ISSN 2515-981X

Geography, Music, Space

Volume 2

James Williams
Sarah Hall

Musicology Research Journal
Issue 5
Autumn 2018

MusicologyResearch
The New Generation of Research in Music

This special issue follows the *Geography, Music, Space* conference at Durham University in 2017. The event was funded by the Institute of Musical Research and Durham University.

This page is left intentionally blank

ISSN 2515-981X

This special issue follows the *Geography, Music, Space* conference at Durham University in 2017. The event was funded by the Institute of Musical Research and Durham University.

Geography, Music, Space

Volume 2

James Williams
Sarah Hall

Musicology Research Journal
Issue 5
Autumn 2018

MusicologyResearch
The New Generation of Research in Music

ISSN 2515-981X

Autumn 2018 ©
MusicologyResearchJournal

No part of this text, including its cover image, may be reproduced, transmitted, or utilized in any form by any electronic, mechanical, or others means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying, microfilming, and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without written permission from MusicologyResearch and its contributors. MusicologyResearch offers a model whereby the authors retain the copyright of their contributions.

Cover Image 'Supple'. Contemporary Abstract Painting, Acrylic, 2012. Used with permission by artist Elizabeth Chapman. © Elizabeth Chapman.
http://melizabethchapman.artspan.com/
http://melizabethchapman.blogspot.co.uk/

Visit the MusicologyResearch website at http://www.musicologyresearch.co.uk

for this issue

https://www.musicologyresearch.co.uk/publications/jelenagligorijevic-rethinkingpoliticsincontemporarymusicfestivals
http://www.musicologyresearch.co.uk/publications/annemacgregor-heisapieceofgranite
http://www.musicologyresearch.co.uk/publications/brendankibbee-scenesfromanindigenouscity
http://www.musicologyresearch.co.uk/publications/daithikearney-listeningfortradition
http://www.musicologyresearch.co.uk/publications/thomasgraves-thesocialandspatialbasisofmusicaljoy
http://www.musicologyresearch.co.uk/publications/artemisignatidou-warinspacemusicintime
http://www.musicologyresearch.co.uk/publications/kiarawickremasinghe-claimingbacktheartic
http://www.musicologyresearch.co.uk/publications/joannemills-engagementandimmersion
http://www.musicologyresearch.co.uk/publications/josephnelson-bethlemohospitalandsoundasbiopowerinseventeenthcenturylondon
http://www.musicologyresearch.co.uk/publications/federicofurnari-geographyandspacegiovannibattistaserini
http://www.musicologyresearch.co.uk/publications/diegoastorgadeita-omonstrousostrange

Full e-Journal PDF download:

http://www.musicologyresearch.co.uk/publications/issue5-autumn2018

MusicologyResearch
The New Generation of Research in Music

Contents

	Acknowledgements	vii
	Contributors	ix
	Abstracts	xi
11	Rethinking Politics in Contemporary Music Festivals: From Brandscapes to Potentially New Forms of Collectivities JELENA GLIGORIJEVIĆ	287
12	"He is a piece of Granite…" Landscape and National Identity in Early Twentieth-Century Sweden ANNE MACGREGOR	327
13	Scenes from an Indigenous City: Music and Lebou Space in Dakar's Médina BRENDAN KIBBEE	351
14	Listening for Tradition: Contributing to a Regional Musical Identity through Higher Education Research DAITHÍ KEARNEY	387

15 The Social and Spatial Basis of Musical Joy: *Folk Orc* and the Music Centre as Special Refuge and Everyday Ritual 425
THOMAS GRAVES

16 War in Space, Music in Time: Dimitri Shostakovich's *Greek Songs* in Transnational Historical Context 453
ARTEMIS IGNATIDOU

17 'Claiming back the Artic': Evaluating the Effectiveness of Music as a Voice for the Indigenous Subaltern 485
KIARA WICKREMASINGHE

18 Engagement and Immersion: The Extent to which an Expanded Narrative is Present within American Minimalist Music during the 1960s and 1970s 507
JOANNE MILLS

19 Bethlem Hospital and Sound as Biopower in Seventeenth-Century London 531
JOSEPH NELSON

20 Geography and Space: The Music of Giovanni Battista Serini 553
FEDERICO FURNARI

21 'O Monstrous! O Strange!': Culture, Nature, and the Places of Music in the Mexican Leeward 573
DIEGO ASTORGA DE ITA

Biographies 607

Contributor's Reviews 617

Acknowledgements

This volume is the second and final part of *Geography, Music, Space* (*MRJ*). The papers in this Autumn 2018 issue continue on from those published in the first volume back in Spring 2018. The articles all stem from a Call for Papers originally sent out after the *Geography, Music, Space* Conference at the University of Durham in January 2017 (funded by the University and by the Institute of Musical Research [IMR]). The themes covered in this volume extend the discussions of both the Conference and of those found in the first volume, including topics on music's interaction and interplay with politics, space, location, geography, materiality, culture, communities, festivals, and other social contexts.

I would firstly like to thank my Co-editors, Dr Samuel Horlor (Durham University) and Dr Sarah Hall (University of Leeds) for working alongside me on Volumes I and II, respectively. Without your enthusiasm for taking this project further, these publications would not have been possible – thank you for your unparalleled time and commitment over the past 18 months towards putting this two-part issue of *MRJ* together. Secondly, I would of course like to thank those who have contributed such constructive and though-provoking papers to this volume. Although taking manuscripts through peer-review and revisions can indeed have its challenges, it has been a pleasure to see your chapters develop and take shape – I hope you have not only gained invaluable experience, but also enjoyed the process. Finally, I would like to

thank the scholars from around the world who helped in the double-blind peer-reviewing of these chapters. Your reports are integral in upholding the academic rigor and quality of *MRJ*'s outputs – I offer my sincere gratitude.

Thank you all.

Contributors

DIEGO ASTORGA DE ITA is a PhD candidate at Durham University.

FEDERICO FURNARI is a PhD candidate and Associate Teaching Fellow at the University of Sheffield.

JELENA GLIGORIJEVIĆ is a PhD candidate at the University of Turku, Finland.

THOMAS GRAVES is reading for a MMus in Ethnomusicology at SOAS.

ARTEMIS IGNATIDOU is a Visiting Fellow at the Ernst Bloch Centre for German Thought (School of Advanced Study, University of London).

DAITHÍ KEARNEY is an Ethnomusicologist and Lecturer in Music at Dundalk Institute of Technology

BRENDAN KIBBEE is a PhD candidate at the City University of New York (CUNY).

ANNE MACGREGOR is a Teaching Associate in Music Performance at the University of Sheffield.

JOANNE MILLS is a PhD candidate at the University of Wolverhampton.

JOE NELSON is a PhD candidate at the University of Minnesota.

KIARA WICKREMASINGHE is a Graduate of MA in Music Development, SOAS.

Abstracts

Astorga de Ita

'O Monstrous! O Strange!': Culture, Nature, and the Places of Music in the Mexican Leeward

Son Jarocho is the music of the Leeward region in southeastern Mexico; it is the result of the mixture of European, African and Indigenous cultures over the three centuries of Spanish colonial rule in a region of wetlands, rivers, plains and tropical forests. In this paper I will explore how Culture and Nature are presented and performed in Leeward *fandangos*—the communal parties in which *son Jarocho* is played. I will do this by looking at descriptions of the musical endeavours of the non-human characters of the Jarocho Otherworld, particularly those collected by Moreno-Nájera in his book *Presas del Encanto* ('Prey of Enchantment'). I will use some stories of Faery lore as a brief counterpoint to the Leeward accounts of enchantment in an attempt to render the Leeward Otherworld somewhat clearer. I will also survey the Leeward Otherworld and the space of the fandango in light of some academic literatures on Enchantment. I will look at the lyrics and material culture that link these stories and beliefs to Leeward music, to different spaces (the forest, the village, the road, the river), and to the musical chronotope of the fandango. This exploration of the network of relationships woven through musical practices will show how the Modern divisions between

Culture and Nature are deconstructed in Leeward fandangos. Furthermore, it will showcase the 'monstrous and strange' aspects of music as a way for us to survey the social world of song, and will suggest new understandings of Latourian hybrids beyond (or before) the technological and cybernetic innovations of our age.

Furnari Geography and Space: The Music of Giovanni Battista Serini

Giovanni Battista Serini was an Italian composer almost completely forgotten. The chapter will be in two sections: the geography and the space. With the term 'geography' I refer to the countries and cities where Serini worked. In this section, I will make an account for the significant relationship with politics. Born in Italy (probably in Cremona on 1709), Giovanni Battista worked in Venice for Robert d'Arcy (English diplomats) and Germany (at the Bückeburg Court and Bonn). According to Lynch, all his engagements were thanks to Robert d'Arcy and his relationship with other diplomats linked to England. This first part will analyse the role of politician in the Serini's life. In the second section, I explore the places where Serini's music was performed. He composed several pieces of music: most of them have disappeared after World War II (some are probably destroyed; some are waiting to be discovered). He wrote music for theatre, in addition to Church and Chamber music. Different spaces mean different styles, different orchestra sizes and, different composition techniques. In this section I explore Serini's music according to theorists and composers who lived and worked in the same era (mid-18th Century). This is a first attempt to study deeply the figure and Music by Giovanni Battista Serini.

Gligorijević

Rethinking Politics in Contemporary Music Festivals: From Brandscapes to Potentially New Forms of Collectivities

This chapter scrutinizes the current politics of music festivals along two binary dimensions – Left vs. Right and corporate vs. independent. In doing so, I aim to accomplish three interrelated goals. First, to argue that music festivals today are an integral part of wider branding practices and as such are primarily focused on creating sign-values through the commodification of festival experience in its totality, from its material expressions to its affective attachments. Second, to critically assess the underlying contradictions and main political implications arising from the production of music festivals as *brandscapes*. The third and last aim of the paper is to instigate discussion on politics with a capital 'P' in contemporary music festivals by exploring the political potential of the concept which I developed in my doctoral study on (Serbian) national identity and music festivals – namely, the concept of music festivals as *micronational spaces*. To be more accurate, I turn to the derivative of this concept – to the idea of *microcitizenship* as a form of membership to music festival collectivities – in order to provide a politically invigorating corrective to the existing theorizations of such collectivities (for example, Turner's *communitas*, Maffesoli's *neo-tribes*, or Anderton's *meta-sociality*).

Graves | The Social and Spatial Basis of Musical Joy: *Folk Orc* and the Music Centre as Special Refuge and Everyday Ritual Theory

Folk Orc are a casual group of musicians who meet weekly at two locations in New Milton and Swanage, Dorset. Membership is open to all with the only criterion being payment of a £6 fee for the session. The band play simplified versions of traditional Folk songs of the British Isles. Members attend as a social activity and report the joy they feel when practicing together and the positive impact membership of this group has on their lives. This essay explores, in their own words, the degree to which this joy and wellbeing is a result of social, musical, and spatial factors.

Ignatidou | War in Space, Music in Time: Dimitri Shostakovich's *Greek Songs* in Transnational Historical Context

Little known to the public, Dmitri Shostakovich's Greek Songs (for voice and piano, sans opus) were created in 1953 through a historical convergence between Greece and the Soviet Union. After the end of the Greek Civil War (1946–1949), the defeated Greek communists fled to the Soviet Union and other countries within the Soviet bloc, where they lived in exile until the 1970s. Among them was Maria Beikou, who, in 1952, settled in Moscow, where she worked for the Greek radio and studied at the Gerasimov Institute of Cinematography. At around the same time (1948), Dmitri Shostakovich was falling out of favour with the

Stalinist regime for a second time, and he was attempting to appease the musical establishment by composing works with folk elements. Unlike his song cycle From Jewish Folk Poetry (op. 79), which, after Stalin's death, attracted interest, acclaim, and became part of the canon, his Greek Songs has remained one of the lesser-known parts of his oeuvre. This article narrates the historical convergence that resulted in the composition of this Greek cycle of songs. It analyses the songs in their original context and explores the common methodological grounds between historical musicology and transnational cultural history that this brief cultural exchange – which sprang out of a civil war and a purge, and resulted in the creation of music – exemplifies.

Kearney

Listening for Tradition: Contributing to a Regional Musical Identity through Higher Education Research

The concept of regions in Irish traditional music is challenged by processes of globalisation but supported by an apparent tribalism and localism amongst Irish people and potential economic valuing of regional traditions. Local musical traditions underpin regional identities, particularly in parts of the west of Ireland. Many students who undertake undergraduate music studies at Irish institutions will engage in the study of regional musical styles that act as a basic framework through which to critically listen to selected performers, often from regions in the west of Ireland. Understanding both regions and traditions as processes, the canon must be revised in the context of new modes of learning and engagement with tradition that are shaped by new technologies and time-space distanciation, and new geographies of the tradition that relocate music-making nationally and

internationally. Located on the east coast of Ireland, at Dundalk Institute of Technology (DkIT) an emphasis is placed, by both the Institute and the music faculty, on the musical heritage of the Oriel region, which is often neglected in the narratives of Irish traditional music. Recent research by academics and performers has not only developed a narrative of musical traditions in this part of Ireland but has led to themed performances of music by students and staff at the Institute that have engaged the local community in the process of musical regionalisation. This paper critically examines the impact of music research and related performances on an understanding and awareness of a local or regional musical heritage in Dundalk and its surroundings in the past five years and the implications for a spatial understanding of Irish traditional music in the twenty-first century.

Kibbee — Scenes from an Indigenous City: Music and Lebou Space in Dakar's Médina

The Lebou population of Dakar, Senegal carries both the distinction of being the city's indigenous precolonial inhabitants and the difficulty of having endured multiple displacements and varying degrees of marginality from colonial and postcolonial regimes. This article examines Lebou musical practice in public space in Dakar's Médina—the city's "indigenous quarter" under French colonial rule, which is now a crowded, mostly-Muslim, working-class neighborhood in the West African metropolis. The neighbourhood regularly features loudly amplified, Lebou-organized performance contexts that take place regularly on city streets, often bringing together hundreds, sometimes thousands, of participants and spectators. In life cycle ceremonies, political

rallies, spirit-possessions, and Sufi gatherings, Lebou ideas about the city are circulated among a broader public. Knowledge of the city—its topography, its built environment, and its social institutions—is transmitted both kinetically and discursively in these participatory musical contexts. Thinking through music's capacity to assemble diverse cultural, material, and spiritual forces, this article theorizes ways that music can create important continuities of space and social life within a rapidly changing urban environment.

