N	KS
Dance: international	DANCE-L@HEARN	B	B
Drum corps	SEE: Marching arts		
Early music	EARLYM-L@HEARN, rec.music.early	B, N	BS
Electronic music	alt.emusic	N	S
Electronic music	EMUSIC-L@AUVM, bit.listserv.emusic-l	B, N	BS
Electronic music: digest	EMUSIC-D@AUVM	B	B
Folk music	rec.music.folk	N	S
Folk dance	SEE: Dance: folk		
Folk music: American	allen@lpl.org	I	B
Funk	SEE: San Francisco		
Funk	funky-music-request @hyper.lap.upenn.edu, rec.music.funky	U, N	KS
Grunge rock	GRUNGE-L@UBVM	B	BS
Hardcore	SEE: Punk/Hardcore		
Heavy metal	alt.rock-n-roll.metal	N	S
Heavy metal	alt.rock-n-roll.metal.heavy	N	S
Hip-hop	SEE: Funk		
House music	SEE: Funk		
India: film & classical music	rec.music.indian.classical	N	
India: other	rec.music.indian.misc	N	
Industrial/Cyberpunk	dave@buhub.bradley.edu, rec.music.industrial	I, N	KS
Irish music	ir-trad@iruccvax	B	
Japanese pop	jpop-request @wystan.bsd.uchicago.edu	U	KS
Jazz	JAZZ-L@TEMPLEVM	B	B
Jazz/Blues	rec.music.bluenote	N	S
Latin America, music in	LATAMMUS@ASUACAD	B	B
Manchester sound	manchester-request@irss.njit.edu	I	BKS
Marching arts	marching@poirot.gatech.edu	I	K
Morris dancing	MORRIS@SUVM, morris@suvm.acs.syr.edu	B, I	BK
Musicals	musicals-request@world.std.com	U	KS
New Age	rec.music.newage	N	S
New pop	nm-list-request@beach.cis.ufl.edu	I	K
Novelty/Comedy	SEE: Comedy		
Opera	OPERA-L@BRFAPESP, doria@suwatson.stanford.edu	B, I	BK
Pop & audio tech	SEE: New pop		
Pop: Top 10	SEE: Billboard Top 10		
Progressive rock	SEE: Gibraltar		
Punk	SEE: San Francisco		
Punk/Hardcore	punk-list-request @cpac.washington.edu	I	K·

Rap	SEE: Funk		
Rap & Grateful Dead	SEE: Grateful Dead		
Rhythm & blues	SEE: Funk		
Rock and roll	alt.rock-n-roll	N	S
Rock and roll	SEE: Heavy metal		
Rock: grunge	SEE: Grunge rock		
Rock: imaginitive (sic)	BOC-L@UBVM	B	B
San Francisco, pop in	skoepke@violet.berkeley.edu	I	K
Ska	SEE: San Francisco		
Soul	SEE: Funk		
Thrash music	SEE: San Francisco		
Top 10	SEE: Billboard top 10		
Traditional music	SEE: Folk music		
Underground	UPNEWS@MARIST	B	B
Urban contemporary	SEE: Funk		
Video, music	rec.music.video	N·	S

BANDS, MUSICIANS, AND LABELS:

SIG Subject	Address	Net	Src
A.B.W.H./Yes	SEE: Yes		
AC/DC	trc@pollux.ucdavis.edu	I	K
Art of Noise	aon-request@polyslo.calpoly.edu	U	S
Banshees & Siouxsie	kd2a+sioux-req@andrew.cmu.edu	I	K
Beatles	rec.music.beatles	N	S
Big Country	mus0eka@cabell.vcu.edu	I	
Blue Oyster Cult	swann@acsu.buffalo.edu	I	K
Bobs, the	bobs-request@ocf.berkeley.edu	I	K
Book of Love	lullabye-request @first.cac.washington.edu	I	K
Bush, Kate	love-hounds-request @Eddie.mit.edu, rec.music.gaffa	I, N	K B
Charlatans, the	SEE: Manchester Sound		
Clarke, Vincent	SEE: Erasure		
Cooper, Alice	ALICEFAN@WKUVX1	B	B
Copeland, Stewart	SEE: Police		
Costello, Elvis	costello-request@gnu.ai.mit.edu	I	K
Cure, the & Robert Smith: moderated	babble.m-request @cindy.ecst.csuchico.edu	U	K
Cure, the & Robert Smith: unmoderated	babble-request@javelin.sim.es.com	U	K
Depeche Mode	bong-request@compaq.com	I	K
Dixie Dregs & Steve Morse	blickstein@dregs.enet.dec.COM	I	K
Dylan, Bob	rec.music.dylan	N	S
Eight Hundred and Eight State	SEE: Manchester Sound		
Enigma	aa591@cleveland.freenet.edu	I	K
Erasure	vincent-clark-request @first.cac.washington.edu	I	K

Fegmaniax (Robyn Hitchcock)	fegmaniax-request @pebbles.dorm.clarkson.edu	I	K
Four AD label rec. artists	4AD-l@jhuvm, 4AD-l@jhuvm.hcf.jhu.edu	B, I	K B
Gabriel, Peter	gabriel-request @casbah.acns.nwu.edu	I	K
Genesis	genesis-request@cs.unca.edu	I	K
Gibraltar	gibraltar-request @maestro.mitre.org	I	K
Gibson, Debbie	ez000018@bullwinkle.ucdavis.edu	U	BKS
Grateful Dead	Dead-Heads-Request @Virginia.EDU	I	K
Grateful Dead	D-Heads@VIRGINIA	B	B
Grateful Dead	DEAD-FLAMES-REQUEST @VIRGINIA.EDU	I	BKS
Grateful Dead	D-Flames@VIRGINIA	B	B
Grateful Dead	rec.mus.gdead	N	BKS
Grateful Dead & Rap	alt.rap-gdead	N	S
Grateful Dead (DAT)	DAT-Heads-Request@Virginia.EDU	I	K
Grateful Dead (tape)	Tape-Heads-Request @Virginia.EDU	I	K
Happy Mondays	SEE: Manchester Sound		
Harper, Roy	stormcock-request@cs.qmw.ac.uk	U	BKS
Hawkwind	SEE: Blue Oyster Cult		
Hedges, Michael	info-hedges-request @drycas.club.cc.cmu.edu	I	K
Hendrix, Jimi	hey-joe-request@ms.uky.edu	U	KS
Hicks, Dan	sramirez@burro.intel.com	I	K
Hitchcock, Robyn	SEE: Fegmaniax		
Holdsworth, Allan	preston@morekypr.morehead-st.edu	I	K
Hot Tuna	hot-tuna-request@Virginia.EDU	I	K
Indigo Girls	indigo-girls-request @cgrg.ohio-state.edu	I	K
Innocent Mission, the	SEE: Big Country		
Inspiral Carpets	SEE: Manchester Sound		
Jane's Addiction	janes-addiction-request@ms.uky.edu	I	K
Jarre, Jean-Michel	jarre-request@cs.uwp.edu	I	K
Jethro Tull	jtull-request@remus.rutgers.edu	I	K
Joy Division/New Order	ceremony-request @chsun1.uchicago.edu	I	K
Kinks, the	otten@quark.umd.edu	I	K
Kiss	KISSARMY@WKUVX1	B	B
Lane, Robin	Robin-Lane-request@cs.wpi.edu	I	K
Legendary Pink Dots	cloud-zero-request@acc.stolaf.edu	I	K
Madonna	SEE: Billboard top 10		
Marillion	go09+@andrew.cmu.edu	I	K
Men Without Hats	damatt01@ulkyvx	B	K
Metallica	metallica-request @ukina.corp.sgi.com	I	K
Metallica	alt.rock-n-roll.metallica	N	

Midnight Oil	powderworks-request @boulder.colorado.EDU	I	K
Mission/Sisters of Mercy	dominion-request @lorelei.eng.sun.com	I	K
Modern Lovers & Jonathan Richman	lmirisola@attmail.com	U	K
Moore, Gary	weissd@shark.cse.fau.edu	I	K
Morrissey & the Smiths	SEE: Smiths/Morrissey		
Morse, Steven, & the Dixie Dregs	SEE: Dixie Dregs		
New Order/Joy Division	SEE: Joy Division		
Newton-John, Olivia	SEE: Big Country		
Northstars	SEE: Manchester Sound		
Notarthomas, Jamie	jamie-request@vax5.cit.cornell.edu	I	B K
O'Connor, Sinéad	jump-in-the-river-request @presto.ig.COM	U	K S
Oldfield, Mike	Hart@vtcc1.cc.vt.edu	I	K
Pink Floyd	echoserve@fawnya.tcs.com	U	K
Police	police-request @cindy.ecst.csuchino.edu	I	K
Prince	prince-request@icpsr.umich.edu	I	K
Queen	com@spacsun.rice.edu	I	K S
R.E.M.	murmur-request@athena.mit.edu	U	K S
R.E.M. (digest)	murmur-digest-request @athena.mit.edu		
Ralph label recording artists	adolph-a-carrot-request @andrew.cmu.edu	I	K B
Rec. artists, pop	SEE: Ralph label		
Rec. artists, pop	SEE: Four AD label		
Rhodes, Happy	ecto-request@nsl.rutgers.edu	I	K
Richman, Jonathan & Modern Lovers	SEE: Modern Lovers		
Rolling Stones	jcr2@ra.MsState.edu	I	K
Rush	rush-request@syrinx.umd.edu	U	K S
Severed Heads	SEE: Ralph Label		
Siberry, Jane	siberry-request@bfmny0.bfm.com	I	K
Siouxsie & the Banshees	SEE: Banshees		
Sisters of Mercy/Mission	SEE: Mission		
Smith, Robert & the Cure	SEE: Cure		
Smiths/Morrissey	michael.c.massengale @mac.dartmouth.edu	I	K
Springsteen, Bruce	backstreets-request @fuggles.acc.Virginia.EDU	U	K S
Sting	SEE: Police		
Stones Roses	SEE: Manchester Sound		
Sugarcubes	SEE: Innocent Mission		
Sundays	SEE: Innocent Mission		
Summers, Andy	SEE: Police		
Sun Ra	SATURN@KNOX	B	B
T'pau	SEE: Innocent Mission		
Tangerine Dream	tadream-request@cs.uwp.edu	U	B K S

Ten Thousand Maniacs	SEE: Big Country		
They Might Be Giants	they-might-be-request @gnu.ai.mit.edu	I	K
U2	METZ@JHUVMS	B	B
U2	u2-request @last.cac.washington.edu	I	K
Who, the	baba@ucscb.ucsc.edu	I	K
XTC (band)	chalkhills-request@presto.ig.com	U	KS
Yatsura, Urusei	URUSEI-YATSURA-REQUEST @PANDA.COM	I	B
Yello	yello-request @polyslo.csc.CalPoly.EDU	U	KS
Yes/A.B.W.H.	borella@snowball.cc.ucdavis.edu	I	KS
Zeppelin, Led	zeppelin-request@ux.acs.umn.edu	U	KS

SELECTED LISTS IN RELATED SUBJECTS:

SIG Subject	Address	Net	Src
Aboriginal peoples	NATIVE-L@TAMVM1	B	B
Aboriginal peoples	gst@gnosys.svle.ma.us	U	S
Anthropology	ANTHRO-L@UBVM	B	B
Anthropology	soc.culture.misc	N	S
Archeology: general	ARCH-L@DGDGWDG1	B	B
Archeology: Pacific Rim	PACARC-L@WSUVM1	B	B
Folklore	FOLKLORE@TAMVM1	B	B
Folklore	LORE@NDSUVM1	B	B
Gastronomy: international	EAT-L@VTVM2	B	B
Linguistics	LINGUIST-REQUEST @UNIWA.UWA.OZ.AU	I	B
Mardi Gras	MARDI_GRAS @MINTIR.FIDONET.ORG	I	B
Religion	RELIGION@UKCC	B	B
Religion	U16481@UICVM	B	B
Religion, scientific study of	SSRET@UTKVM1	B	B
Theology	TACPAAR@UKCC	B	B
Travel	TRAVEL-L@TREARN	B	B

LANGUAGES, CULTURES, RELIGIONS, NATIONS, AND GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS:

SIG Subject	Address	Net	Src
Africa	AFRICA-L@BRUFPB	B	B
Africans	soc.culture.african	N	S
African Americans	soc.culture.african.american	N	S
African Americans	AFAM-L@UMCVMB	B	B
Algeria	belk@pyr.gatech.edu	U	S
Arabs	soc.culture.arabic	N	S

Argentina	argentina-requests @journal.math.indiana.edu	I	S
Asian Americans	soc.culture.asian.american	N	S
Australians	soc.culture.australian	N	S
Austria: after 1500 A.D.	HABSBURG@PURCCVM	B	B
Baltic States	BALT-L@UBVM	B	B
Baltic States	SEE: Europe, Middle		
Bangladesh	soc.culture.bangladesh	N	S
Bangladesh	SEE: South Asia		
Brazil	GXEXEO@CERNVM	B	B
Buddhism	BUDDHA-L@ULKYVM	B	B
Buddhism & India	BUDDHIST@JPNTOHOK	B	B
California	alt.california	N	S
Canada	CANADA-L@MCGILL1	B	B
Canada	soc.culture.canada	N	S
Canada	clari.news.canada	N	S
Canada	clari.canada.newscast	N	S
Canada	clari.canada.briefs	N	S
Canada	clari.canada.general	N	S
Canada: Ontario	clari.canada.briefs.ont	N	S
Canada: Pacific Northwest	PNWCSC@UWAVM	B	B
Canada: Western	clari.canada.briefs.west	N	S
Catholics	CATHOLIC_ACTION @CPVNET.CHI.IL.US	I	B
Catholics, American	AMERCATH@UKCC	B	B
Catholics, Indonesian	Paroki@Uiuc.edu	I	
Celtic	CELTIC-L@IRLEARN	B	B
Celtic	soc.culture.celtic	N	S
Central America	CENTAM-L@UBVM	B	B
Chile	CHILE-L@PURCCVM	B	B
China	soc.culture.china	N	S
China Net	CHINA-NT@UGA	B	B
China: 200–600 A.D.	EMEDCH-L@USCVM	B	B
China: magazine	CCMAN-L@UGA	B	B
China: news	CNC-L@UVVM	B	B
China: news	CND-OSU@OHSTVMA	B	B
China: news digest	CHINA-ND@KENTVM	B	B
China: News Net	CHINA-NN@ASUACAD	B	B
China: news— Europe/Pacific	CND-EP@IUBVM	B	B
China: studies	CHINA@PUCC	B	B
China: Taiwan	soc.culture.taiwan	N	S
China: Taiwan	TWUNIV-L@TWNMDE10	B	B
Christians	CHRISTIAN@FINHUTC, soc.religion.christian	B, N	BS
Christians & non- Christians	mailjc@grian.cps.altadena.ca.us	U	BS
Croatia: medical/humanitarian aid	CROMED-L@AEARN	B	B
Eastern religions	soc.religion.eastern	N	S