Macgregor	"He is a piece of Granite…" Landscape and National Identity in Early Twentieth-Century Sweden

The reception of Ture Rangström (1884-1947), one of the leading Swedish composers of his generation, is dominated by references to the Östergötland archipelago where he spent his summers. Contemporary critics persistently draw connections between the landscape, Rangström's music and the composer's national identity. This chapter examines the ways in which, for Rangström's audience, his landscape-inspired music epitomized Swedishness, and it uncovers parallels and contrasts between Swedish national identity and that of the neighbouring countries. Firstly, it shows that the Scandinavian understanding of landscape incorporates the interaction of human activity with geographical features. Secondly, it argues that Sweden's situation as a post-imperial, self-governing and neutral country shaped early twentieth-century perceptions of national identity in distinctive ways. It demonstrates that great value was placed on regional diversity and belonging, and shows that Rangström's adoption of Östergötland as a *hembygd* (home-place) was understood as an expression of authentic Swedishness. Thirdly,

this chapter suggests that the term *ursvensk* need not be read as an ideological equivalent of the German *Urdeutsch*, despite their shared connotations of racial purity and idealized masculinity. Rather, it shows that, in Rangström's reception, the term carries a sense of nostalgia for a bygone age that is itself often rooted in the landscape. This chapter proposes that Rangström and his music were described in terms of landscape not simply because he portrayed a particular geographical area with accuracy, but because he embodied and embraced an understanding of landscape that was distinctively Swedish.

Mills — Engagement and Immersion: The Extent to which an Expanded Narrative is Present within American Minimalist Music during the 1960s and 1970s

This paper summarises the progress of an investigation into the American 'minimalist' music of the 1960s and 1970s, specifically that of La Monte Young, Terry Riley, Steve Reich and Philip Glass, to explore the potential influence of their work on contemporary immersive creative practice. The research considers an examination of the venues that these composers used, and their cross-disciplinary collaborations of the period under investigation. It also addresses the issue of whether process-driven Minimalist music can be considered to have an 'expanded narrative' which exists outside of the work itself, with regards to the relationship between audience – work – environment, and how these works contribute to, and impact on, immersive creative practice within both their own recent works and those of contemporary visual artists. These four composers, whom Keith Potter describes in his subject entry for Minimalism in the Grove Music Online database as "pioneers in the evolution of

musical minimalism" to varying extents shared education, connections, training and concert programmes throughout their careers. All four also have examples in their repertoire of immersive audio-visual and environmental works, which this investigation highlights. This investigation will contribute new knowledge to the development of immersive art, by focusing on the work of early Minimalist composers, which have so far been missing from its lineage; and as such has the potential to inform both fine art practices and musical composition, and also may be of interest to art history, musicology and narratology.

Nelson — Bethlem Hospital and Sound as Biopower in Seventeenth-Century London

The sonic environment inside Bethlem Hospital in seventeenth-century London illustrates how sound not only can delineate space but also has political power. The infamous asylum was a site where the ruling classes came into contact with the mad people cast off by society and regulated by the institutional practices and government policies supported by those bourgeois and aristocrat spectators. This paper explores how sound in the environment of Bethlem asylum acted as a form of biopower that resisted the dominant rationality of the sovereign state and penetrated the orderly world of Restoration London. I offer the popular broadside ballad "A New Mad Tom; Or, The Man on the Moon Drinks Claret" (1658) as evidence of the disorderly sound that defined Bethlem's interior sound world and the visual images stamped onto that broadside ballad as further proof of how that soundscape penetrated the culture of early modern London. Such disorder matches the descriptions of Bethlem by Ned Ward, Thomas Brown, and Robert Hooke, accounts of the asylum that

show how sound affected visitors and residents alike. Finally, I draw on Michel Foucault's theories of *biopolitics* and power, and Roberto Esposito *immunization paradigm* to describe how sound in this context acts as a specific form of political power emerging from the regulated bodies of mad people whose condition resisted the medical intervention supported by the ruling classes. This soundscape gave visitors a first-hand experience of the asylum that both reinforced their preconceptions of its mad residents and gave those attitudes and beliefs material form. We can thus see sound as operating in the realm of politics and impacting representations of the mad in such cultural practices as literature, visual art, and music in early modern London.

Wickremasinghe 'Claiming back the Artic': Evaluating the Effectiveness of Music as a Voice for the Indigenous Subaltern

The Arctic is often imagined as a pristine, silent and dreamy place that is surpassed by the power of nature. In reality, the Arctic Region is a fragile, politicised and contested space, among the first to experience the impacts of climate change and pose consequences for the wider world (Leduc, 2010). While global warming increases the rapidity of polar ice melt, sea level rise and other alarming forms of environmental change, the Region also presents geopolitical opportunities where oil reserves are exposed and shipping routes opened, ultimately causing a 'scramble for the Arctic' (Craciun, 2009: 103). Often dominated by state projects, defeated by energy corporation agendas, and overshadowed by polar bears and other poster boys for climate change are the narratives of indigenous people living in the Arctic Region. While the Arctic has not experienced an emblematic version of

colonialism, the framing of indigenous people as 'other' and suppressing of their voices perpetuate colonial relations (Cameron, 2012: 103), echoing Spivak's (1988) concept of the *subaltern*. Adopting a postcolonial theoretical approach, this paper explores the use of music as a medium for attaining *subaltern* self-representation through exercising indigenous advocacy and communicating indigenous knowledge and counter-narratives. Through projecting marginalised voices, music, as this paper argues can effectively contribute to asserting indigenous sovereignty in the Arctic Region in both physical and cultural respects. Along with promoting mediums for the *subaltern* to speak, fostering platforms for effective listening is equally important for purposes of generating response and action. Will we stop and listen?

Musicology Research
Issue 5: pp. 287-326

11

Rethinking Politics in Contemporary Music Festivals: From Brandscapes to Potentially New Forms of Collectivities

Jelena Gligorijević

1. Introduction

In this chapter, I scrutinize the current politics of music festivals along two binary dimensions – Left vs. Right and corporate vs. independent. In doing so, I aim to accomplish three interrelated goals. First, to argue that music festivals today are an integral part of wider branding practices and as such are primarily focused on creating sign-values through the commodification of festival experience in its totality, from its material expressions to its affective attachments (cf. Blackett 2003; Klein 2000; Lash and

© 2018 Jelena Gligorijević

Lury 2007). Second, to critically assess the underlying contradictions and main political implications arising from the production of music festivals as *brandscapes* (see e.g. Carah 2010). The third and last aim of the paper is to instigate discussion on politics with a capital 'P' in contemporary music festivals by exploring the political potential of the concept which I developed in my doctoral study on (Serbian) national identity and music festivals – namely, the concept of music festivals as *micronational spaces* (Gligorijević 2019a [forthcoming]). To be more accurate, I turn to the derivative of this concept – to the idea of *microcitizenship* as a form of membership to music festival collectivities – in order to provide a politically invigorating corrective to the existing theorizations of such collectivities (for example, Turner's *communitas*, Maffesoli's *neo-tribes*, or Anderton's *meta-sociality*).

One important thing should be noted before I proceed with the critical review of some major political trends in the transnational music festival industry. Without delving into the problematic task of defining music festivals, it suffices to say that the focus on popular music festivals (as events taking the category of popular music as one of the focal points in their programing) is made indispensable here with two references in mind. First, most music festival scholars do agree that the familiar historical link

between countercultural musical practices and emancipatory politics surrounding the hippie movement of the 1960s was articulated and fortified through the institution of the music festival (see e.g. Bennett and Woodward 2014). Such historical baggage explains why music festivals of the present day strive so often to keep up with the countercultural image and rhetoric of their forerunners. And second, what renders music festivals additionally suitable for all kinds of political engagement and identity work are not only certain discourses about the music itself and its relation to the outer world (such as the popular myth of music's universality), but perhaps more importantly 'music's potential for sociality and community' (Hesmondhalgh 2014: 85).

2. Politics in Contemporary Music Festival Brandscapes

Either international or local in their content and scope – or both, as it is most often the case – contemporary music festivals are overall progressive and cosmopolitan in their outlook (cf. Bennett and Woodward 2014: 18). They tend to celebrate the ideas of cultural diversity and mutual tolerance, that is, different identity groups and lifestyles such as those of: (1) indigenous people (e.g. *Stylin' Up*, Inala, Queensland, as Australia's largest indigenous hip-hop and R&B music and dance event [Bartleet 2014]); (2) diasporic communities (e.g. London's *Notting Hill*

Carnival led by members of the British Afro-Caribbean community; or the *Mela* events across Western European countries celebrating the culture of the Indian diaspora [Carnegie and Smith 2006]); (3) neighborhoods/local communities (e.g. Sardinia's *La Cavalcata Sarda* [Azara and Crouch 2006], or Canada's *Hillside Festival* [Sharpe 2008]); (4) minorities, be they ethnic-racial (e.g. *Africa Oyé,* Britain's largest annual celebration of African music and culture taking place in Liverpool; *WOMAD Festival* [Chalcraft and Magaudda 2011]), sexual (e.g. *Gay Pride* festivals [Hughes 2006 and Taylor 2014]) and otherwise; (5) women (e.g. *Ladyfest* all around the world; see also Marschall 2006); and (6) all sorts of music 'neo-tribes', to borrow Maffesoli's term (see e.g. Dowd 2014 or Luckman 2014).

Arguably, the celebration of difference and liberal values in contemporary music festivals conforms to the prevailing logic of branding under conditions of advanced globalization. Music festivals have indeed long transformed into *brandscapes*, that is, into 'experiential social space[s] where marketers engage consumers in the co-creation of brand meaning' (Sherry 1998, in Carah 2010: 8; see also Klein 2000; or Lash and Lury 2007). In the Lefebvrian terminology of space production, festival brandscapes manage, specify, and lay claim to 'the spaces of consumption' (both physical and mediated) and 'the

consumption of spaces' (offering such spatial qualities as festivity, sun, sea, fantasy, nostalgia, and the like). Within such spaces, they provide festival consumers with resources from which to build their identities, lifestyles, taste cultures, and social experiences. It is precisely through the social actions and cultural practices of festival consumers that corporate brands (music festivals included) become generally so powerful, meaningful, and enjoyable. Or put differently, brands generate value for corporations from the meaning-making potential of cultural practices they accommodate. In this regard, music festivals, just like many other corporate brands, use methods of so-called *experiential branding*, which is exactly 'about acquiring and deploying cultural capital' (see Carah 2010: 71).

Inventing ever-new extensions of festival brands is central to the successful reproduction of festival brandscapes – a phenomenon also known as a *brand canopy*. As Klein explains (2000: 148), 'th[is] concept is key to understanding not only synergy but also the related blurring of boundaries between sectors and industries'. Examples of such tendencies in contemporary music festivals may include: merging the event and tourism industries by opening a festival's own Tourist Office; founding a festival's own music label; facilitating on-site and online purchase of festival merchandise; making special product offers in synergy

with other enterprises such as banks, mobile phone providers, or oil and gas companies; expanding the scope and repertoire of cultural activities by organizing other types of events, by exchanging artists with other festivals, by establishing sister festivals across countries and continents, by boosting cooperation with a great variety of music labels and clubs, digital media and music companies, and so on. Another crucial part of festival branding is, of course, *advertising*. The latter involves such activities as making special ticket offers (the festival loyalty program included), organizing promo campaigns in major urban centres both within and across countries, and disseminating promotional messages all year round (including the festival live feed, trailers, aftermovies, interviews and concerts with selected festival performers from previous years) to target populations using both old and new means of mass communication (including the festival website, social media, Mobile App, and email address database of all registered festival visitors).

One more commonality among contemporary music festivals is the discourse of *corporate social responsibility* (CSR henceforth) with all its underlying paradoxes. Apparently, many festivals today tend to take a socially responsible role in such domains as substance abuse, ecology, and humanitarian aid. But what these and similar initiatives point to are certain internal contradictions

arising from the very production of contemporary music festivals as brandscapes. The major paradox here lies specifically in the irreconcilable tension between the festival brand's primary drive for capital accumulation, on the one hand, and the discourse of CSR it adopts, on the other. Thus, when endorsing the socially responsible language of anti-drug, anti-smoking, and safe-driving campaigns, as well as that of sustainable living, music festivals facilitate at the same time 'spaces which promote the causes of those very social problems' (cf. Carah 2010: 119). As Carah convincingly shows in his study of pop brands, the primary goal of the latter is not social problem solving, but profit maximization. The discourse of CSR that music festival brands fetishize should therefore be understood primarily as 'a mode of capital accumulation' (Carah 2010: 125), which does not aim at restructuring existing 'social relations but at educating the "ignorant few"' (Carah 2010: 120).

Two main political implications follow from this underlying attitude of corporate brands, music festivals included. The first is that social problems are deemed less structural than individual in their nature, and that their solving is considered simply a matter of self-policing (Carah 2010: 115). The second implication of 'socially responsible' branding practices is a belief that their profit-making activities 'actually serve as positive forces for good

in society' (Hilton 2003: 47). As I illustrate elsewhere using Serbia's *Exit Festival* as a case study (see Gligorijević 2019b [forthcoming]), brands do tend to provide ready-made solutions pertaining to such socioeconomic, political, and ethical domains as ecology, charity, youth support, or restoration of cultural monuments. In doing so, they divert attention from the complexity and contradictions of real social life and therefore from the possibility of coming up with alternative solutions to real social antagonisms. In fact, '[t]he social, ethical and political discourses brands construct relieve us of the duty to think so that we can continue to enjoy' our participation in the consumer society (Dean 2006, in Carah 2010: 112).

Ideologically speaking, a majority of present-day music festivals arguably vacillate between what Malpas (2009: n.p.) calls 'a consumerist form of cosmopolitanism' – pertaining to 'the conception of the individual as having no independent affiliation to any place in particular beyond the financial and lifestyle affordances of that place' – and a seemingly more serious cosmopolitan mode of political engagement (as in New York's *Global Citizen Festival*, or *United We Stand Festival* across the USA). Their common aspiration is apparently to project a progressive and cosmopolitan image using discourses of globalization, libertarianism, cultural diversity, sustainable living, creativity,

and technological progress. However, as Carah (2010: 61) rightly points out following Goldman and Papson (2006), '[t]hese discourses obscure the frictions of "class, race, gender and global inequalities" inherent in capital'.

It should also be emphasized that examples of music festivals with conservative or openly nationalist leanings are less common in this branch of cultural industry. Let me here name but a few. *Lifest* (pronounced 'life fest') is an annual Christian youth music festival in Oshkosh, Wisconsin, characterized by its affiliation with conservative evangelical Christianity (Caton et al. 2013). In October 2016, there was a news report on a 'neo-Nazi' music festival in Unterwasser in eastern Switzerland, featuring far-right bands, including several German groups and Bern-based *Amok*, who had previously been convicted of racial discrimination and incitement to violence (*The Local*, 2016). Similar controversies are time and again echoed in music festivals featuring notorious nationalist or pagan black metal acts. For instance, the Montreal black metal festival *Messe Des Morts* was cancelled after protests against *Graveland*, a black metal band from Poland with racist and anti-Semitic ideas, which was set to headline on one of the festival days (Pasbani 2016).

Either way, politics in music festival brandscapes should not be considered solely through the lens of such dichotomies as cosmopolitan-nationalist, progressive-conservative, or left-right. Perhaps even more revealing in this regard are academic and media discourses discussing festivals along the major-minor, mainstream-alternative, and corporate-independent axes. Within this discursive framework, critical views of the ever-increasing commercialization of festivals are pitted against what is seen as an alternative music festival model (of which, more below). Contemporary music festivals are accordingly described as 'a sanitized version of the past' (Anderton 2006: 348), or as 'the simulacrum of festival counterculture', whereby the earlier search for alternative lifestyles and forms of social organization became 'neutralized into safe, common and expected forms of leisure' (Robinson 2015: n.p.). Some commentators associate increasing commercialization trends in the music festival industry with 'essentially a massive change in the kind of person you see attending music festivals in this day and age' (Spencer, n.d.). Designated as the new festival group category is, for example, the hipster or the *bobo* (short for the 'bourgeois bohemian') (Delistraty 2014), or 'many youths' buying into the 'cool' image that music festivals sell (Morris, in Simonsen 2015). This line of reasoning resonates well with a commonly held view in academia that the increasingly commercial character of

postmillennial music festivals owes to the growing consumerism and higher disposable incomes within the context of neoliberal globalization. This, so the argument continues, brought about changes in the composition of the festival audience (in terms of their broadening and mainstreaming), many segments of which 'would refuse to tolerate the amateurish event management and poor living conditions that prevailed at some of the pioneer pop festivals of the late 1960s and 1970s' (Stone 2009: 213; see also Anderton 2006 and Robinson 2015). The paradoxical result of such an attitude is what Žižek (2006, in Carah 2010: 38) calls *decaffeinated empowerment* – an explicit request for the experience of 'authentic' music culture, but within a safe and comfortable environment.

Offered as an alternative to overtly commercialized and corporate music festivals is what has been dubbed, at least in British public discourse, *boutique festivals*. According to Robinson (2015: n.p.), boutique festivals are 'small, "arty" and relatively unknown', offering to their audiences that which their massified and overly commercialized counterparts seem to lack: 'intimacy, uniqueness and responsiveness to nuanced demand'. Arguably, boutique festivals seek to combat corporate influence in several ways: (1) by selecting local, independent businesses as sponsors and food vendors rather than global, corporate entities (as in

Hillside Festival [Guelph ON], *Eastlake Music Festival* [Oakland, CA], *Blissfields* [Winchester, UK], or *Beautiful Days* [Ottery St Mary, UK]); (2) through conspicuous 'anti-sponsorship' self-promotion (e.g. Nevada's *Burning Man*, Wales's *Green Man* and England's *Hop Farm* 'innovate their own profitable tactics, … oriented towards maximizing festival-goer expenditure', for instance, through premium food and luxury camping options [see Robinson 2015: n.p.]); and (3) by moving away from the concert-model festivals towards immersive environments and direct audience participation (e.g. Winchester's *BoomTown Fair* or Abbots Ripton's *Secret Garden Party*). The latter is achieved through the festival theming and attendant audience theatricality (part of which is costume-wearing and role playing), 'action camps' (theme camps conceived and led by festival volunteers), interactive art installations, art cars/boats (vehicles transformed into pieces of art by festivalgoers), a variety of both on- and off-site competitions in which audience members take the spotlight (e.g. dance-off competitions, or open calls all year round in domains of creative and tourism industries), and so on. The conceptual model of boutique festivals is apparently consistent with the logic of self-branding practices, where such values as authenticity, creativity, and (self-)reflexivity come to the fore (see Carah 2010: 93, 100). At a more general level, the boutique festival ideology and practice seem to produce ambivalent

political effects, given that its audience members end up being simultaneously 'empowered' and exploited as a free workforce. Festivalgoers, in other words, extract a great deal of pleasure and enjoyment from participating in the meaning- and identity-making processes that the festival's various cultural programs afford. Then again, the festival's participatory model raises issues of unpaid labour and exploitation for the profit of music festival brands and their corporate partners.

From all the foregoing, it seems to me that contemporary music festivals – be they constituted as brandscapes, or as anti-corporate and democratized sites focused on the audience participation – have no sufficient capacity for visionary projections of society. Apart from profit-making, their primary concern is arguably with creating opportunities for festivalgoers to reaffirm, explore, or reinvent their cultural identities and alliances within the discursive framework of localized and/or postnational imaginings of community. By implication, the dominant form of politics on the global music festival scene today is that of *life politics* (also known under the labels 'identity politics' and 'post-politics'). In contrast to emancipatory politics which tackles sociopolitical issues of domination and exploitation in different spheres of human life, life politics is occupied with 'a reflexive relation to the self' (see Giddens 1991,

in Carah 2010: 157). There has arguably been a general move away from emancipatory to life politics, at least across Western liberal democracies, coinciding with the period of transition from 'culture' in classical culture industry as a site of power struggles, mediated in and through representation, to 'culture' in global culture industry as a ubiquitous and *thing*ified entity dominating the economic and the everyday. Lash and Lury (2007: 4–5) describe this change also in terms of a shift away from identity to difference, that is, from 'determinacy of objects of culture industry' (resulting in the construction of identities) to 'indeterminacy of objects of global culture industry' (resulting in the construction of difference, with no serious hints of resistance).

But more to the point, life politics, according to Carah (2010: 158), revolves around 'identity and meaning-making processes, and those … [are in turn] located in the social spaces and practices of consumption'. Or put simply, life politics suggests that we are what we consume. Understood this way, life politics has no power to subvert and let alone fight the current form of capitalism. Life politics rather emerges as a successful mode of capital accumulation, reducing even marginal and minoritarian identities to a set of product choices. Life politics is accordingly symptomatic of what Klein (2000: 124) calls 'the politics of image,

not action'. She specifically claims that the prior focus on structural inequalities and the use of concrete political and legal remedies to counter them, came to be superseded in the 1990s by the lasting obsession with issues of representation and political correctness. Klein (2000: 115) notes in addition:

> while it may be true that real gains have emerged from this process, it is also true that Dennis Rodman wears dresses and Disney World celebrates Gay Day less because of political progress than financial expediency. The market has seized upon multiculturalism and gender-bending in the same ways that it has seized upon youth culture in general – not just as a market niche but as a source of new carnivalesque imagery.

Moreover, what 'the politics of image' keeps failing to address is the larger question of how the rising power of corporations – both in terms of their size (stemming from continuing consolidation in various industries) and in terms of their political influence – has affected our social and life-worlds. The politics of image is specifically not concerned with discussing a general sense of social insecurity and the dramatic growth of the underclass around the world, brought about by such occurrences as the return of capitalism in its pure, inhumane form, huge budget cuts in social programs and services, loss of jobs, and fewer market opportunities for small businesses, minority and community groups. In short, the politics of image neglects such crucial issues as 'the corporate hijacking of political power …

[and] the brands' cultural looting of public and mental space' (Klein 2000: 340).

While I am inclined to acknowledge some political value in our consumption choices and habits, since it is through them that we build a sense of who we are and what we stand for, I must at the same time agree with Klein, Žižek, and other likeminded leftist thinkers that political ramifications of such choices are limited in their scope. The latter assertion can be defended on a number of accounts. First, there is a conspicuous lack of transparency in business operations, which makes it virtually impossible for citizens-consumers to determine what goods and services are produced in an ethical way. Second, a strict focus on life politics in (festival) brandscapes detracts attention from the problematic role of corporations in the reproduction of increasing structural inequalities around the globe. And if there is no reflection on such matters, there is not even the possibility of imagining fundamentally different sociopolitical realities (cf. Carah 2010). Branding and life politics shape instead contemporary (music festival) culture in a way which enables consumers to suture over basic social antagonisms ensuing from an asymmetrical distribution of resources and power. Besides, people are willing to draw on 'the symbolic fictions … [produced by their social] reality, even if they know them to be false, [not only] because

their subjectivity and enjoyment are dependent on those very fictions' (Carah 2010: 117), but also because they feel that they have no other choice but to partake in brand-building practices. Lastly, life politics dwindles political action into a series of discrete, particularistic demands, thereby preventing (festival) consumers to unite and politically act around such universal categories as class and capitalism.

While class and capitalism are indeed rarely ever part of the political agenda in music festivals today (*The Left Field* as a travelling stage at several British festivals stands out as a noble exception), note that they take a central place in transnational anti-capitalist and anti-war movements that St John (2008) calls *protestivals*. Examples here include *Global Day of Action*, *Carnivals Against Capitalism*, *For Global Justice*, and *Occupy Wall Street*. Born out of the cause that cuts across large segments of the world population (namely, local autonomy, global distributive justice and peace), these carnivalized and globally orchestrated street gatherings have at least succeeded in putting income inequality back at the centre of political and popular discourse. The reason they have not achieved more is, in Chibber's (in Farbman 2017) view, their weak connection to labour, as manifested also in the type of places that underwent 'occupations' (i.e. streets and parks instead of factories). Chibber's point is clear here: not until social

protests begin to disrupt the processes of production and profit making will the ruling elite acknowledge them.

Considering all above, it is safe to conclude that the (re)production of music festivals as brandscapes ultimately promotes a 'fight for "global capitalism with a human face"' (Žižek 2008: 459). According to this agenda, as Žižek explains, the reasons for all real antagonisms and problems we confront today are not sought in the system as such. Rather, or so we are told, strategic ends should be achieved by devising ways of making the existing system work more efficiently. Even if this is so, the question still remains whether we should agree to the system which lets corporations dictate and shape our political views and ethical norms. Also, do we feel comfortable with the system which will never allow us to do away with the basic antagonism between capital and labour, simply because this flaw is already inscribed into the system itself? As Chibber (in Farbman 2017) warns us using a vivid analogy between capitalism and cancer:

> This is why socialists have said that you can have a more civilized capitalism, and you should fight for that more civilized capitalism, but understand that it's like a cancer: you can keep giving it chemo, you can fight back the growth of the cancer cells, but they always keep coming back.

I turn now to consider whether and how contemporary music festivals can reclaim politics with a capital 'P'. But to accomplish this properly requires a few preliminary words about the nature of political struggles today, as well as about how to address them, both in general and in relation to music festivals.

Today, as has always been the case, people's struggles are directed against different forms of oppression and injustice. People specifically fight for parliamentary democracy vs. autocracy, for the welfare state vs. neoliberalism, for new forms of democracy vs. corruption in politics and economy, against sexism and racism, especially against demonization of refugees and immigrants, and against the global capitalist system as such (see Žižek 2015). It is thus within this context that I raise the big questions of what role of music festivals (or rather protestivals) in these struggles, and whether they can make any difference.

In answer to these questions, I would argue that contemporary music festivals are typically perceived as politically meaningful when organized in oppressive societies. Serbia's *Exit Festival,* which was launched in 2000 in the northern city of Novi Sad as a lengthy youth protest against the Milošević regime, provides an excellent example of how music festivals can oppose the authoritarian rule and right-wing populism to the point of an

actual political change (see Gligorijević 2019a [forthcoming]). Another comparable example is Mali's *Festival au Désert* / 'Festival in the Desert' (since 2001), which went into exile in 2012 due to threats from the Al Qaida-linked extremists. In 2013, the festival was given the Freemuse Award for the continual efforts to 'defend[] freedom of musical expression and (…) keep music alive in the region in spite of extreme Islamists' attempts to silence all music in Mali' (see *Freemuse*, 2013). There is, in addition, *Kubana* (since 2009), Russia's biggest open-air festival of international rock music, which moved too (in 2014) from a Black Sea venue to the Kaliningrad region, a Russian exclave on the Baltic Sea, because it did not sit well with the rising political right in the country. But even at its new location, Russian Orthodox activists have protested against the event because of its alleged promotion of 'decadent' behavior (see Kozlov 2015).

At the same time, however, there are good reasons to claim that music festivals/protestivals can produce only limited political effects. First, and as highlighted above, capitalism feeds off the carnivalesque imagery, especially in Western liberal democracies whose citizens can generally enjoy high levels of civil liberties and political rights. Second, I am sympathetic to Žižek's (2012) view that joyful and transgressive moments of festivities do not really disrupt the realm of everyday life when things get back to

normal. Or as he put it: 'Carnivals come cheap – the true test of their worth is what remains the day after'. Think indeed about the people's disappointment and disillusion after the Exit-related protests leading to the overthrow of Milošević in Serbia, or after Greek protestivals against austerity measures at Sentaga Square in Athens. Third and finally, for true social change to happen, it is necessary to escape the trap of what Žižek (2015) calls 'false gradualism', and what Brah (1996: 216) defines as a common 'tendency to assert the primacy of one set of social relations [whether they pertain to class, gender, or race] as against another'. With that said, I contend that the question of left politics in and through music festivals/protestivals is an important one. While it is true that the new millennium has witnessed the emergence of many protest movements, both nationally and transnationally, none of them seems to have offered a coherent program. Unlike Klein's (2000) hope that the anti-corporate activism of the late 1990s would evolve into the big political movement, other leftist thinkers have been visibly less optimistic than her. According to Harris (2016), the surest sign that the Western Left is in crisis is its increasing incapacity to cope with 'three urgent problems: the disruptive force of globalisation, the rise of populist nationalism, and the decline of traditional work'.

Now, if we agree with Žižek (2012) that carnivals/protestivals can only be the announcement of hard and committed work towards social change and not the end in itself, then they could perhaps function as a means of mobilizing the masses, possibly in a way suggested by Chibber (in Farbman 2017) – namely, by having the Left operate outside academia and 'implant itself within labor' as it did in the past. Žižek (2015), for his part, renounces the course of action based on making abstract demands for the abolition of neoliberal global capitalism. He rather suggests, following French philosopher Badiou, that we should centre our politics around the so-called *points of impossibility* within the system. We should, in other words, make 'small specific demands' that seem realistic but are simultaneously sensitive for the society in question. In Žižek's view, the point of impossibility for, say, the United States amounts to the idea of universal health care, and for Turkey – the idea of multiculturalism and minority rights. The main premise here, so Žižek's argument goes, resembles that in Sci-Fi movies: if you press the right button, the entire system collapses.