England: to 1100 A.D.	ANSAX-L@WVNVM, U47C2@WVNVM.WVNET.EDU	B, I	B
English	soc.culture.british	N	S
Episcopalians	digest@dragon.uucp	U	S
Europe	soc.culture.europe	N	S
Europe	clari.news.europe	N	S
Europe, Eastern	E-EUROPE@NCSUVM	B	B
Europe, Middle	MIDEUR-L@UBVM	B	B
Evangelists	HISTEC-L@UKANVM	B	B
France: history	FRANCEHS@UWAVM	B	B
French	soc.culture.french	N	S
Gaelic	GAELIC-L@IRLEARN	B	B
German	S-PRESS@DCZTU1	B	B
Germany: to 1500 A.D.	GERLINGL@UIUCVMD	B	B
Germans	soc.culture.german	N	S
Germans from Russia	GER-RUS@NDSUVM1	B	B
Germany: history	GRMNHIST@DGDGWDG1	B	B
Great Lakes	alt.great-lakes	N	S
Greece	ERMIS@VLSI.BU.EDU	I	B
Greek	ELLHNIKA@DRDURZ1	B	B
Greek	HELLAS@AUVM	B	B
Greeks: general	SOC-CULTURE-GREEK-REQUEST @CS.WISC.EDU, soc.culture.greek	I, N	B S
Hebrew	IVNITEX@TAUNIVM	B	B
Hong Kong	soc.culture.hongkong	N	S
Hungarian	SEE: Slavic		
Hungary	HUNGARY@UCSBVM	B	B
Hungary	soc.culture.hungary	N	S
India	SEE: Buddhism & India		
India	SEE: South Asia		
India: classical	INDOLOGY@LIVERPOOL.AC.UK	I	B
India: general	INDIA@PCCVM	B	B
India: general (digest)	INDIA-D@UTARLVM1	B	B
India: general (list)	INDIA-L@UTARLVM1, soc.culture.india	B, N	B S
India: news	CURRENTS@PCCVM	B	B
Indians, East: news	INDIANWS@PCCVM	B	B
Indians: American	alt.native	N	S
Indonesians: Japan	SSARWONO@SS.TITECH.AC.JP	I	B
Indonesians/Malays: Canada	PAU-MIKRO @EE.UMANITOBA.CA	I	B
Indonesians: Australia	INDOZ-NET @DIEMEN.CC.UTAS.EDU.AU	I	B
Indonesians: Catholic	SEE: Catholics, Indonesian	I	B
Indonesians: Christian: US	FICA-NET @VMS.MACC.WISC.EDU	I	B
Indonesians: United Kingdom	UKINDONESIAN-REQUEST @PA.CN.UMIST.AC.UK	I	B
Indonesians: US	INDONESIANS @JANUS.BERKELEY.EDU	I	B

Iranians	soc.culture.iranian	N	S
Islam: general	islam-request@eecs.nwu.edu, soc.religious.islam	U, N	S
Islam: students	BOULALE @ELECENG.EE.QUEENS.CA	I	B
Islam: students	MSA-L@PSUVM	B	B
Islam: students	SHAHRIN@ECN.PURDUE.EDU	I	B
Islands, Small	SIIN-L@UNBVM1.CA	I	B
Italians	soc.culture.italian	N	S
Japan	JAPAN@FINHUTC, soc.culture.japan	B, N	BS
Japan	JPINFO-L@JPNSUT00	B	B
Japan: food and culture	J-FOOD-L@JPNKNU10	B	B
Japanese	JTIT-L@PSUVM	B	B
Japanese	NIHONGO@MITVMA	B	B
Jews & Mid. East	HEBREW-L@UMINN1	B	B
Jews: first century	IOUDAIOS@YORKVM1	B	B
Jews: general	soc.culture.jewish	N	S
Jews: general	JEM@MITVMA	B	B
Jews: general	JUDAICA@TAUNIVM	B	B
Jews: Hillel org.	E-HUG@DARTCMS1	B	B
Jews: Hillel org.	NHILLEL@GWUVM	B	B
Jews: law	avi_feldblum@att.com	U	S
Jews: progressive	PJML@UTXVM	B	B
Koreans	soc.culture.korean	N	S
Latin America	lasnet-request@emx.utexas.edu	U	S
Latin America	soc.culture.latin-america	N	S
Latin America	CH-LADB@UNMVM	B	B
Latin America/Caribbean	CANALC@YORKVM1, CANALC-D@YORKVM1	B	B
Latin-Americans in US	MCLR-L@MSU	B	B
Lebanon	soc.culture.lebanon	N	S
Malaysia	MISG-L@PSUVM	B	B
Malaysia	MISG-NET @NAVCSE.CSE.NAV.EDU	I	B
Mexican-Americans	CHICLE@UNMVM	B	B
Mexico	MEXICO-L@TECMTYVM	B	B
Mormons	LDS-REQUEST@BYUVM	U	B
Mormons	lds-request@decwrl.dec.com	I	S
Nepal	soc.culture.nepal	N	S
Nepal	SEE: South Asia		
New Zealand	soc.culture.new-zealand	N	S
Nordic culture	soc.culture.nordic	N	S
Orthodox Christians	ORTHODOX@INDYCMS	B	B
Pacific Ocean & Islands	PACIFIC@BRUFPB	B	B
Pakistan	PAKISTAN@ASUACAD	B	B
Pakistan	soc.culture.pakistan	N	S
Peru	owner-peru@athena.mit.edu	U	S
Philippines	soc.culture.filipino	N	S

Poland: general	POLAND-L@UBVM	B	B
Poland: general	soc.culture.poland	N	S
Polar regions	POLAR-L@UOGUELPH	B	B
Puerto Rico	BORIKEN@ENLACE	B	B
Quakers	QUAKER-L@UIUCVMD	B	B
Rhode Island	alt.rhode_island	N	S
Romanian	SEE: Slavic		
Russia	RUSSIA@INDYCMS	B	B
Russian	RUSSIAN@ASUACAD	B	B
Seventh-Day Adventists	SDA-L@LLUVM	B	B
Shakers	SHAKER@UKCC	B	B
Slavic	SEELANGS@CUNYVM	B	B
Slovakia	SLOVAK-L@UBVM	B	B
South Asia	misc.news.southasia	N	S
Southeast Asia	SEANET@NASVM	B	B
Southeast Asia	SEASIA@MSU	B	B
Southeast Asia	soc.culture.asean	N	S
Soviet Union	SCS-L@INDYCMS, soc.culture.soviet	B, N	BS
Soviet Union	TPS-L@INDYCMS, talk.politics.soviet	B, N	B
Spain	soc.culture.spain	N	S
Sri Lanka	soc.culture.sri-lanka	N	S
Tamils	TAMIL-L@DHDURZ1	B	B
Thais	soc.culture.thai	N	S
Tunisia	TUNISNET@PSUVM	B	B
Turkey	TRNNWS-L@USCVM	B	B
Turks	soc.culture.turkish	N	S
Turks: students	TSAA-L@PURCCVM	B	B
Unitarian Universalists	UUS-L@UBVM	B	B
Uruguay	uruguay-request @emiac.seas.upenn.edu	I	S
Venezuela	venezuela-request@arisia.xerox.com	U	S
Vietnamese	soc.culture.vietnamese	N	S
Yiddish	MENDELE@TRINCC	B	B
Yiddish	dave@lsuc.on.ca	I	SB
Yugoslavia	soc.culture.yugoslavia	N	S

BOOK REVIEWS

**Tradition und Innovation: Vorträge des 14. Seminars für
Volksmusikforschung, Wien 1985.** Edited by WALTER DEUTSCH.
Schriften zur Volksmusik, Band 11. Vienna: A. Schendl, 1987.

Twelve articles make up the bulk of this volume, one of a series
of productions sponsored by the *Seminar für Volksmusikforschung*
in Vienna (1985) with specific themes. The title of the present vol-
ume speaks for itself. Oddly, though, the Latinized substantives are
preferred to the German *Uberlieferung* and *Neueinsetzung* even
though the contents are devoted entirely to Austrian and German-
language music (except for a brief mention of religious choral songs
of the Slovenian minority in Carinthia [p. 64], by Helmut Wulz).
Most of the articles are descriptive of particular examples of
"innovation" in Austrian traditional music, and despite the work
done on this rich, complex topic in the last thirty or forty years, there
is little reference to research outside of Austria itself.

This gives the volume a somewhat parochial slant, and the rea-
son may be in part that German-speaking countries generally, in
contrast with, say, France or North America, do not have a
markedly sophisticated tradition of ethnographic research, perhaps
because of the high social status of the academic researcher. The
volume's dedication to the memory of the musicologist Franz
Eibner, who died in 1986, by the editor, Walter Deutsch, is prefaced
by a formal speech from a government functionary (*Ministerialrat*),
which is, I suppose, meant to give the volume an official impri-
matur. More appropriate and useful is Deutsch's listing of Eibner's
bibliography, which displays a strong attachment to typology and the
analysis of form in Austrian folk music. But one looks in vain for
anything in his publications that is context-oriented or
"anthropological" in the widely understood sense of that term; in
other words, it is *Musikwissenschaft* in the "systematic" tradition of
Walter Graf and others.

Most of the papers in this volume hew to the concept of
Feldforschung (field research), though usually in the sense of doc-
umentation rather than reflexivity or probing of musical concepts.
Consequently, papers such as that by Helga Thiel on "use and need"
in the practice of folk music dwell on function, pragmatic and
psychological, with the purpose in her case of establishing, by means
of a corpus of recordings and "feedback interviews" (not described), a
compendium of data "appropriate to the questions asked by the
Vienna School of comparative-systematic musicology." These ex-
amples, she feels, will also constitute a research resource for sister
disciplines (p. 57).

More substantive theoretical issues are addressed by Anton Hofer in his discussion of the debate on the terminology and function of folksong in recent times. Few of the writers in the volume attack the issue of scholars' conceptualization squarely (perhaps an earlier extended discussion of terminology by Eibner, Deutsch, Thiel and G. Haid in *Musikerziehung* 29 [1976] was felt to have exhausted the topic). Of all the contributors Hofer is the one who displays more than a nodding acquaintance with folksong and social theory (at least in German-speaking countries), charting the well-known realist vs. idealist argument between Klusen and Wiora in the 1970s as to the meaning and intent of the term *Volkslied*, showing knowledge of contemporary work in sociology (by Adorno, Karbusicky, Kneif, Weber-Kellerman), and introducing some critical acumen to the volume.

Karl Horak's article on innovation attempts to clarify the term through examples from the Tyrol, though in contrast to Hofer he shows little interest in wider discourse, being content to denote four developments in Tyrolean folk music: 1) revival (*Wiederbelebung*) of phenomena and forms that were formerly an ingredient of the tradition (e.g., fiddle-playing), 2) change of function (e.g., bar music), 3) transfer of phenomena from other areas of folk music (e.g., guitar playing technique), and 4) creation of new forms and phenomena hitherto unknown (e.g., the chromatic Hackbrett). Yet these developments have been well documented elsewhere in ethnomusicology and are not particularly new.

Otherwise, there is little else that is conceptually novel in this volume: Gerlinde Haid writes on tradition and innovation as musical phenomena of folk music in Austria in the second half of the 20th century; Gundl Holaubek-Lawatsch writes on mothers' songs in Styria; Gunther Antesberger delineates the main topic of the volume with regard to Carinthian folk music; Grete Horak describes children's songs, rhymes, and games in the Tyrol; Hermann Derschmidt writes on the Old and the New; Hans Lutz on folksong in the schools of Vorarlberg (a more interesting example of documenting taste in musical education); Maria Walcher on Vienna's popular *Ottakring* song and instrumental tradition; and Walter Meixner on the phenomenon of the Alpine folk music competition in Innsbruck (a topic that might fruitfully have been developed as a major sub-theme of the volume rather than left as a solitary paper).

This publication, then, is primarily descriptive in documenting the present state of Austrian traditional music. While the data often seem to hold the potential for searching analysis, there is little attempt to advance theoretical concepts or methodological techniques. One misses in particular an honest confrontation with Austria's past, especially the so-called "*NS-Zeit*" (Nazi period), in which folksong was crudely adapted for political purposes. The late Ernst Klusen and his erstwhile colleagues at the *Institut für musikalische Volkskunde* in Neuss, to their eternal credit, tried to deal with this

difficult phase in German life and "folksong" in Germany as a form of popular expression readily open to ideological manipulation. A diachronically-based subject such as tradition and innovation in Austrian folk music must surely review significant developments in the popular music of the recent past, including the political uses of folk music. Can we expect ethnomusicologists in Austria to rise to this challenge?

JAMES PORTER   UCLA

Drumming at the Edge of Magic: A Journey into the Spirit of Percussion. MICKEY HART with JAY STEVENS and FREDRIC LIEBERMAN. New York: Harper San Francisco, 1990.

Mickey Hart, one of the drummers from the rock group "The Grateful Dead," is arguably one of the most widely read writers about the world's music ever. This fact alone makes *Drumming at the Edge of Magic* interesting from an ethnomusicological perspective. But his book is also a compelling autobiography which sheds light on the field of ethnomusicology and some of its most prominent practitioners.

Hart's point of departure is a deep curiosity about the powerful feelings he experiences while drumming. He believes that these feelings are in some way connected to the spiritual power of the drum which, he says, is recognized by almost every culture but our own. Hart seeks the origin of this power, and the book documents the course of his search.

Beginning with Blade's *Percussion Instruments and Their History*, Hart's research leads him through most of ethnomusicology's major works. Finding in these scant information about the mystical aspects of percussion, he turns to mythology about the drum. In attempting to organize and make sense of these myths, he crosses paths with such ethnomusicological luminaries as Fritz Kuttner, Tom Vennum, Steven Feld, Fredric Lieberman, and John Blacking (who finally tells him, "Forget about myths, don't waste your time; that's the past. Find out what the drum does to the body" [p. 115]).

Following Blacking's advice, Hart spends the remainder of his theoretical discussion speculating that drumming induces trance through "rhythmic entrainment," the synchronization between musical and bodily rhythms. Although admittedly unable to account for Gilbert Rouget's evidence that trance is culturally determined, Hart concludes that the shaman is able to enter and return from the spirit world by rhythmically entraining with his drum.

The strength of this book lies in its autobiographical sections. Hart has learned from Joseph Campbell that all good stories follow the universal form of the hero's mythical quest. Thus, like the

Greek myth of Phaethon, his personal narrative is centered on a journey toward atonement with an absent father. It culminates dramatically with his tapping out "The Downfall of Paris" on the casket of his deceased father, who was a champion rudimental drummer. But Hart has failed to learn from Campbell the art of interpreting myths. Stories about the origin of the drum are simply listed without any discussion about their meaning or relevance.

A more serious problem is Hart's literal conception of magic. By ignoring the possibility that spiritual powers may be symbolic—representing, for example, the force of personal transformation over the demons of the psyche—his shaman resembles a magician whose tricks are real. We are therefore required to make a leap of faith, asked simply to believe in magic. The irony of this kind of "new age" thinking is that while professing to reintroduce spiritualism into our materialistic age, it unwittingly serves the latter. Our distance from the extraordinary can only be decreased by relating it to the ordinary. Theories of symbolism do not "explain away" spiritualism, but rather bring it into deeper contexts of meaning.