Coming close to this suggestion is perhaps also Fabiani's (2014) theorization of art festivals as platforms best suited for *critical interventions* – that is, for tackling pertinent political issues using art and critical discussions. Following McGuigan's (2005) revised

notion of the public sphere, Fabiani specifically makes a case for the capacity of art festivals to operate in a space conveniently situated between *uncritical populism* (referring here to the festivals' uncritical approach to consumerism as a form of citizenship) and *radical subversion* (as articulated in the discursive and performative repertoires of the festival countercultural heritage). It is therefore between these two extremes that possible 'critical interventions' may take place. This is clearly a position which acknowledges the limiting effects of *transgression model*, whereby 'power' and 'resistance' are said to stand in a relation of binary opposition. By implication, power and resistance are inevitably caught up in a circular struggle, whereby one set of oppositions undergoes the reversal of the status quo soon to be succeeded by another set of oppositions. In contrast to that, the potentially critical space of (music) festivals should rather follow 'a model of articulation as "transformative practice"' (Grossberg 1996: 88). Within this model, as Grossberg clarifies, the question of identity is rearticulated into an approach to subjects as historical agents, capable of forming alliances in their joint struggle for social change.

Furthermore, since music festivals operate in the micropolitical sphere of society's political practice, they also might assist in the creation of Utopias, defined in the Deleuzian terms as the now-

here (rather than no-where) places. In such utopias, imaginations of new sociopolitical realities are thus no longer placed in the future but in the now-and-here timespaces. According to Pisters (2011), of crucial importance here is a critical stance towards society rather than fixed and long-term projections of a perfect society to be reached through Revolution. Or in her words, it is critical interventions that might enable 'a "becoming-revolutionary of a people" … available to everybody at any moment in the passing present' (Pisters 2011: 16). The fact that present-day music festivals are part of the capitalist machinery, which constantly reproduces itself by coopting its oppositional fringes, does not automatically mean that all their critical interventions are doomed to failure. On the contrary, perhaps the only way to politically engage with the outside world in a meaningful way is to perform critical interventions from within the system, that is, by schizophrenically 'producing and "anti-producing" at the same time' (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, in Pisters 2001: 25). Besides, the idea of total recuperation within the immanent system of capitalism is untenable when attained from a spatial perspective, simply because space itself, even when dominated by the homogenizing images of the spectacle, can never be subjected to a closure. As Massey (2005: 116) notes, 'there are always cracks in the carapace'.

In order to contribute to the discussion at hand, I turn now to the key concept of my doctoral study – that of music festivals as *micronational spaces*. After highlighting some of the key assumptions behind this concept, I go on to discuss its derivative – the idea of *microcitizenship* as a possibly emergent form of music festival collectivities – and its political potential for social change in today's world.

3. Contemporary Music Festivals as Micronational Spaces

The theorization of music festivals as micronational spaces relies upon a fruitful dialogue between a humanist account of space, as articulated in the work of Lefebvre (2009), Massey (2005), and Soja (1996), and the revisited notion of national identity, as emphasized through the use of the 'micronational' terminology. Let me briefly discuss the core assumptions underpinning each aspect of this two-part concept.

The adoption of a spatial theoretical perspective can be justified on multiple grounds. To begin with, Lefebvre's (2009) theory of socially produced space allows for a context-sensitive and multidimensional analysis of national identity articulations in light of 'the multiplicity of spaces' that contemporary music festivals may instantiate. On the broadest level, music festivals can be said to perform the function of what Lefebvre calls

consumed spaces. In his definition, these are unproductive forms of 'the consumption of space' that reflect people's nostalgic search 'for a certain "quality of space"', incorporating such elements as sun, snow, sea, festivity, fantasy, antiquity, and the like (Lefebvre 2009: 353). However, the consumption of festival spaces is not univocal in its meaning, insofar as such spaces display the potential of being transformed into *counter-spaces* by means of 'diversion' (i.e. by having the original space's function put to an alternative use); or into *utopian spaces* by means of domination of the symbolic and the imaginary (i.e. by having the original space appropriated by the work of symbols); or into organic spaces by 'looking upon [themselves] and presenting [themselves] as a body' (Lefebvre 2009: 274); or into *masculine spaces* by means of demonstration of phallic power, and so on. Clearly, the multifaceted uses of space, as demonstrated in Lefebvre's analytical insights into the workings of spatial practice in the modern world, resonate profoundly with the ways in which music festival spaces, too, are typically constituted, experienced, and interpreted.

In my further considerations of national identities and music festivals, I assert that both of these entities have a profound grounding in space. Apart from that, I also argue that it is through their joint examination from a spatial perspective that a

number of crucial insights can be gained and enhanced. The first arises from the possibility of tackling some widely exploited misconceptions associated with the global-local and modern-traditional dichotomies, as well as with the related notions of cultural heritage and cultural difference (see Massey 2005). The second gain from a spatially guided analysis of national identity amounts to a potentially deeper understanding of the complexity of social relations and material practices coming from both endogenous and exogenous sources and intersecting in music *festivalscapes* (Chalcraft and Magaudda 2011: 174). And last but not least, spatial theories may serve as an invaluable discursive source for the perspective that challenges the current form of neoliberal global capitalism – a contextual framework which appears to be taken for granted in a majority of recent festival studies. In my doctoral study, I show in great detail how theories of socially produced space can be employed and developed further to assist in a more extensive, fruitful, and politically engaged analysis of the national dimension in contemporary music festivals.

The use of the term 'micronational' is likewise driven by several factors. The first is to underscore awareness that contemporary music festivals are just a tiny piece within the larger system of national identity representation. The second reason for insisting

on the micronational terminology is to emphasize the centrality of the micropolitical level of national identity considerations in my doctoral study, which precisely incorporates such cultural phenomena as popular music festivals. The third is to show that the micronational discourse – emanating from the idea of music festivals as symbolic microstates – seems to help the latter enhance their profile, commercial value, and thus survival on the increasingly competitive festival market, both nationally and transnationally. And the fourth reason for using the idea of micronationality is to stress the relative autonomy and creative capacity of music festivals to project alternative worlds.

Which brings me to the main point here: the theorization of music festivals as micronational spaces is based on a dialectic of fixity and fluidity. I specifically argue that music festivals are conceived and staged as symbolic microstates operating in their own right, while simultaneously adhering to the existing policies and dominant regimes of truth within actual nation-states that host them. Or put more elaborately, music festivals are *real places* embedded in the geography of pre-existing locations and their wider networks, national, transnational, and otherwise. Therefore, they invariably draw on the experience of a given locality and actively partake in the (re)construction of *space-based identities*, including nation-building projects. At the same time, a

majority of music festivals attempt to surpass the constraints of locality and the given conditions of global power geometries. They function as self-contained worlds, very often envisioned as one-of-a-kind fantasy worlds, or as 'sacred' places that 'festival-pilgrims' around the globe prepare themselves to visit each year. In this aspect of their management and experience, music festivals act perhaps most strikingly as symbolic micronations, largely promoting the ideals of egalitarianism, universality, love, peace, and happiness. As such, they recommend themselves as *utopian places*, predominantly defined by a certain type of attitude, feeling, spirituality, and state of mind. They typically seek to annihilate a sense of space in favour of the experience that foregrounds 'the "time based" identity (contemporary-ness) of cosmopolitanism' (Massey 1994, in Simić 2009: 144). Or as Fabiani (2011: 93) puts it, they aspire 'to develop a post-national form of cultural citizenship'.

In the concluding section of the paper, I likewise draw on the corresponding idea of *micro-citizenship* to propose new theoretical terms for imagining music festival collectivities. I do so under the assumption that it is through the invention of new concepts that the world and societies come to be re-described and set in motion towards new futures. To work towards this end, the concept of music festival collectivities is revisited in a

way that envisions alternative formations of political identities and alliances alike. The existing theorizations, such as Turner's *communitas*, Maffesoli's *neo-tribes*, or Anderton's *meta-sociality* (for more on each of these concepts, see Anderton 2006), are apparently all too apolitical in their implications. Instead, I put forward the idea of *microcitizenship* as a specific form of belonging to festival collectivities.

4. Instead of Conclusion: Concepts of Microcitizenship and Festival Coming Communities

The concept of festival microcitizenship is predictably analogous to that of citizenship. They both draw on the same principle of universality, focusing thereby on one's 'position in the set of formal relations defined by democratic sovereignty' rather than on inscriptions of one's identity in cultural terms (cf. Donald 1996: 174). This way, the political sovereignty of music festival participants and their 'rights of microcitizenship' in festival 'microstates' are guaranteed on equal terms, rather than compromised by divisions between festival community members along cultural lines, which, if drawn, would inevitably include some members but exclude others. As a concept emptied out of cultural meaning, the term *(micro)citizen* is therefore used to 'denote[] an empty place (…) [which] can be occupied by anyone

– occupied in the sense of being spoken from, not in the sense of being given a substantial identity' (Donald 1996: 174).

By extension, the festival microcitizenship calls to mind another concept of a belonging without substantial identity – that of Agamben's (1993) *singularity*. Singularity is a being which is inessential in its nature, that is, a being which is not discernible by

> its having this or that property [being red, being French, being Muslim], which identifies it as belonging to this or that set, to this or that class (the reds, the French, the Muslims) – [nor is] it reclaimed … for another class nor for the simple generic absence of any belonging, but for its being-*such*, for belonging itself
>
> (Agamben 1993: 1; emphasis in original).

The terms under which a singularity lays claim of belonging to a wider whole, or to what Agamben calls *the coming community*, are comparable to the metonymical character of the relation that 'the example' holds to a set of items which is said to exemplify. As Agamben (1993: 2) explains, '[n]either particular nor universal, the example is a singular object that presents itself as such, that *shows* its singularity… [by] hold[ing] for all cases of the same type, and, at the same time, (…) [by being] included among these.' A singular becoming of a community is an empty, exterior space of infinite ideational possibilities to which a singularity

relates only by means of bordering. In other words, '[b]elonging, being-*such*, is here only the relation to an empty and indeterminate totality' (Agamben 1993: 15–16). When applied to music festivals, a politics of singularity would lay the foundations for people's belonging to a common collective – a festival coming community – on the grounds of their singularity rather than on a single definition of their cultural identity. Put differently, it is through a politics based on the 'coming community' that various fractions of the festival crowd could be pulled together into a political struggle for change.

Rethinking music festival collectivities in political terms (with a capital 'P') apparently opens up the possibility of constructing collective agency across a broad spectrum of the political field, letting music festivals come close to what Soja (1996) calls *Thirdspace*. He formulates the latter as 'a space of collective resistance', 'a meeting place for all peripheralized or marginalized "subjects"', and thus a 'politically charged space, [in which] a radically new and different form of *citizenship* (*citoyenneté*) can be defined and realized' (Soja 1996: 35; emphasis in original). The festival coming community clearly diverges from Soja's Thirdspace in its revisited approach to the notion of resistance (see above), and therefore in its focus on a singularity as the ground of alternative political action (rather than on

'marginalized subjects' and their rights to difference). The festival coming community is in this respect a more inclusive form of affiliation, as it welcomes anyone regardless of their cultural background and their position within the existing structures of power. It is also a form of collective political practice which favours critical interventions to radical movements – in short, '"the project of constructing a form of knowledge that respects the other without absorbing it into the same", or […] [into] the different' (Young 1990, in Grossberg 1996: 103).

To advance my argument one step further, I need to refer once again to Grossberg's (1996: 105) interpretation of Agamben's *coming community*. He asserts that 'in specific contexts, identity can become a marker of people's abiding in such a singular community, where community defines an abode marking people's way of belonging within the structured mobilities of contemporary life'. I dare to argue that music festivals can be understood as one such context – as that 'abode marking people's ways of belonging' and defining their singular becoming of the festival community as a trademark of their collective identity. What makes music festival places especially suited for a singular belonging is arguably a pronounced sense of *throwntogetherness*, a quality of coming together into a now-and-

here (itself constituted by 'a history and a geography of thens and theres'), which confronts festival participants with an immediate challenge of negotiating multiplicity (cf. Massey 2005: 140). This renders festivals a fertile ground for becoming of a community, a meeting place where engagement in a variety of cultural practices can foreground the coevalness of the different trajectories (different spatialities and temporalities) that create particular places and identities, but also point to the workings of power and exclusion in the social relations that construct those places and identities. Because of this truly democratic potential of festival spaces, an infinite number of possibilities for political action may mobilize and organize festival microcitizens into a coming community. And just as the festival coming community is always in a state of becoming, constantly changeable, unfinished, undetermined, and dependent on historically contingent processes and social practices, so is the scope of its political engagement, emerging on 'a continually receding horizon of the open-minded-space-to-come, which will not ever be reached but must constantly be worked towards' (Massey 2005: 153).

References

Agamben, Giorgio (1993), *The Coming Community* (trans. Michael Hardt), Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Anderton, Cristopher B. (2006), *(Re)Constructing Music Festival Places*, PhD thesis, University of Wales, Swansea University.

Azara, Iride and David Crouch (2006), 'La Cavalcata Sarda: Performing Identities in a Contemporary Sardinian Festival', in David Picard and Mike Robinson (eds.), *Festivals, Tourism and Social Change: Remaking Worlds*, Clevedon: Channel View Publications, pp. 32–45.

Bartleet, Brydie-Leigh (2014), '"Pride in Self, Pride in Community, Pride in Culture": The Role of Stylin' Up in Fostering Indigenous Community and Identity', in Andy Bennett, Jodie Taylor and Ian Woodward (eds.), *The Festivalization of Culture*, Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 69–85.

Bennett, Andy and Ian Woodward (2014), 'Festival Spaces, Identity, Experience and Belonging', in Andy Bennett, Jodie Taylor and Ian Woodward (eds.), *The Festivalization of Culture*, Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 11–25.

Blackett, Tom (2003), 'What Is a Brand?', in Rita Clifton and John Simmons (eds.), *Brands and Branding*, London: Profile Books, pp. 13–25.

Brah, Avtar (1996), *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities*, London: Routledge.

Carah, Nicholas (2010), *Pop Brands: Branding, Popular Music, and Young People*, New York: Peter Lang.

Carnegie, Elizabeth and Melanie Smith (2006), 'Mobility, Diaspora and the Hybridisation of Festivity: The Case of the Edinburgh Mela', in David Picard and Mike Robinson (eds.), *Festivals, Tourism and Social Change: Remaking Worlds*, Clevedon: Channel View Publications, pp. 255–268.

Caton, Kellee et al. (2013), ‘Christian Music Festival Tourism and Positive Peace’, *The Journal of Tourism and Peace Research*, 3 (2): 21–42.

Chalcraft, Jasper and Paolo Magaudda (2011), ‘“Space is the Place”. The Global Localities of the Sònar and Womad Music Festivals’, in Gerard Delanty, Liana Giorgi and Monica Sassatelli (eds.), *Festivals and the Cultural Public Sphere*, London: Routledge, pp. 173–189.

Delistraty, Cody (2014), ‘Commercializing the Counterculture: How the Summer Music Festival Went Mainstream’, *Pacific Standard*, 24 July, viewed 7 Jan 2017, <https://psmag.com/commercializing-the-counterculture-how-the-summer-music-festival-went-mainstream-bdadb058da27#.l1jh4v3w5>.

Donald, James (1996), ‘The Citizen and the Man about Town’, in Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay (eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London: Sage, pp. 170–190.

Dowd, Timothy J. (2014), ‘Music Festivals as Trans-National Scenes: The Case of Progressive Rock in the Late Twentieth and Early Twenty-First Centuries’, in Andy Bennett, Jodie Taylor and Ian Woodward (eds.), *The Festivalization of Culture*, Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 147–168.

Fabiani, Jean-Louis (2011), ‘Festivals: Local and Global. Critical Interventions and the Cultural Public Sphere’, in Gerard Delanty, Liana Giorgi and Monica Sassatelli (eds.), *Festivals and the Cultural Public Sphere*, London: Routledge, pp. 92–107.

Fabiani, Jean-Louis (2014), ‘Changes in the Public Sphere (1983–2013)’, *Eurozine*, 3 Apr, viewed 14 Aug 2015, <http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2014-04-03-fabiani-en.html>.

Farbman, Jason (2017), ‘Workers Hold the Keys’, *Jacobin*, interview with Vivek Chibber, 23 March, viewed 8 Sep 2017, <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2017/03/working-class-unions-labor-precarious-higher-education/>.

Freemuse Award winner 2013: ‘Festival in the Desert’ in Mali (2013), *Freemuse*, 6 Feb, viewed 8 Jan 2017, <http://freemuse.org/def_art_freedom/freemuse-award-2013-3/>.

Gligorijević, Jelena (2019a [forthcoming]), *Contemporary Music Festivals as Micronational Spaces: Articulations of National Identity in Serbia’s Exit and Guča Trumpet Festivals in the Post-Milošević Era*, PhD thesis, University of Turku, School of History, Culture and Arts Studies, Musicology Department.

Gligorijević, Jelena (2019b [forthcoming]), ‘(Nation) Branding Policy in Serbia’s Two Major Music Festivals, Exit and Guča’, *IASPM@Journal*, Special Issue: Pop Music Festivals and (Cultural) Policies, edited by Beate Flath, Martin Cloonan and Adam Behr.

Grossberg, Lawrence (1996), ‘Identity and Cultural Studies: Is That All There Is?’, in Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity*, London: Sage, pp. 88–107.

Harris, John (2016), ‘Does the left have a future?’, *The Guardian*, 6 Sep, viewed 7 Sep 2017,

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/06/does-the-left-have-a-future>.

Hesmondhalgh, David (2014), *Why Music Matters*, Chichester: John Wiley and Sons Ltd.

Hilton, Steve (2003), ‘The Social Value of Brands’, in Rita Clifton and John Simmons (eds.), *Brands and Branding*, London: Profile Books, pp. 47–64.

Hughes, Howard L. (2006), ‘Gay and Lesbian Festivals: Tourism in the Change from Politics to Party’, in David Picard and Mike Robinson (eds.), *Festivals, Tourism and Social Change: Remaking Worlds*, Clevedon: Channel View Publications, pp. 238–254.

Klein, Naomi (2000), *No Logo: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies*, London: Flamingo.

Kozlov, Vladimir (2015), 'Russian Music Festival Kubana Feels Heat From Right-Wing Critics, Falling Ruble', *Billboard*, 13 Apr, viewed 8 Jan 2017,

<http://www.billboard.com/articles/columns/music-festivals/6531633/russia-kubana-festival-conservative-criticism-ruble>.

Lash, Scott and Celia Lury (2007), *Global Culture Industry*, Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Lefebvre, Henri (1974/2009), *The Production of Space* (trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith), Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Luckman, Susan (2014), 'Location, Spatiality and Liminality at Outdoor Music Festivals: Doofs as Journey', in Andy Bennett, Jodie Taylor and Ian Woodward (eds.), *The Festivalization of Culture*, Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 189–205.

Malpas, Jeff (2009), 'Cosmopolitanism, Branding, and the Public Realm', in Stephanie Hemelryk Donald, Eleonore Kofman and Catherine Kevin (eds.), *Branding Cities: Cosmopolitanism, Parochialism, and Social Change* [ebook], London: Routledge.

Marschall, Sabine (2006), 'Creating the "Rainbow Nation": The National Women's Art Festival in Durban, South Africa', in David Picard and Mike Robinson (eds.), *Festivals, Tourism and Social Change: Remaking Worlds*, Clevedon: Channel View Publications, pp. 152–171.

Massey, Doreen (2005), *For Space*, London: SAGE.

Outcry after 'neo-Nazi' music festival held on Swiss soil (2016), *The Local*, 18 Oct, viewed 5 Jan 2017,

<https://www.thelocal.ch/20161018/outcry-after-neo-nazi-concert-held-on-swiss-soil>.

Pasbani, Robert (2016), 'Montreal Fest cancelled after protests against black metal band with neo-Nazi ties erupts', *Metal Injection*, 28 Nov, viewed 5 Jan 2017, <http://www.metalinjection.net/politics/montreal-fest-

cancelled-after-protests-against-black-metal-band-with-neo-nazi-ties-erupts>.

Pisters, Patricia (2001), 'Introduction', in Patricia Pisters (ed.), *Micropolitics of Media Culture: Reading the Rhizomes of Deleuze and Guattari*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, pp. 7–26.

Robinson, Roxy (2015), *Music Festivals and the Politics of Participation* [ebook], Farnham: Ashgate.

Sharpe, Erin K. (2008), 'Festivals and Social Change: Intersections of Pleasure and Politics at a Community Music Festival', *Leisure Sciences*, 30 (3): 217–234.

Simić, Marina (2009), *'Exit to Europe': State, Travel, Popular Music and 'Normal Life' in a Serbian Town*, PhD thesis, University of Manchester, School of Social Sciences.

Simonsen, Emily (2015), 'Music Festivals: The Rise of Commercialism and Its Effects', *Odyssey*, 15 June, viewed 7 Jan 2017, <https://www.theodysseyonline.com/music-festivals-commercialization-discrimination-rape-death>.

Soja, Edward W. (1996), *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places*, Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Spencer, Liam (n.d.), 'The Modern Commercialised "Music" Festival', *Daily Dischord* [blog], viewed 7 Jan 2017, <http://www.dailydischord.com/the-modern-commercialised-music-festival/>.

St John, Graham (2008), 'Protestival: Global Days of Action and Carnivalized Politics in the Present', *Social Movement Studies* 7 (2): 167–190.

Stone, Chris (2009), 'The British Pop Festival Phenomenon', in Jane Ali-Knight, Martin Robertson, Alan Fyall and Adele Ladkin (eds.), *International Perspectives of Festivals and Events: Paradigms of Analysis*, San Diego, CA: Elsevier, pp. 205–224.

Taylor, Jodie (2014), 'Festivalizing Sexualities: Discourses of "Pride", Counterdiscourses of "Shame"', in Andy Bennett,

Jodie Taylor and Ian Woodward (eds.), *The Festivalization of Culture*, Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 27–48.

Žižek, Slavoj (2008), *In Defense of Lost Causes*, London. Verso.

Žižek, Slavoj (2012), 'Occupy Wall Street: What is to be done next?', *The Guardian*, 24 Apr, viewed 2 Sep 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/cifamerica/2012/apr/24/occupy-wall-street-what-is-to-be-done-next>.

Žižek, Slavoj (2015), 'Beyond Mandela Without Becoming Mugabe: Some Postapocalyptic Considerations' [video of public lecture], 19 Nov, Deutsches Schauspielhaus, Hamburg, viewed 7 Sep 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a5DiZBb8f6A>.

Musicology Research
Issue 5: pp. 327-351

12

"He is a piece of Granite…" Landscape and National Identity in Early Twentieth-Century Sweden

Anne Macgregor

1. Introduction

One of the most consistent features of the reception of the Swedish composer Ture Rangström (1884-1947) is the use of landscape imagery to describe and explain his music. There is, of course, nothing particularly unusual about a composer depicting a landscape in his music, or his music being interpreted in terms of landscape, and both were common practice in early twentieth-century Swedish culture. However, Rangström is noteworthy even within this context for several reasons: the frequency with which his music was linked to landscape, the consistency of the

© 2018 Anne Macgregor

imagery used, and the extent to which his identity – especially his national identity – was conflated with the character of his music. One of the few contemporary English-language summaries of Rangström's music, an article published in the New York magazine *Musical Courier*, is a case in point:

> Some of the younger composers who have during the last years fought their way to the front are Ture Rangström, Nathanial Berg and Kurt Atterberg, forming a kind of trio by themselves… Rangström is a stern, honest and sincere nature of absolute originality. He is a piece of granite with a peculiar, charming melancholy, perhaps a little difficult to approach by one not familiar with his development and that of the Swedish music, but he has produced works of real, established value, as can easily be seen when his art is studied.
> (Westberg, 1920: 6)

After this commendation of Rangström, Westberg goes on to describe Berg as perhaps the most talented of the three and Atterberg as the most productive. However, there is an undercurrent of disapproval in his depiction of Atterberg's chameleon-like ability to absorb and replicate a variety of international styles – an ability that contrasts with Rangström's honesty, sincerity and originality. Westberg's pithy conclusion is that 'Rangström is national, Berg is international, and Atterberg is whatever he chooses to be.' By implication, Westberg ties the idea of national identity to authentic self-expression: Rangström is, for him, thoroughly genuine and completely national. The image that he uses to convey this character is granite, which

forms the bedrock of much of the Swedish landscape and thus has connotations of unyielding permanency.

Rangström played an active part in the discourse about the relationship between landscape and music, and may even have been the first to emphasize granite as the fundamental descriptor of his (and Swedish) music. Early in his career as a critic-composer, he wrote an eloquent article about the need to cultivate a distinctively Swedish art-music, and he promoted the Swedish landscape as the obvious source of inspiration for such a change in direction. As in Westberg's article, straightforward and personal expression is prioritized along with landscape imagery:

> Let it be that our temperament waits only for the simple, meagre, but strong art-music, which knows its innermost, highest individuality and melds it together with Swedish nature and the landscape's own essence. Much granite – fir and pine in thorny dark stretches – a light, melancholy, shimmering Mälar idyll – a red cottage with white trim – long winter nights, short sunny days and much, much granite…
> (Rangström, 1911)

There is some evidence that 'much granite' became Rangström's mantra: he used it in 1918 when writing to the older composer Wilhelm Stenhammar about his intentions for his second symphony (named *Mitt land – My country*), and in 1934 the music writer Folke H. Törnblom used the phrase in quotation marks when describing Rangström's style. Most of the references to

granite in Rangström's reception, though, appear without such apparent awareness of precedent, so the extent to which Rangström helped to shape his own reputation is difficult to pin down. (Stockholm's musical life was driven by a small and interconnected circle of composer-critics; Westberg, for example, was a personal friend of Rangström, so it is possible that the *Courier* article was vetted or even guided by the composer.) What Rangström and his contemporaries understood as a musical manifestation of granite is comparatively clear though hardly specific: when they use the term in writing, the immediate context consistently includes words like abrupt, harsh, angular or barren. Through this cluster of adjectives, granite-like-ness could be heard in the blocky structures of Rangström's music, in the starkness of his harmonies, in harsh timbres or in persistent ostinatos.

Even more prevalent in Rangström's reception than the refrain of 'much granite' were references to the Gryt archipelago in Östergötland, south of Stockholm. Rangström spent his summers there throughout his adult life and obviously found it a creatively stimulating environment; holidays there afforded both the opportunity and inspiration for many of his compositions. This artistic connection with the archipelago landscape was underlined most dramatically at Rangström's fiftieth birthday

celebrations, when he was presented with the title deeds for an island that had been bought for him by public subscription. His devotion to this little island (he called it his kingdom) was such that, after his death, his children sought permission to lay him to rest there. When they were unsuccessful, their second choice was not Stockholm, as might be expected given that the capital city was also Rangström's birthplace and hometown, but the local village of Gryt. Rangström's personal commitment to the archipelago region was thus demonstrated even in death, and many of his obituaries drew on landscape imagery in order to eulogize both his music and his character: 'He was *ursvensk* [originally Swedish] in type and disposition, gnarled as a wild oak in his artistic temperament, heartwood through and through as person and musician' (Sundström, 1947). Here, the wild oak conveys much the same perception of Rangström and his music as granite does: it is tough and untamed, thoroughly natural and sound. Crucially, this statement binds together Rangström's musicality and personality in the same image, and the aspect of his personality that is highlighted is his national identity. *Ursvensk* is a term that defies direct translation, but the prefix *ur* can mean 'from', 'from within', or 'out of', and so the whole word describes (as either noun or adjective) someone who is essentially Swedish, a Swede of Swedes, or a Swede from of old. It is one of three Swedish terms that appear in Rangström's

reception and that incorporate ideas of place and belonging; the others are *landskap* (landscape) and *hembygd* (loosely, home-place). By using these terms to unpick the ways in which Rangström's music was understood by his contemporaries as an expression of both landscape and personal identity, we can examine the long-standing assumption that his music communicates national character. We will see that Rangström's music does not simply portray a specific geographical region with accuracy, but shows that Rangström embraced and embodied an understanding of landscape that was distinctively Swedish.

2. *Landskap*: 'he is a piece of granite'

Musical depictions of landscape have been a regular feature of Western classical music ever since Beethoven's *Pastoral Symphony*. Such pieces are often expressions of patriotism and are sometimes marked by precise detail: Smetana's *Vltava* is a prime example of both, in its portrayal of a river's journey from its twin sources through the Bohemian countryside to Prague and beyond. Many other works and composers could be cited, but Rangström stands out from most of them due to his sense of landscape as an experiential and not merely visual phenomenon.

In English, the term 'landscape' usually refers to the physical features of an area of land and is often also concerned with their aesthetic appeal. This understanding of landscape came into the language around 1600 thanks to a genre of paintings which depicted natural scenery, and has displaced the older meaning of 'region' or 'province' that existed in Old English, Old Dutch and Old Norse. The Nordic concept of landscape still incorporates aspects of the older meaning, namely, the idea of human interactivity with the physical landscape. In the interdisciplinary volume *Nordic Landscapes* (Olwig and Jones, 2008), several authors take time to explain the origin of the word *landskap* and the difference that it makes to modern-day mentalities. Gabriel Bladh, a professor in cultural geography, writes that the term *landskap* has been used since at least the Middle Ages to denote a province that is more or less 'culturally and geographically homogenous' (Bladh, 2008: 221). Such regions adhered to a common law (Olwig and Jones, 2008: xviii), meaning that where someone lived directly affected how they lived. When the idea of landscape as observed scenery reached the Nordic countries in the Romantic era, it did not supersede this concept of landscape as a lived territory (Bladh, 2008: 221-223).