When one considers the number of ethnomusicologists languishing in obscurity, it is tempting to attribute the popularity of Hart's book solely to his fame as a musician. This assessment, however, would be unfair. I believe his success is due, in part, to the fact that he accomplishes some things that ethnomusicologists notoriously fail to do. He has produced a beautifully presented, accessible, collaborative book which approaches its subject matter from the standpoint of a beginner, rather than with the pretense of omniscience.

However, *Drumming at the Edge of Magic* is more significant as a critique of ethnomusicology than for its contributions to the ethnomusicological literature. Hart recounts a journey through the "land of the ethnos" which yields remarkably few insights into the unmistakable power of music.

Kenneth Sacks   **UCLA**

Planet Drum: A Celebration of Percussion and Rhythm. By MICKEY
     HART and FREDRIC LIEBERMAN, with D. A. SONNEBORN. New
     York: Harper Collins, 1991.

Three cheers for Mickey Hart! With the publication of *Planet Drum*, Hart and his "team of fellow drum enthusiasts" (p. 6), led by ethnomusicologists Fredric Lieberman and D. A. Sonneborn, have created an exceptionally attractive and accessible work for the general reader with an interest in music and world cultures, a kind of coffee-table picture book combining hundreds of captioned photographs and illustrations with concise yet informative text, quotations from a diverse array of sources, mythological stories from

several cultures, a fine "soundtrack" (the Grammy-award-winning accompanying CD), and a bibliography and discography for those who wish to dig deeper. At the same time, they have produced a valuable research and teaching resource for ethnomusicologists, scholars from related disciplines such as anthropology and folklore, and musicians from all walks of life, especially percussionists.

As an introduction to the subject of world percussion and rhythm for the non-specialist, *Planet Drum* is an unqualified success. For educational purposes, in combination with supplementary readings and recordings, it could prove to be a fine basic textbook for an introductory undergraduate world music course. As an ethnomusicological resource for scholars, it is a valuable but limited work. However, a future edition, in an expanded, more scholarly and encyclopedic format, might provide an extremely important contribution to the ethnomusicological literature.

The subtitle of *Planet Drum*, "A Celebration of Percussion and Rhythm," aptly captures the overall spirit of the work. It is neither an illustrated encyclopedia of world percussion nor an attempt at an ethnomusicological treatise on drumming and rhythm around the world. Rather, it is Hart's tribute to the legacy of "drumming," which he poignantly defines in a broad conceptual sense as "the rhythmic manipulation of noise" (p. 6). With this definition, "drumming" comes to encompass not only the world's percussive musical traditions, but also the rhythms and sounds of all human life, of animals and the natural world, and of the supernatural. Hart's whirlwind tour of "Planet Drum" is a celebration of a legacy of which he is clearly proud to be a part.

The book is arranged in five main chapters (plus the CD), each of which includes several sections. The organized structure suggested by the chapter layout as it appears in the table of contents ultimately serves as little more than a shell into which are poured an abundance of compelling photos and illustrations, quotations, myths, stories, and music, which collectively provide overwhelming support for Hart's basic belief that drumming is at the fundamental core of human experience. While the main text, which appears to have been written primarily by Hart, is quite informative and often fascinating, it is also sparse. Rather than providing a structurally organized body of information and theory, as one would expect in a more scholarly work, it merely serves to introduce and loosely connect themes and ideas conveyed principally by means of the visual images, stories, quotations, and sounds. The result is a multimedia collage, in which the conventional techniques and methods of scholarship serve as a skeletal frame for what is at heart an artistic approach to the subject, an approach more impressionistic than analytical.

Chapter One, "Origins," suggests rhythm's roots in natural and animal sounds, surveying various theories on the origins of music with reference to Blacking, Langer, Darwin, Stumpf, and others.

Hart also examines early percussion instruments from ancient cultures in Egypt, China, Mexico, and other parts of the world, and concludes with a section called "Noise and Pandemonium," which touches on the influence of cultural values on musical development. Also included are five "origin stories" from the mythologies of indigenous cultures, which directly or tangentially deal with percussion and rhythm.

Chapter Two, "Rhythms of Work, War, and Play," looks at the functions of musical rhythm and percussive sound in relation to coordination of group work, communication, recreation, and dance worldwide. The "human drum" of the Peruvian Incas chronicled in the "War" section is noteworthy for being one of the most bizarre musical instruments on record! "Rhythms of Life and Death," the third chapter, includes sections on trance and ecstasy, shamanism, masked dances, dances of death, sacrifice and possession rituals, and the Brazilian Carnaval. The fourth chapter, "Sculptures of Sound," focuses on the instruments themselves, including a short section on instruments made from human skulls, and and another on drum making. Chapter Five, "Planet Drum," is a photographic summary of the book, emphasizing drumming's universal significance as an integral aspect of human existence.

Finally, accompanying the book is the "Planet Drum" CD, comprising an assortment of well-produced ensemble performances by an all-star international percussion group (with vocals) featuring Airto Moreira, Babatunde Olatunji, T.H. "Vikku" Vinayakaram, Zakir Hussain, Sikiru Adepoju, Flora Purim, and Hart himself.

Whatever its merits in terms of aesthetics and broad accessibility, the collage approach represented by *Planet Drum* can be frustrating for the scholar. The work scratches the surface of so many important and fascinating ethnomusicological topics, only to leave them hanging in mid-air. Quoted references are cited by author and cited works listed in the bibliography, but there are no footnotes for specific quotations, making it extremely difficult to track down particular sources. The CD is very successful artistically as a celebration of percussive sound and rhythm and as a testament to the collaborative artistry of an ensemble of great musicians from diverse world cultures but is of somewhat limited usefulness in terms of providing information about rhythmic, timbral, and contextual issues pertinent to musical research and teaching. The discography is limited to the Hart-produced "The World" recordings on Rykodisc, an excellent series, but one that at present does not nearly account for the great range of musical cultures and styles touched upon in the book.

In light of these criticisms, the following suggestions might make the work better suited to scholarly usage, while not diminishing the accessibility and attractiveness of the current format:

1) Full references should be given for all quotations.

2) The text should be expanded to include more information on particular topics; annotated chapter bibliographies could also be added, pointing the way to further reading.
3) A summary listing of instruments by region and by type, cross-indexed to photographs, illustrations, or passages of text within the main volume, would be a useful appendix.
4) A glossary of relevant musical and related terminology should be provided.
5) Audio examples on the CD, demonstrating sounds of particular instruments and important rhythmic techniques (e.g. interlocking, polyrhythms, heterophony), would provide a valuable companion to the appendix and glossary.
6) The discography should be expanded, and a filmography added.

Having looked at some ways in which *Planet Drum* could be improved as a scholarly resource, let us now reverse our perspective, looking at some ways in which it can serve as a model for scholarship. Largely through the efforts of popular music artists like Hart, Peter Gabriel, and Paul Simon, who have helped to bring world music to the attention of the masses in recent years, ethnomusicology is in a position to achieve unprecedented growth and prominence as a discipline. More people are interested in world music than ever before, and their interest creates a market for ethnomusicologists. However, in order to tap into this market the ethnomusicologist must bridge the gap between the scholarly priorities of academia, and the concerns of the world music enthusiast who is lured into the sphere of ethnomusicology through the doors of progressive popular, world beat, and new age music.

Several features of *Planet Drum* help guide us toward meeting this challenge: the careful attention paid to the physical appearance and layout of the book, the author's engaging and individualistic persona as a writer, his readily apparent passion for his subject, the inclusion of a CD that stands on its own musically rather than merely providing illustrative examples, and the collaborative nature of the work, which draws on the knowledge and talents of a large number of individuals whose collective backgrounds represent an impressive range of scholarly, musical, and cultural knowledge.