Bladh is relatively cautious in dating *landskap* to the Middle Ages; Tomas Germundsson, a professor of human geography,

asserts that the regions 'often have their roots in prehistoric times and thus predate the Nordic nations' (Germundsson, 2008: 157). In either case, there is some chronological justification for giving regional identity precedence over national identity, or at least seeing the first as fundamental to the second. These provinces, as recognized entities, certainly predate the modern form of the Nordic countries; as the balance of Baltic power shifted over the centuries, they were sometimes traded as part of peace treaties, and regional identity was thus more stable than national identity. The retentive power of local tradition is evidenced by the tendency of modern-day Swedes to describe their regional identity in terms of the ancient *landskap* rather than by the current administrative regions (Germundsson, 2008: 158).

The Nordic understanding of landscape as a lived territory immediately narrows the conceptual gap between a physical landscape and a piece of music. It means that we are not dealing with a translation of something visual into something audible; music is not merely sonic scenery. Rather, both landscape and music can be understood as an experience in which internal sensation and physical activity are as important as external perception. For Rangström, there was a broad overlap between these two kinds of experience: he titled his Third Symphony 'Song Under the Stars' and identified his inspiration for it as

'lonely, night-time sailing trips' (Helmer, 1998: 307); he had an epiphany about his opera *Gilgamesj* while stopping his boat from sinking at its moorings in a 'steaming southwester' (N., 1946); he even described a particular stretch of water sparkling under the sunset as 'an F sharp major triad for large orchestra with six trumpets!' (Rangström, 1943). Rangström clearly experienced landscape in musical terms at least as powerfully as his listeners then experienced his music in landscape terms. As he put it himself, 'music becomes our experience. I cannot sing a forest or spring or sea without my own impression – conscious or unconscious – of what a forest, spring or sea is becoming crucial for the music' (Rangström, 1942). By claiming that he could not help but incorporate his own experience of landscape into his music, Rangström emphasized the authenticity of his compositions. They could be intended and heard as both deeply personal and thoroughly national because the portrayal of experienced landscape was, in itself, Swedish – or at least Nordic, for the concept of lived landscape is common to the Nordic countries.

There is good reason to single out both Sweden and Rangström from the broader context of Nordic landscape music at the time. Early twentieth-century Sweden differed from the neighbouring countries in that distinct regional identities were celebrated

rather than a single, nationwide ideal. Sweden's relative security and stability help to explain this cultural diversity; by way of contrast, the external threats and internal divisions faced by the other Nordic countries encouraged the promotion of a clear, core national identity. (It is worth noting that Norway, Finland and Denmark all possess one iconic composer who was seen as representative of national spirit, whereas Sweden produced a cluster of contemporary composers, many of whom were associated with different regions of the country.) Rangström was not considered a national composer because his music portrayed a specific heartland region that was historically significant or geographically typical; it was enough that his music belonged *somewhere*. In fact, one of the ways that Rangström was unusual even among his Swedish contemporaries was that Östergötland was not his native region, and this leads us to our second key concept: *hembygd*.

3. *Hembygd*: a 'landscape for soul and heart'

Hembygd loosely translates as 'home-place', from *hem* meaning 'home' and *bygd* meaning 'district'; it denotes a place in which one feels a sense of belonging. *Bygd* has an experiential aspect rather like *landskap* though on a smaller scale: a *bygd* is 'a *small* district that is first and foremost a cultural unit, but secondly it is a unit bound together both socially and economically' (Björkroth,

1995: 33). *Bygd* is a long-established term, whereas the concept of *hembygd* emerged in the 1870s. The *hembygd* movement was a response to industrialization and urbanization, and in the decades around the turn of the century a great deal of effort went into preserving or revitalising regional traditions. The legacy of the movement is still apparent: for example, the Swedish Local Heritage Federation was founded in 1916 and currently maintains 1,400 centres through local societies (Sveriges Hembygdsförbund, 2016). The most famous product of the *hembygd* movement is Skansen, the world's first outdoor museum, which was conceived by Artur Hazelius (1833-1901) and opened in 1891. Agricultural buildings from across the country were reconstructed on an island in Stockholm, where some sense of the lived landscape has been preserved ever since by guides in regional dress and through demonstrations of traditional handicrafts. Hazelius had previously been responsible for founding the Nordic Museum in 1873, a project which initially relied on public donations. The museum's motto, 'Know yourself', is still the tagline for the webpage and shows just how deeply entwined regional heritage was (and is still perceived to be) with the formation of personal identity.

Since Rangström grew up in a culture preoccupied with regional belonging, it is not surprising that he defined his own identity in

regional terms. In an interview towards the end of his life he described himself as 'a native Stockholmer, and, moreover, a half-breed between Skåne and Sörmland' (Rangström, 1946). In this statement, Rangström placed a great deal of weight not only on his own birthplace, but on that of his parents: his mother came from Södermanland, about 60 miles south of Stockholm, and his father from Skåne, Sweden's most southerly province. This reference to Skåne is anomalous in Rangström's reception and rather difficult to reconcile with the usual emphasis on *ursvensk* character and rugged landscape. (The region was part of Denmark until the Treaty of Roskilde in 1658, so its cultural landscape is very different from that of the rest of Sweden, as is its physical landscape.) However, Rangström's sense of belonging to the region appears to have been negligible; in fact, even his father had lived in Stockholm since the age of ten. Perhaps the most pertinent observation to be made about Rangström's statement, then, is that it assumes a remarkably persistent regional identity, albeit a nominal one, based on birth and ancestry.

Crucially, though, Rangström's account did not end there. 'I am certainly a native Stockholmer, and, moreover, a half-breed between Skåne and Sörmland,' he said, 'but that does not stop me from adding to myself one more landscape for soul and

heart. It is Gryt's beautiful archipelago in south Östergötland…' (ibid). The landscape with which Rangström and his music were so strongly associated is thus an adopted one. An Östergötland newspaper expressed the situation in the following terms:

> He has lived in the district on weekdays and weekends, become like one of the natives. 'Ture Rangström is on shore. His boat is at the dock.' How many times have we heard that? He is as famous and well-known a person in Gryt as in Stockholm. And that is saying a lot for a non-native-born.
> (Jonsson, 1934)

Within just a few sentences, the author used two terms of regional belonging that are based on descent: *urinvånarna* and *infödding*. The first is translated above as 'natives', but literally means 'the ur-inhabitants', that is, the original residents; the second means 'native-born'. By these objective measurements of belonging, Rangström was necessarily excluded: he was not native-born and so he could only be *like* one of the natives. However, the concept of *hembygd* allows for more subjective means of belonging and can be applied to any place where one feels at home or to which one has a strong connection. It is through the concept of *hembygd* that the Östergötland author acknowledged Rangström's integration into the region's way of life: 'Perhaps it is the sounds from Gryt's skerries and the enchanting meadows or marshes inside the storm-lashed cliffs that are his true native tones [*hembygdstoner*]' (Jonsson, 1934).

The composite word *hembygdstoner* could be translated various ways, because *ton* can mean tone, note, or even tune. In any case, it is clear that Rangström's sense of belonging in Östergötland was intimately bound up with his music. Jonnson suggests that Rangström's most natural musical sound-world was that of Gryt's seascape – that it was in Östergötland that Rangström found his true compositional voice. Rangström's description of the area as a landscape 'for soul and heart' confirms this impression of a deeply personal and emotional connection to the region and ties back into the ideas of sincerity and individuality that appear in his reception alongside landscape metaphors. In his whole-hearted adoption of Gryt's landscape and its way of life, Rangström epitomized the ideals of the *hembygd* movement: he was a cultured city man who nevertheless treasured rural life; he 'knew himself' in terms of his heritage, identifying as 'an old sea-rover' (Rangström, 1946); and he preserved his experience of the landscape in his music, much as Hazelius had sought to do in his museums.

Given the preoccupation of the cultural elite with preserving Sweden's rural heritage, it is hardly surprising that Rangström's interaction with the Gryt archipelago prompted effusive comments about the authenticity and national character of his music. One critic wrote that 'his musical language has much of

undressed stone, of bedrock, that Swedish granite, rather harshly, in both melody and harmony' (Stuart, 1941: 399). The metaphor of bedrock clearly conveys the fundamentally national character of Rangström's music, but the idea of authenticity appears more obliquely, in the image of undressed stone. This picture conveys the romantic notion that Rangström's music was simply hewn out of the landscape and presented without the aesthetic compromise of being chipped and polished it into a more acceptable form. In the context of the *hembygd* movement, this sense of raw and unrefined nature was commendable – and thoroughly national.

4. *Ursvensk*: 'heartwood through and through as person and musician'

The term *ursvensk* is the linguistic equivalent of the German *urdeutsch* and both words are connected to ideas about idealized masculinity, national landscapes, and – at least by implication – racial purity. *Ursvensk* appeared in Rangström's reception in the 1930s, at which time *urdeutsch* was undergoing a dramatic increase in usage in Germany. Google Ngram (which charts word frequency in printed and digitized texts) shows a series of peaks in usage between 1850 and 1950; the three largest peaks coincide with the unification of Germany and the First and

Second World Wars.[1] This term clearly flourished in eras when German identity was promoted in pursuit of a political agenda. There is currently no equivalent data with which to track the use of *ursvensk*, but Rangström's reception certainly supports the hypothesis that there was a similar increase in usage in 1930s Sweden. The term remained prominent until after Rangström's death in 1947, and the connotations of idealized masculinity come across strongly in many of his obituaries, in which parallels were also explicitly drawn between Rangström's physical stature, character and that of his music:

> There was something of Viking inheritance in Ture Rangström's tall figure with the straight back, but he also showed a distinctive blend of this Norse, harsh manhood and the finest and noblest chivalry. His musical language owns a similar mixture of harsh, defiant minor and romantic sensibility…
> (Broman, 1947)

Despite the similarities between *ursvensk* and *urdeutsch* (and without being disingenuous about the prevalence of pro-Nazi sentiment in 1930s Sweden), the terms need not be understood as ideological equivalents. In Rangström's reception, at least, *ursvensk* seems to be weighted so heavily towards nostalgia for the past that it has little sense of being directed towards a present

[1] Google Books Ngram Viewer. [available online: <https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=urdeutsch&case_insensitive=on&year_start=1800&year_end=2000&corpus=20&smoothing=3&share=&direct_url=t4%3B%2Curdeutsch%3B%2Cc0%3B%2Cs0%3B%3Burdeutsch%3B%2Cc0%3B%3BUrdeutsch%3B%2Cc0>] Last Accessed: 11 January 2018.

political agenda. Indeed, its apparent increase in usage occurred in a country that had maintained neutrality through the First World War and would do so again during the Second.

This emphasis on nostalgia rather than political action may simply reflect the attitude of a nation that had already established and lost an empire. The seventeenth century had been Sweden's 'Age of Greatness' (*Stormaktstiden*): at various times Sweden had held sway over territory in modern-day Norway, Denmark, Finland, Russia, Latvia, Estonia, Poland and Germany. In Rangström's lifetime, the term *storsvensk* (great-Swedish) was used to describe a belief in Sweden's ability to re-emerge as a significant European power; by way of contrast, *ursvensk* was more often associated with the remote past, usually the Viking era. When Rangström himself was described as Viking-like, it was usually with reference to his music, his personality, and landscape. One example appears in the tongue-in-cheek song written for his sixtieth birthday dinner:

> Hail, you Viking, late-born in time,
> bolt upright and stiff-necked and ready for battle
> – but always gentle before the heart's roar,
> the forests' darkness and the valleys' lightness…
> Oh Ture, oh Ture!
> As strong as granite and as weak as a reed!
> (Berco, 1944)

Here, Rangström is portrayed as a throwback rather than as the twentieth-century norm or even as an ideal. The same pattern of thought is evident – though the emotional context could hardly be more different – in Rangström's instructions that his sailing boat be burnt after his death. Burning the boat was a dramatic and deliberate echo of burial practices strongly associated with Viking chieftains; it was also a highly romantic gesture that was hardly normal for twentieth-century Swedes! It is this sense of anachronism that prevents *ursvensk* from carrying much sense of a political agenda: it is primarily associated with an era that is so remote as to be beyond reach or re-creation except in an individual and idiosyncratic way.

For all the historical distance of the Viking era, though, it had a kind of geographical proximity for Rangström, through the concept of the lived landscape. Viking culture is intimately associated with sea travel – even the name is related to human interaction with the environment, being thought to derive either from *vik* (meaning 'bay' and probably relating to the pirate practice of ambushing ships from the concealment of the coast) or from *vika* (an Old Norse term referring to oarsmen changing shift). Rangström's experience of sailing the archipelago landscape gave him a strong affinity with those who had done so for centuries before. He relished the sense that long-dead

mariners had weathered the same storms and sailed the same currents as he did, and his vivid imagination drew inspiration from their imagined presence:

> In the autumns [my island] is haunted: the old dead Ålanders[2] and other seas' spectres wander in closed ranks between the junipers up towards the cottage, so that your heart sits in your throat. The seals howling outside Harstena are foreboding. It is a grand place for music! (Rangström, 1946)

Rangström's lived experience of his adopted landscape thus gave him a connection to what was seen as the essence of Swedishness. In Swedish terms, he cultivated *ursvensk* character in the *landskap* of his *hembygd*. These three intertwined concepts were seen by Rangström's contemporaries as crucial factors in shaping both Rangström's personality and his compositions, which were, in turn, so closely connected as to be interchangeable.

5. Conclusion: 'Rangström is national'

These ideas about landscape, belonging, heritage, character and compositions meshed together very readily in the early

[2] 'Ålanders' refers to inhabitants of the Åland islands, which lie midway between Sweden and Finland and which were ceded by Sweden to Russia in 1809. After the declaration of Finnish independence in 1917, the islanders petitioned unsuccessfully for reintegration with Sweden; a League of Nations ruling in 1921 affirmed Finnish sovereignty over the islands but protected the practice of traditional culture and Swedish as the official language. The status of Åland was therefore an ongoing political issue for much of Rangström's life, and his use of the term 'Ålanders' shows the importance that was placed on historic regional identity at the time.

twentieth-century Swedish mindset, as a fuller passage from Jonsson's 1934 article demonstrates:

> Anyone who met Ture Rangström in Gryt's archipelago perhaps understands more about his artistic creation than one who only met him wearing the notorious, unchanging cravat customary in Stockholm. His music has strong Viking and bard features, but with such captivating lyrical traits as in 'Melodi' [one of Rangström's best-known songs]. Perhaps it is the sounds from Gryt's skerries and the enchanting meadows or marshes inside the storm-lashed cliffs which are his true native tones.
> (Jonsson, 1934)

Jonsson makes several significant claims in quick succession: he asserts that knowing how Rangström lives in Gryt helps one interpret his music; he implies that Rangström is more 'himself' in the archipelago than in the capital city (where he was indeed accused of wearing the same necktie for forty years); he refers to the Viking era in general and its musical tradition in particular; and he affirms that Rangström and his music belong in Gryt. To underline this belonging, Jonsson continues with an extended description of Rangström's physical interactions with the landscape:

> Ture Rangström has often wrestled with the wind and waves in his little open boat, of the pilot-boat type; he has sailed in the storm, rowed in the calms with strong arms, which scorned the motor's help; he has, during week-long trips with his boat, harboured in friendly coves and seen many nights fall silently and clearly around the islands and the water. But he has also anchored for tough weather

> and in the storm's noise heard the eternal shadows' voices become the noise of mighty wings in the night.
> (ibid.)