With the publication of *Planet Drum*, Mickey Hart and his collaborators have provided a great service to the field of ethnomusicology through the content of the work, the work's exemplary accessibility and broad appeal, and the increased public interest in the study of world music which it will undoubtedly inspire. Hopefully, the current edition does not conclude the published record of Hart's "drum quest." A revised and expanded version of this work would potentially make a monumental contribution to the ethnomusicological literature.

Michael Bakan UCLA

Samba. By ALMA GUILLERMOPRIETO. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990.

It is a duty for anyone who writes about another ethnic group to translate something significant across the borderline separating cultures. This rarely happens. To do so requires a combination of sensitivity and a high level of artistry with the written word. A natural ease with people in varying social situations—and nerve—help. None of these talents can be acquired in the curriculum of a graduate program in ethnomusicology; indeed, some can only be learned in spite of it. These traits are, however, the essential elements of the reporter's profession, and in 1988, Guillermoprieto took time off from her job as Newsweek's Rio de Janeiro correspondent to satisfy her curiosity about the *escola de samba* (samba schools), and their base communities, the *favelas* (Rio's shantytowns). Her response to her first carnival parade:

> Nothing was familiar or logical, and I was reduced to the simplest questions. How could that large woman over there in the sequined bikini be so unconcerned about her cellulite? Why was everyone singing about the Mexican chicle tree, and who had come up with this idea? Why were a spectacularly beautiful woman dressed only in a few feathers and a little boy in a formal suit pretending to have sex with each other for the audience's benefit, and why was everyone involved so cheerful? Were all these people from the slums? And if they were, how could they look so happy when their lives were so awful? (p. 7)

Starting with the right questions, and unencumbered by ethnographies (although her background research was obviously meticulous), the author produced a work which is exciting to read and enormously informative. Whereas most writers distort when they condense, Guillermoprieto enhances her images with an economy of means. Her organological description of a Brazilian friction drum:

> Then the *cuica*: a subversive, humorous squeak, dirty and enticing, produced by rubbing a stick inserted into the middle of a drumskin. The *cuica* is like an itch, and the only way to scratch it is to dance. (p. 16)

Samba takes the form of a diary of the author's year-long residence in the Mangueira *favela*, base community for the *Escola de Samba Mangueira*, one of Rio's oldest and most traditional carnival marching organizations. A former dancer, Guillermoprieto learned to dance the *samba* well enough to parade with one of the school's most prestigious wings, and clearly developed an easy rapport with her neighbors, something few foreigners could achieve. She provides inside information on the complex relationship among drug traffickers, numbers game operators, politicians, and the *escola de samba*, and without recourse to a single photograph or musical score

describes the music (in terms of form, instruments, ensembles) and dance better than any account I have read. Her description of the year-long development of the *samba de enredo* (story samba) includes details on the construction of floats, the design and fabrication of costumes, the choice of the parade song, and much more. All of this very vital and specific information on a highly complex subculture is enfolded into a dramatic and moving account—each paragraph vivid in its own right and logically connected to the whole.

A description of the *escolas de samba* in English has been a long time coming. The only other such book, an admittedly modest account published in Brazil in the late 1960s (Luis Gardel's *Escolas de Samba*) was little more than an appreciation. It is fortunate for all of us that *Samba* was finally written not by a trained ethnomusicologist or anthropologist, but by a writer talented enough to go beyond the highly suspect academic concept of "objectivity." Propelled by her feelings, natural curiosity, and professionally informed intuition, Alma Guillermoprieto has given us a work whose emotional contour closely parallels the roller-coaster ride that is true *samba.* As the Brazilians might say: *Sarava Dona Alma!*

Brian Hodel   **UCLA**

The Autobiography of Takahashi Chikuzan: Adventures of a Tsugaru-jamisen Musician.[1] Translated and annotated by GERALD GROEMER. Detroit Monographs in Musicology/Studies in Music, No. 10. Warren, Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1991.

Distinctions between folk, religious, and art genres of music in Japan are notoriously difficult to establish and define. A Japanese equivalent for the term "folk music" was only coined in the late nineteenth century, and then primarily for the convenience of scholars; even the seemingly self-evident term "music" has been officially withheld from certain genres of narrative song.[2] It should therefore come as no surprise to learn that since the Second World War, a regional genre of traditional music has emerged to enjoy the

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[1]The Nippon system of romanization is used consistently here except in the appearance of the family name "Takahashi" in the title and in direct quotations from the work. The following synonomy gives Hepburn system equivalents for terms and proper names that appear in this review: busi/bushi; Honsyû/Honshû; syamisen/shamisen; Takahasi/Takahashi.

[2]William Malm (1984:189) accounts for the relative neglect of research of one folk music tradition in Japan, *naniwa-busi*. In the course of a legal dispute over copyright, the defense called upon a panel of music experts to decide whether this genre of *syamisen*-accompanied narrative was or was not, in fact, music; much to the surprise of interested musicians, the panel's ruling was in the negative. "Ever since that time, no Japanese music scholar has deigned to write on this subject since it was now, by official decree, 'not music'."

status of an "art" music in contemporary Japan. *Tsugaru-jamisen* refers both to the genre and the instrument adopted by folk *syamisen* performers of the Tsugaru area of northern Honsyû. In *The Autobiography of Takahashi Chikuzan: Adventures of a Tsugaru-jamisen Musician*, the principal living exponent of this tradition gives an account of his early musical interest and training, his years as a touring musician, and his eventual rise to fame.

Like many musicians within orally transmitted lineages of music in Japan, TAKAHASI Chikuzan[3] has been blind from childhood. This circumstance has obliged him to seek out a collaborator in undertaking the project of an autobiography. The original text in Japanese *(Jiden: Tsugaru-jamisen hitoritabi)*, transcribed by his longtime friend SATÔ Sadaki and published in 1983, subsequently served as a basis for this translation into English and the accompanying annotations by Gerald Groemer. TAKAHASI's disarmingly colloquial narrative is well complemented by Groemer's meticulous attention to historical circumstance and linguistic detail; what emerges is a richly contextualized account of this genre and its development, from both an individual and a broader historical perspective.

The book begins with an introduction by Groemer that provides a sketch of the history, poetics, and musical style of *Tsugaru-jamisen*. Three transcriptions are included, one of which corresponds closely with a recording of *"Jonkara Busi,"* released in 1990 (Victor VICG-3077). Groemer also provides a useful chart that traces the line of transmission for the *Tsugaru-jamisen* tradition as well as a bibliography of sources in both English and Japanese, discography, and glossary.

The narrative proper consists of sixty-five short chapters that vary from complete stories in themselves to quasi-epigrammatic thoughts that inevitably endear TAKAHASI Chikuzan to the reader. Chapters that recount his early life afford a candid glimpse of rural Japan in the early 20th century. His description of setting out at age fourteen to undertake his apprenticeship provides insight into his own style, together with a characterization of his teacher as a musician who is able to play with "clear musical logic." Incidents gleaned from his years as a traveling musician help to explain the eclecticism that became such an important aspect of his mature style, in particular his long acquaintance with *naniwa-busi*. He subsequently describes the fascinating circumstances that spurred him to take the unorthodox path of solo performance in 1949. By this time he had become enough of an artist to comment, "You've succeeded if...there's one person who understands your music" (p. 77).

In the closing chapters of the narrative, TAKAHASI's comments turn from the anecdotal to read more like a primer for aspiring musicians: "No matter how skillful a teacher is, the only thing he can

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[3]The convention of capitalizing all letters of a Japanese individual's family name is observed here, although not in the work reviewed.

teach you is the logic of the music" (p. 79), "People improve only when they are aware of their own inabilities" (p. 83), "Once you've learned the song, the *shamisen* part will fall into place naturally" (p. 85). He is also critical, although in a good-natured way, of young musicians who, among other things, cannot match the old Tsugaru sound (referred to as "the scent of Tsugaru"), or convey the rhythm of the style (rhythmic precision and subtlety being characteristic features of his performance).