The last phrase is lifted from one of Rangström's most popular songs, a setting of Bo Bergman's 'Vingar i natten' ('Wings in the night'), and thus emphasizes the idea that Rangström's compositions were direct re-expressions of an experienced landscape.

These ideas are not neatly compartmentalized: they feed into and reinforce one another in such a way that tracing cause and effect is not always possible or helpful. One note-worthy observation, however, is that each of these concepts contributes in some way to the expression of national identity. There was thus a kind of feedback loop at work in Rangström's reception that continually reemphasized the public's perception of Rangström as a truly national composer. The national character of Rangström's music has long been left unexamined, but this article has shown that the composer's relationship with the Gryt archipelago is indisputably central to it. This relationship embraced, firstly, the Nordic understanding of landscape as a lived experience, and reflected the particularly Swedish preoccupation of the time with diverse regional ways of living. Secondly, it embodied the ideals of the *hembygd* movement, which valued local belonging as a tenet of national identity. Thirdly, it gave Rangström a sense of

personal connection with Swedes of the past, which was increasingly seen, during the 1930s and 40s, as a crucial part of Swedish nationalism.

This nexus of interrelated ideas gives Rangström's musical evocations of landscape an exceptional depth of significance. They are not merely audible postcards of national scenes, but expressions of an experience of landscape that is in itself distinctively Swedish. The contemporary perception of Rangström's music as Swedish depended heavily on his activity within the Östergötland landscape and thus reflects the centrality of regional diversity, belonging, and heritage in conceptions of national identity in early twentieth-century Sweden.

References

Berco. 1944. 'Bordssång' ['Table-song' for Rangström's 60th birthday]. Reproduced in *Musikern*.

Björkroth, M. 1995. '*Hembygd* – a concept and its ambiguities' in *Nordisk Museologi*, Vol 2, 33-40.

Bladh, G. 2008. 'Selma Lagerlöf's Värmland: A Swedish *Landskap* in Thought and Practice' in K. Olwig and M. Jones, eds. *Nordic Landscapes: Region and Belonging on the Northern Edge of Europe*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 220-250.

Broman, S. 13 May 1947. 'Ture Rangström avliden' in *Svenska Dagbladet*(?).

Germundsson, T. 2008 'The South of the North: Images of an (Un)Swedish Landscape' in K. Olwig and M. Jones, eds. *Nordic Landscapes: Region and Belonging on the Northern Edge of Europe*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 157-191.

Helmer, A. 1999. *Ture Rangström: liv och verk i samspel*. Stockholm: Albert Bonniers.

Jonsson, S. December 1934. 'Klanger från Östgötaskären' in *Östgötabygd Jultidning*.

N. 7 October 1946. 'Ture Rangström i stan, har snart ny opera färdig' in *Söderköpingsposten*(?).

Olwig, K. and M. Jones. 2008. 'Introduction: Thinking Landscape and Regional Belonging on the Northern Edge of Europe' in *Nordic Landscapes: Region and Belonging on the Northern Edge of Europe*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 3-11.

Rangström, T. 17 December 1911. 'Svenskt lynne – svensk musik' in *Stockholms Dagblad*.

———1942. 'Strindbergssymfonien' in *Röster i radio*, No. 15.

——— 12 June 1943. 'Dolce far niente' in *Svenska Dagbladet*.

——— 1946. 'Fredagsbesök hos Ture Rangström' in *Röster i radio*, No. 31.

Stuart, E. M. November 1941. 'Kortfattade biografier över samtida svenska tonsättare. II Ture Rangström' in *Musikern*.

Sundström, E. 12 May 1947. 'Ture Rangström – en ursvensk som människa och musiker' in *Stockholms-Tidningen*.

Sveriges Hembygdsförbund. 2016. [available online: <https://www.hembygd.se/om-shf/languages/about-the -swedish-local-heritage-federation/>] Last Accessed: 19 February 2018

Westberg, E. 8 January 1920. 'The war's effect on modern Swedish music' in *Musical Courier*. New York: Musical Courier Company.

This page is left intentionally blank

Musicology Research
Issue 4: pp. 351-385

13

Scenes From an Indigenous City: Music and Lebou Space in Dakar's Médina

Brendan Kibbee

1. Introduction

This article gives an account of musical place-making activities performed by the indigenous population of a West African metropolis—the Wolof-speaking Lebou (pronounced LEH-boo) in Dakar, Senegal. It focuses on events in a historically significant neighborhood—Médina, a crowded popular quarter near the city centre and the site of a sizeable Lebou resettlement under French colonial rule, currently housing over 130,000 people (mostly non-Lebou) within the space of two square kilometers. Lebou political and urban planning capacities in the face of rapid urban growth

© 2018 Brendan Kibbee

and upheaval have been well-documented (Seck 1970, Bigon 2009, Bigon and Hart 2018). This article shows how musical events bring into relation an even fuller range of resources that help sustain indigenous praxis in the city. Music's unique capacity is that of assembling diverse cultural, material, and spiritual forces at given moments to help orient people to the city *as* Lebou. Another term for the forces united through musical events could be "mediators"—used here in the Latourian sense, meaning things that are brought to act on a given process in specific ways, rather than merely carrying out predictable social transformations (Latour 2005:36-41). The musical production of the Lebou city draws together different configurations of mediators including but not limited to human actors, spirit actors, the spiritual force of Allah, the ocean (which surrounds Dakar from three sides), streets, and open plazas. In the process of shaping life in the city, these forces also shape each other in important ways, ways that are made possible through the creative bringing-together that music can facilitate.

The concepts of "indigenous" and "West African metropolis" might seem at odds to readers who are unfamiliar with Dakar. In general, the African city has been perceived through a dichotomy between urban cosmopolitans and rural migrants, with the term

"indigenous" being the domain of the latter[1] (Nketia 1974, Coplan 1985, Turino 2000). The Lebou population, inhabitants of the now-overdeveloped Cap-Vert peninsula for centuries before the colonial era, provide a different perspective. They are not re-creating rural ties in the city (in the manner of village associations, known in Dakar *associations de ressortissants*). Rather, they draw on a legacy of praxis that is both native to the land *and* urban in order to maintain a hand in guiding the city's growth. Lebou assemblies, most of which take place on public streets and have a public-facing character, do not only bind Lebou together, they also seek to proliferate Lebou values throughout the city's diverse, majority-non-Lebou population.

The Lebou Collectivity (*la collectivité Lebou*, the official governing structure within the population) is not sustained simply through its seemingly primordial existence in the space of Cap-Vert, nor is it a predictable iteration of broader social forces that shape relations in contemporary African cities. It is uniquely shaped and reshaped in the collective consciousness of the city through acts of assembly—meaning, here, both people's frequent acts of assembling on city streets, and by extension, their bringing

[1] An exception to this is Christopher Waterman's (1990) *Jújù*, which documents interactions between urban indigenous and black elites in Lagos and Ibadan, Nigeria.

together of different "assemblages" of mediators at given moments.

Some of the stylistic choices in this article (including occasional first-person and frequent second-person narration) reflect a view that writing is also an act of assembly. On one level, I assemble (or rather reassemble; see Latour 2005), some of the diverse forces that I have brought to bear on the city through musical practices. In another sense, I assemble those who are brought into relation through their interaction with this text. Writing can be an act of assembly to the extent that it forms a link (albeit a tenuous one, if not otherwise reinforced) among and between readers and subjects of written texts. The view that a piece of writing can be relational—that beyond contributing to an abstract body of knowledge, it in some way connects actual people in the world—is reinforced here in two ways. First is the use of real names instead of pseudonyms. My collaborators' universal preference for this choice was made explicitly clear in interviews where respondants consistently obliged (and often emphatically encouraged) that I use their names. Another way of emphasizing the text-as-assembly-concept use a second-person narration. Through this device, I change my relationship to you (the reader) from that of an informer to that of a surrogate. I invite you to viscerally experience yourself in the presence of

these moments. My use of second person also emphasises the very public nature of many events in Dakar—their outward-facing character, which leaves open the possibility that they might bring new ties into being. This outward-facing character contributed participants' frequent insistence that I document their events, and the expectation that I might generate interest in a cultural troupe, or style of rhythm and dance, or religious Brotherhood. It is an expectation that you too (people who are part of my world beyond Dakar) may "see yourself in it" (Wolof: *gis sa bopp*).

After proceeding through four vignettes of Lebou musical life in the city and a history of how Lebou population came to settle in Médina, this articles turns to theories of music and place that help us to understand how music facilitates relationships between diverse kinds of mediators. The bringing-together of these mediators under the banner of "Lebou" sustains a creative dynamism that continues to perpetuate Lebou values in the burgeoning city.

2. Four Examples of Lebou Public Culture

2.1 "Family Reunion" – Gouye Mariama *Penc* – 2:00 PM - May 14, 2016

Shortly before lunch, you sit on a plastic chair in the shade of a tent taking up half of a city block. A female voice projects over

the PA system, that of Adja Yakhara Dème (henceforth Yakhara), a notable chronicler for many Lebou families. Many of her sung phrases elicit a musical response, a crisp thwack of a stick against the flexible sheepskin membrane of a long, narrow, closed-bottom *col* (TCH-ohl) drum stationed nearby. You are with friends, neighbors, and most significantly, a few hundred extended relatives of the Paye family who live on the corner at Rue 27 x 6. A photo exhibit outside of the house displays pictures from previous family reunions as well as notable ancestors such as Jaraaf Ibra Paye,[2] shown shaking the hand of Senegal's first president Leopold Sedar Senghor. Most of the roughly 150 women sit at the far end of the tent, facing back towards Rue 6, clad in two-piece ensembles—headwraps and fabric-intensive dresses—with distinct patterns and colours marking different family-branch delegations. Yakhara sits with microphone in hand among the front row of women, closest to the middle area of the tent where the most distinguished Paye men sit on plush chairs and couches, borrowed for the day from neighbors' living rooms, arranged on opposite sides of the narrow street in two centre-facing columns with colourful woven *basañ* mats covering the space in between. The drummers accompanying her are on the sidewalk behind one of these columns. They are a bare-bones troupe of three griot sabar drummers from the Sing Sing family,

[2] A *jaraaf* is the official in the *Collectivité Lebou* in charge of agriculture and finance.

themselves an important Lebou institution. The rest of the men face the middle section from the opposite side of the women, their clothing a mixture of *boubous* (tailored robes) of varying quality and for some younger men, casual Western clothing, including t-shirts screen printed for the occasion. Yakhara sings:

Jaraaf Ibra Paye	Jaraaf Ibra Paye
Jaraaf baayu [inaudible] Gueye Njoro Seriñ Baay Ousmane, Le ministre de la Jeunnesse et Sport la	The Jaraaf, the father of [inaudible] Gueye Njoro Seriñ Baay Ousmane, the Minister of Youth and Sports
Seriñ bi toog moom mooy baayëm	He is the father of the Seriñ sitting here
Di bakko nan Mamadou Mansour	We are praising the name of Mamadou Mansour
Donn sa baay doon sa baay moo ko gënn	It is better to follow your father's example than to inherit his fortune
Ki fi def ñu ne ko "sa baay la"	Otherwise, people will say "his father earned it, [not him]"
Alioune Badara sa baay	Alioune Badara, your father
Fonctionnaire bu ñuul bu ñaaw bi	The dark-skinned ugly civil servant
Xam ne dama koy joy	I'm still crying for him
Te su ma ko noppee joy Jaraaf [inaudible] yeena ko defi	And if I stop crying it is thanks to Jaraaf [inaudible]
El Hadji Fallou baayëm	El Hadji Fallou is his father
Mbaye di yor baayëm	Mbaye provided for his father
Moo tax baay mbotaay Yore Diagne, Moussé Yore Diagne	That is why he is the head of the Moussé Yore Diagne family branch
Ak Yaay Diagne bokk ndey ak baay	And with Yaay Diagne, they share the same mother and father

[*drum hit*]

Certain phrases elicit gestures of satisfaction from throughout the crowd, occasionally prompting someone to stand up and venture to the middle section to pay Yakhara. She masterfully

mixes family names, lineages, and titles along with the exhortative ("it is better to follow your father's example than to inherit his fortune"), the funny ("the dark-skinned, ugly civil servant"), the emotional ("I still cry for him") and the laudatory ("Mbaye provided for his father/that is why he is the head of the Moussé Yoré Diagne family branch"). Soon the drummers launch into an andante rhythm as Yakhara sings a popular Lebou refrain:

Sa maam boroom geej	Your ancestors were masters of the sea
Sa maam boroom geej	Your ancestors were masters of the sea

2.2 "Ndëp" – Thieurigne Penc – 12:30 AM – February 1st, 2016

Dakar is a city inhabited by indigenous spirits called *rap*-s. Tonight you are in their presence as spirit mediums and Sing Sing drummers conduct a *ndëp*—a healing ceremony—for a woman who lives at Rue 23 x 22. The event takes place over the course of three days, including a massive mile-long procession to Soumbedioune beach and three drumming sessions on each day. It involves hundreds of people and an investment of hundreds of thousands of CFA (hundreds of dollars), most of the money going to pay for animals who are ritually slaughtered on the first day, and whose meat will feed the many attendees over the next several days. A massive crowd is packed around the ceremony

space, a sandy surface overlaid onto the asphalt of Rue 23 lit by a pair of incandescent bulbs hanging from a wire between houses. People on the street level stand on their toes to get a better view. Children climb on top of mounds of dirt and rubble on the sidewalk; some sit on the corrugated roof of a small standalone food stall; many people watch from the balconies of apartments on both sides of the street. The spirit mediums act unpredictably. One dances slowly, her arms in a Y as she holds a rope above her head. One shakes, chin down, eyes closed, with her hands behind her back until she collapses into the arms of her minder. The lone male medium dances, circling his arms backward until he loses his balance. The celebrated medium Adji Mbaye enters the space and poses as a bull, fingers on either side of her head, glaring at the lead drummer who wears a red Michael Jordan jersey.