Throughout the narrative, Groemer's annotations are, almost without exception, illuminating and welcome. Also salutary is his decision to leave untranslated a host of words that either resist or defy euphonic translation. These names, concepts, and terms are accounted for in a comprehensive glossary which, happily, includes *kanji* or *kana* equivalents.

One criticism can be made of the work: Groemer neglects to offer an explanation for the social dynamics that have prompted the increase in status of *Tsugaru-jamisen* musicians. Moreover, while noting that this livelihood is one of the few callings to which blind persons in Tsugaru could realistically aspire, he provides relatively little insight into the roles of performer *vis-à-vis* audience in a traditional setting. This neglect becomes still more conspicuous for the post-war era in which TAKAHASI's style came to be recognized and appreciated within an ever-widening sphere. It seems reasonable to ask: Under what circumstances, granting TAKAHASI's extraordinary musicianship, did this folk genre metamorphose into art? Perhaps it is the province of another work or author to suggest and explore historical parallels that may or may not exist between the career of TAKAHASI and, let us say, that of Kan'ami, the 14th-century actor who elevated rural comic and acrobatic performance traditions to the refined status of the *nô* theater, or between the gradually increasing importance of instrumental interludes in *Tsugaru-jamisen* and the evolution of *koto tegotomono* in the 17th and 18th centuries. Within the relatively modest scope of this work, however, Groemer can hardly be slighted for passing over such questions, intriguing as they are.

On April 8, 1992 at the Japan America Theater in Los Angeles, Kaze ("wind"), a *Tsugaru-jamisen* ensemble made its successful first appearance in the United States. The enthusiastic reception extended to the group and its director, TAKAHASI Yujiro, attest to the growing popularity of this genre, not long ago associated exclusively with rural Northern Japan. TAKAHASI Chikuzan and Gerald Groemer are to be congratulated for providing an illuminating glimpse into the history and aesthetics of this tradition.

Paul Humphreys and Miri Park   **UCLA**

REFERENCE

Malm, William
   1984   *Japanese Music and Musical Instruments.* Rutland, Vermont: Tuttle.

A Guide to the Gamelan. By NEIL SORRELL. Portland: Amadeus
   Press, 1990.

This book targets a general music audience, especially college-
level readers versed in Western musical traditions. The author, a
music educator in Great Britain, wrote the book to answer questions
he frequently encounters in his gamelan workshops. The book
therefore presents little new information for ethnomusicology, but
may be useful in similar educational situations. There are detailed
discussions of several pertinent topics, such as Indonesian influ-
ences on Western composers, organology and instrument manufac-
ture, and performance practice. The author rightfully contends that
some publications on gamelan are "too lengthy and specialized,"
while others are merely "brief introductions" (p.vii). While Sorrell
himself provides only "brief introductions" to a number of vital is-
sues concerning gamelan, the book overall is a successful combina-
tion of general and scholarly information, written in a sensitive,
although didactic, style.
   The title is misleading. Apart from some general remarks, the
book concerns Central Javanese, and particularly Solonese, gamelan.
Furthermore, Sorrell excessively compares Western orchestral tradi-
tions with Javanese gamelan throughout much of the book.
Though some readers, such as Western composers and performers,
may need these references to Western music to understand the
unique nature of gamelan music, these comparisons often com-
promise the book's otherwise authoritative data.
   Sorrell is particularly interested in the influences of gamelan
music upon Western composers and musicians. In fact, the justifi-
cation of the book is not simply to provide the "mechanics of
[Javanese] gamelan and its music," but also "how and why it has
made such an impact in the West" (p.viii). The first chapter,
"Gamelan and the West," for instance, examines the impact of the
music upon Debussy, Britten, and other Western art music com-
posers of the 19th and 20th centuries. A second theme introduced
here is how the music is popularized in the West. Unfortunately,
both discussions are mostly limited to composers, occasionally in-
corporating music educators. Ethnomusicologists are rarely cited
and are given little credit for researching and initiating Western
awareness about gamelan.
   The second chapter, "The Setting," is Sorrell's attempt to describe
the context of Java and Javanese music aesthetics. He provides his-
toric information, quotes from Javanese musicians and nobility, and

presents many of his own ideas about gamelan. The constant contrasts between gamelan and Western traditions here sometimes reveal unique insights, but other times are perfunctory. He obviously assumes his readers cannot make many of these musical judgements on their own. However, in the third chapter, "The Instruments," he diverges from this pattern, delving rather deeply into the materials and manufacture of instruments; this chapter is more authoritative than many works by ethnomusicologists. Here, the author's extensive terminology and detail indicate his love for the subject but may leave general readers bewildered.

In the next chapter, "Rudiments of *Karawitan*," Sorrell introduces the tuning systems of *pelog* and *slendro*, provides simple yet clear definitions of *pathet* (which he intriguingly states can be equally defined as "mood" or "mode"), and describes how the *pathet* are constructed and musically realized. Although he again occasionally relies too often on contrasts with Western traditions, his descriptions of *balungan* (skeletal melody), *lagu* (inner melody), *irama* (tempo relationships), and other terms within Javanese music practice are consistent with works by ethnomusicologists. The fifth chapter, "Theory into Practice: Gamelan Music in Performance," applies these concepts as they exist in performance, and presents compositional forms and musical functions of the various instruments. The entire "score" of the *ladrang* "Wilujeng" is included. Unfortunately, he treats the musical elements as part of a linear rather than a cyclic flow throughout the chapter.

In the conclusion, the author reintroduces the main thesis of Western interest in and attitudes towards gamelan. He offers several personal insights into how Westerners can understand the music and significance of Javanese gamelan. Sorrell finally discusses ethnomusicology, critically questioning the role and ethics of ethnomusicology programs in the United States and United Kingdom which feature gamelan as "a status symbol" (p. 123). Although he encourages learning to play the music, he feels that musicians at institutes may take too much pride in their playing—an ideal counter to Javanese practice—or assume too much self-importance. In addition, he questions the role of gamelan in Western concert settings, suggesting that this is overly formal, and criticizes using gamelan for financial gain. Such ideas are admirable, if somewhat patronizing.

Pondering Javanese attitudes towards Western interest in their tradition, Sorrell declares that no matter how "we" emulate Javanese tradition, we "can never be Javanese" (p. 124). Sorrell approaches his topics as an outsider firmly based in his own tradition; his book seems directed towards those who share his own musical background. The context of Great Britain may help explain this orientation. It seems unlikely that an American music educator would take such an approach or even attempt such a book with the diverse readership, the numerous gamelan experts, the plethora of gamelan

and literature on gamelan, and the relatively lengthy existence of gamelan in America.

Overall, this is a unique approach for a book on Javanese gamelan, written especially for Western musicians, composers, and students, and avoiding the pretensions of perfection. There are a number of fresh insights presented, and no major errors. One problem obviously not Sorrell's fault is the reversed instrument identifications of two photographs (pp. 46–7). The word "suling" is placed under a photo of a siter (plucked zither), while "siter" is beneath a photo of a suling (bamboo flute). The book, unfortunately, pluralizes Javanese terms and does not contain a bibliography, although Sorrell cites works in endnotes and provides abbreviated lists of suggested reading and listening material.

Readers may find problematic the notational format used in the musical examples and in the score of "Wilujeng." Javanese music is best represented with Javanese notation, and Sorrell agrees with this in spirit. However, since he is addressing Western readers unfamiliar with gamelan, he does not want to abandon Western notation completely. He therefore develops a format which thoughtfully combines Javanese and Western staff notation, although perhaps does justice to neither. A staff of five lines is provided with a "clef" sign of "P" for pelog or "S" for slendro. In slendro the five lines represent the five pitches, while in pelog both spaces and lines are used to indicate the seven pitches with two pitches duplicated at an upper octave. Measure lines are not used, but Western rhythmic values are given for the notes. Javanese cipher notation, admirably, is placed beneath the staves.

Since A Guide to the Gamelan is aimed at Westerners who are unfamiliar with Javanese gamelan, it is of little benefit to ethnomusicologists beyond classroom or workshop situations in which the students are well versed in Western music tradition. Ethnomusicologists and gamelan enthusiasts are much better served by Sutton's comprehensive guide to the varied gamelan traditions of Java (1991), and, of course, by Kunst's landmark work (1973). DeVale's article (1989) is better detailed on instrument manufacture (although her research was in Sunda), and Becker and Feinstein's three edited volumes (1984, 1987, 1988) present an unmatched array of essays on such topics as pathet and performance practice from a variety of perspectives. Still, Sorrell's work incorporates many diverse topics and contains a number of enlightened and intriguing opinions, particularly concerning the history of Western fascination with gamelan. It is an easy book to read and absorb, and fulfills its intention of adequately informing composers, musicologists, and students of Western music about the rudiments of Central Javanese gamelan tradition.

David Harnish   **Auburn, CA**

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RECORD REVIEW

The Mahabharata Original Soundtrack. Produced by PHILIPPE EIDEL.
One 12" 33-1/3 rpm stereo disc, cassette, or compact disc, with
notes. 1990. A 3ème Etage/WOMAD Production. Real World
Records (Millside, Mill Lane, Box, Wiltshire, England, SN14
9PN) 91363.

This record is the commercially released soundtrack from the
1989 film version of *The Mahabharata* by British director Peter
Brook. Released by Real World Records, it contains extracts from
the score and was produced under the auspices of WOMAD, British
musician Peter Gabriel's group concerning itself with the issuance of
"world music." The music derives its predominant flavor from
Indian musical tradition but also incorporates an amalgam of other
Eastern influences and instruments. Far removed from customary
film scoring technique based on European symphonic models, the
score is interesting both for its eclectic musical content, and for its
underlying aesthetic.

Cross-cultural musical eclecticism constitutes an increasingly po-
tent force around the world. While much world music is created by
musicians of various music cultures syncretizing the styles, instru-
mentation, and contexts of American and European popular musics
with their own traditions, the music on this disc is created by
European and Asian musicians mixing Indian music with Western
techniques and technologies to suit the film's dramatic context and
multicultural agenda.

The Mahabharata is an Indian epic poem dating back to the first
millennium B.C. Generally translated as "The Great Story of
Mankind," the poem chronicles the rise of the human race from di-
vine origins, its fall into mutual destruction, in the form of a great
war between two branches of a royal family, and its subsequent re-
birth.

The film score was produced by French keyboardist and com-
poser Philippe Eidel, who describes in liner notes to the recording
the creation of and the philosophy underlying the music. He says
that the score sprang from "the will to rediscover the musical inspi-
ration of mankind in his most spiritual roots, particularly in Tibet
and the Indian sub-continent."

To this end, five musicians, all from different cultures, engaged
in five years of musical research in these countries, and then com-
posed the score through group improvisation on instruments in-
cluding *taiko, gatham, esraj, tablas, pakhawaj, maddalam, ke-
manche, santur, tanbur, ney, zarb, nagasvaram, didgeridoo, shahnai,*
and synthesizers. Eidel continues, "We didn't want to review

historical music, but to dip into it for inspiration, trying to bend it into modernity."

The musicians who created and performed the music hail from Japan, Iran, Turkey, Denmark, India, and France. It is significant that the musicians don't necessarily play, or limit themselves to, instruments from their own culture; the Danish musician playing the Indian oboes and the Australian *didgeridoo* demonstrates the intentional eclecticism of the music. This kaleidoscopic approach, mirrored in the multiracial casting of the film, demands cross-cultural collaboration, and implies that an epic as great as *The Mahabharata* knows no cultural bounds. Likewise, the improvisational nature of the score's composition belies the highly notated, hierarchical, Western method of much film scoring. Such egalitarianism includes "all mankind" within its scope, and also appropriately recognizes the oral and improvisational nature of the Indian tradition.

The soundtrack contains both "set pieces"—self-contained songs or pieces that tend to be traditionally Indian in nature—and composed pieces deriving their structure from mood or action in the film. These latter pieces are less Indian, more Western in sound. The set pieces include three instrumental tracks: a rhapsodic piece for *ney* and *tanbur*, an introduction and dance performed on *kemanche, tanbur*, and drums, and a *santur* solo; a 2-part narrative with music; and five songs by Bengali poet and composer Rabindrinath Tagore.

The use of Tagore's work is intriguing. Amidst the great wealth of classical Indian vocal music, Tagore (1861-1941), has remained relatively unknown outside of his native state of Bengal. This may be mainly due to the language barrier existing between Bengal and the rest of India; also, his compositions do not lie strictly within the mainstream of classical Indian style. The songs selected for the score are in fact in his version of the *dhrupad*, or classical vocal style.

Tagore's songs are framed in fairly traditional settings in the recording, but are subtly modified in style and structure. The tempos are generally exaggeratedly slow, increasing the aura of drama and mystery. Synthesized string sections supplement the Indian ensemble in several spots, often introducing functional harmony to the drone-based music, and referencing the orchestral texture of most Western film music.

In "Dhire Bhundu Dhire," (which marks the conclusion of the great war in the film), the *didgeridoo* joins the ensemble, intensifying the ambiguity of the music's identity. Accompanied by *didgeridoo* and drums, the vocalist sings, "Slowly, friend, slowly/Tread through the dark temple in your heart." The music suggests that the darkness is now complete, mankind is destroyed, and the sound of this traditional song over the untraditional background symbolizes the disorder of the world.

The composed, overtly dramatic pieces demonstrate still greater eclecticism and contrast. "Cities" is a non-linear, distinctly

contemporary piece featuring *shahnai,* horn, drums, bells, keyboard, and a host of strange keyboard effects, playing fragmented, overlapping lines over an oscillating roar. The use of traditional instruments in this modern urban environment is chillingly alien.

"Duryodhana," named after a warrior character in the film, features vocals that recall Indian Vedic chant, juxtaposed against the unlikely combination of *didgeridoo, santur, rebab*-like fiddle, and synthesizer. The effect is ritualistic, but without specific reference. The chanting is followed by an arhythmic section of chaotic instrumental runs and cymbal crashes, concluding with an orderly duet of flute and fiddle in heterophony. This juxtaposition of order and chaos underscores the *"dharma/adharma"* motif of the story, and the unspoken traditional/modern, cultural/multicultural dualities of the music and its cinematic context.

If the heterophonic flute-fiddle duet signals a return to order and familiarity, the subsequent entry of synthesized strings in "functional" harmonic cadence completes the sense of musical return to this American listener. The music for "The Great Story of Mankind" explores the sounds of the "Others" of our species but returns inexorably to the domain of its directors and audience. Is this syncretism, or neo-colonial dabbling from the safety of a synthesizer's string pad? This recording constitutes a testing ground for this increasingly insistent question.

Elizabeth J. Miles   **UCLA**

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE:

Wanda Bryant is a doctoral student in ethnomusicology at UCLA.

Valerie Samson is a doctoral student in composition at UCLA.

Samuel Will Parnes is a doctoral student in ethnomusicology at UCLA.