This city of Dakar has a protector spirit named Ndëk Dawur Mbaye, and the only people who can communicate with him are members of the Sing Sing Family. For this reason, each grand patriarch of the family inherits the title of *Baj Ngéwël Ndakaaru* (Chief Griot of Dakar) within the *Collectivité Lebou*. Ndëk Dawur's home is a baobab tree on Île de Sarpan, located two kilometers away from Soumbedioune beach where Lebou fishermen bring in their daily catch. The relationship between

spirit and family began five generations ago when Ndëk Dawur himself gave Sing Sing Faye a rhythm.

The drummers break from their dense percussive counterpoint to play the rhythm, a forceful unison phrase (*bakk*), its contour outlining the implied words:

Ndëk Dawur kaay mbëq suusël	Ndëk Dawur come eat suusël [millet-peanut-sugar snack]
Kaay mbëq suusël	Come eat suusël

2.3 "*Jang Layène*" Gouye Mariama Layene Penc – 3:00 AM – March 19th, 2016

As soon as you hear the full-throated male voice hit the last shrill syllable of the phrase *la ilaha illa Allah* ("there is no god but God"), the female voice enters, equally shrill, same volume, same register, same cadence, same melody, repeating the same words four times before the male voice reenters to extend the lengthy antiphonal chain further into the night. Thanks to an armada of inward- and outward-facing loudspeakers, the pair are audible throughout the *sous-quartier* of Damels. But they are not visible until you cross from the darkness of the street into the brightly lit tent that stretches across the streets building-to-building in all four directions from the intersection of Rue 4 and Rue 23. Standing in the middle of the intersection, you are in a sea of

white. The male singer is flanked by 200 young men wearing white boubous and white skullcaps, extending down Rue 23 towards the *corniche*, while the female singer is flanked by 200 young women wearing white dresses and white headscarves, extending in the opposite direction on Rue 23 towards Rue 6. Seated together cross-legged on mats covering the street, the groups sing while rocking together aggressively and moving their arms through a choreographed sequence, a highly synchronised motion, reminiscent of rowers packed onto pirogues at the annual regatta organised by the *Collectivité Lebou* at Ngor beach.

People tell you that the Layène Brotherhood is all about equality. The men and women on opposite sides of Rue 4 are a reflection of one another, both sonically and visually; everyone wears white so as not to encourage social distinctions based on fabric; they call each other by the last name “Laye” or “Lahi” to counteract a caste system where different family names are closely tied to different occupations. There remains, however, an elite: twenty-five imams and male elders seated on the raised podium at the front of the assembly. Two hundred and fifty more spectators sit in rented metal chairs, many of them in the dimly-lit rear of the tent on either side of a red carpet leading down Rue 4 to the heart of the intersection.

When the *conférencier* (main speaker), Baye Ndjine Thiaw Lahi, takes the stage, the singing briefly stops, but it resumes each time he mixes his praises of the Brotherhood's founder, Seydina Limamou Laye (1843-1909), with prompts to start up again. He says:

Mame Seydi danga yiiw, yiiw te taaru	Mame Seydi, you are noble, noble and regal
Mame Seydi yaa doy kepp kuy waaru	Mame Seydi, you fulfill all who are worried
Mame Seydi danga jub, sa yoon jub	Mame Seydi, you are honest, your path is straight
Woyof tol, mel ni xob	[Your spirit is] so light, it's like a leaf
Codou! Yekketil ma baat bi ci kaw!	Codou [name of the woman singer]! Elevate that phrase up high for me!
[singing recommences]	

The second part of the speech involves fewer interruptions. Baye Ndjine talks about how religion is more than a personal or private issue, but a force for organising and developing society. He talks about how the Layene *khalif* (head of the Brotherhood) supported Senghor, a Catholic, over his Muslim rival Lamine Gueye, because of the personal respect and generosity that Senghor showed. He talks about the value of science: the reason that we send people into space despite the fact that there are diseases and hunger on earth is because it allows us to see the world in a way we could not see it before. The audience follows along attentively.

Now, shortly after 3:00 AM, Baye Ndjine wraps up his discourse and shouts to the crowd with a final injunction to restart the singing:

Yëngeleentoo Ndakaaru ak tuuru Yalla!	Make Dakar stir with the name of God!

2.4 "The *Grand Seriñ*'s Speech" – Santhiaba Penc – 12:00 PM – March 16, 2016

Two rows of metal barricades have been placed on Rue 17 creating a narrow red-carpet corridor that eventually opens to the left at the far end of the sun-drenched Santhiaba plaza (Rue 17 x 22). The press has funneled into the press box and speakers, and distinguished guests have taken their places on two mobile grandstands with awnings of green, yellow, and red, the colours of the Senegalese flag. If you walk to the left of the Rue 17 corridor, between the barricades and the whitewashed facade of the two-story *siège* of the Collectivité Lebou and past the troupe of Sing-Sing drummers animating the event from under the shade of a baobab, you find yourself in a penned-off area facing the grandstands, among roughly 300 women, the tall minaret of Santhiaba Mosque rising behind them. The women are wearing white, many carrying plastic horns, whistles, or placards, some of them dancing and clapping, all of them *militantes* for president

Macky Sall's APR political party.[3] If you walk to the right of the barricaded corridor, past the sprawling one-story compound bearing a wood plaque announcing the home of the *Ndey ji Rew* (the Lebou "interior secretary"; *lit.* "mother of the country") you find yourself on the side of the main grandstand, among the "Troupe Mame Ndiaré de Yoff," a Lebou folkloric group of twenty-five women. Today they are clad in black and orange dresses, their faces decorated with black lipstick and rows of vertical tallies on each cheek. Earlier, as the distinguished guests began arriving and taking their seats, these women danced the *ndawrabine* in a two-line formation in front of the grandstand, reenacting carefully researched movements gleaned from older generations. At the peak of their performance, as Sing Sing drummers played from the other end of the plaza and the griot Mansour Mbaye sang the names of arriving ministers—Maimouna Ndoye, Sidy Samb—the dancers initiated a series of exuberant left hand movements, tracing three-dimensional patterns in the air, semicircles and figure eights, scooping low, extending high, their brisk footwork intensifying along with the steady sweeping motions of their scarf-bearing right hands. With joyful smiles breaking through on their faces, only their steady, forward-looking gazes betrayed the intense concentration required of the dance.

[3] Alliance pour la République

The last speaker is Abdoulaye Makhtar Diop, the *Grand Seriñ Ndakaarou* ("chief" of the *Collectivité Lebou*), who is also a former Minister under Abdoulaye Wade and current supporter of President Sall. Today he is stumping for Sall's constitutional referendum, a signature piece of the APR platform that will be on the ballot in two-days time. As always, he is sporting sunglasses, a turban, and an expensive *grand-boubou*. From the front of the grandstand, he draws his lengthy speech to a close:

Li ci des mooy,	The only thing left to say is,
Ñun, Lebou yi, du ñu tooñ, lu baax rekk daf koy wax	We Lebous, we don't insult, we only say what is good about someone
Wante ku ñu tooñ ak ku ñu feen….	But those who insult us and misrepresent us….
Waaxu baatin laay wax!	I'm telling you words to live by here!
Wante ku ñu tooñ ak ku ñu feen….!	But those who insult us and misrepresent us….!

His voice rises, but he does not need to finish the phrase. After all, "only a fool says everything" [*"wax bu agg, dof moo ko moom"*]. Your attention, and that of the crowd, turns to a boisterous group of young men twenty yards from the grandstand, where they have started a call and response chant at full force, quickly supplemented by the Sing Sing drummers' rhythms:

Ay Lebou lañu!	We are Lebous!
Waaw waaw!	Yeah, Yeah!
Ay Lebou lañu!	We are Lebous!
Waaw waaw!	Yeah, Yeah!

Ay Lebou lañu!	We are Lebous!
Waaw waaw!	Yeah, Yeah!
Ay Lebou lañu!	We are Lebous!
Waaw waaw!	Yeah, Yeah!

3. A Capsule History of the Lebou Population, Dakar, and Médina

Walking in Médina with my friend Mouhamed during the holiday of Tabaski (Eid al-Adha; the feast of the sacrifice), the streets were relatively empty. There were no laundry-women, no street-hawkers, and few taxis. 'Everyone has gone home,' Mouhamed said, 'only Lebous are left.' He was exaggerating. Even with the holiday exodus, the neighbourhood was probably still less than half Lebou. But his comment highlighted the fact that while many people had gone back to their family villages, for most Lebou in the neighborhood, Médina *is* their family village.

Much of the history of Médina, Dakar, and the Cap-Vert peninsula is a Lebou history, and this history remains integral to the social life of the city. Lebou are Wolof speaking, but not strictly of Wolof origin, having most likely picked up the language while temporarily settling in the Jolof region during a generations-long migration from the Senegal River Valley to the coast. Many families who integrated into Lebou coastal

communities also have Sereer and sometimes Pulaar origins, but are still considered Lebou. For example, if someone tells you that their last name is Faye (a typically Sereer last name), they might clarify by saying '*Faye Lebou laa*' ('I'm a Lebou Faye'). This underscores the fact that Lebou history is marked by a long legacy of interaction and integration with different groups. It also shows that Lebou cohesion and cultural homogeneity have not been a product of exclusion, or even common subjection under Lebou rule. Rather, Lebou cohesion but might be better understood as having sedimented over time through common experiences lived in villages in the region, including Islam, practices involving *rab*-s (like the *ndëp* described above), seasonal migrations up and down the coast, and reliance on fishing and subsistence agriculture. In tracing the history of Lebou settlement (and forced resettlement) on the peninsula, the role of the Atlantic Ocean as a mediator begins to come into view. Given the traditional importance of fishing and coastal migration, for example, the ocean can be understood, first, as a mediator that demands certain kinds of cooperation (operating pirogues) in the provision of sustenance.

Since Cap-Vert is the westernmost point of continental Africa, the ocean also mediates as an extreme limit of migration. Before settling on the Cap-Vert Peninsula in the sixteenth century, the

core group that constituted the Lebou passed through several stages. Cheikh Anta Diop's ([1960]1987) history posits Libyan origins of the group. Oral history suggests their presence first in the southern Sahara at a bend in the Senegal river, then in Tekrur, a kingdom which flourished in the ninth to thirteenth centuries through exchange with Berbers trading in gold, salt, and grain along trans-Saharan trade routes. Afterward, the Lebou resettled subsequently in the Jolof Empire, then in a region known as Diander roughly twenty-five miles beyond Cap-Vert.

Having accompanied the Lebou throughout these movements, spirits like Mame Ndiaré and Ndëk Dawur Mbaye are credited with finally leading the Lebou to their home at the edge of the peninsula. The first settlements were the three "feet" on the northern corner of Cap-Vert—Yoff, Ngor, and Ouakam—with a fourth settlement springing up shortly after on the southern end of the peninsula – Ndakaaru (from which Dakar derives its name). Just as the ocean provided a limit to the movement of spirits and people, for followers of the Layene Brotherhood (see above), it also provided a limit to the movement of the soul of the Prophet Mohammed. The Brotherhood follows the preachings of a Lebou fisherman named Libass Thiaw who became a Mahdi—the reincarnation of the Prophet, sent to renew the faith—and

adopted the name Seydina Limamou Laye after an 1884 encounter with the Prophet's soul in a cave near Ngor beach. John Glover (2013) notes that the notion that the Prophet's soul would stop at the "farthest west" point on the African continent, affirms to Layene a special status of the geographic location of the peninsula, a notion of Dakar as a "religious vector destined to be of global importance" (27).

The ocean also mediated life in Cap-Vert as a protector and as a fortress—an idea that is reiterated through the folk etymology of Ndakaaru (Dakar) as "dëkk raw" or "place of refuge." Despite its proximity to Gorée Island, a key stopping point for slave ships preparing for the journey across the Atlantic, the peninsula was in many ways isolated by conflicts in the region brought about by the slave trade throughout the eighteenth century. Towards the turn of the Nineteenth Century, some prominent Muslim leaders fled there seeking asylum, integrating themselves in the coastal villages in the wake of conflicts with corrupt local aristocracies to the north and east. Such was the case when Massamba Diop and his sons fled conflicts in the clerical town of Koki, an educational hub-city in the north, relocating to Ndakaaru. In his celebrated tome *Precolonial Black Africa* ([1960]1987, 69 – 70), Cheikh Anta Diop wrote:

> The marabouts [including Massamba Diop]... made no mystery of their disdain for everything here on earth… This is why the

> marabouts of Koki were persecuted and forced to go ally themselves with the Lebous of Dakar… The first chief of the Lebou state, Dial Diop, was the son of one of the marabouts who had emigrated from Koki [Massamba Diop, also the ancestor of Abdoulaye Makhtar Diop, the current *grand sëriñ*]. He was appointed, after the victory [in the battles for independence from Cayor], despite his foreign origin, because he was the one who dared to head up the resistance, organize it within the walls of the peninsula, and stand up to the Cayorian damel [king] whose maneuvers and state of mind he very well knew.

The French termed the administrative structure established by Dial Diop at the turn of the nineteenth century as the "Lebou Republic," indicating an esteem for the Lebou that they did not afford to many groups in the region. This esteem was connected both to the Lebou role in weakening the inland aristocracies (which the French sought to control) and to the unique makeup of the Lebou political structure, with the impeachable the *grand seriñ* at the top.

Increasingly frequent encounters with the French throughout the nineteenth century reveal the ocean's role in mediating relations between the peninsula and the powers occupying Gorée Island (the slave trading port just off Cap-Vert). Through the first half of the nineteenth century, the Lebou had an amicable relationship with French and *métis* (mixed-race) populations on Gorée. Goréens came to Cap-Vert to stock up on fresh water, cows, vegetables, and building materials. Some Lebou also went to Gorée to sell fish and shellfish and to buy millet and manufactured products. Treaties between the Lebous and the

French allowed the Lebous to charge anchorage taxes and arranged for the return of goods recovered by the Lebous from frequent shipwrecks off the peninsula's rocky shores.[4]

But by the middle of the century, the French colonial footprint in West Africa was expanding quickly. With the abolition of the lucrative slave trade, maintaining conditions favourable to profit margins meant progressing towards more direct forms of control and the French moved aggressively against threats to their supremacy, real or imagined. Outside of Cap-Vert, the French battled Moors in the north, and the Sereer in the Saloum Delta further south, and they suppressed an armed *jihad* by the *khalif* (leader) of the Tijaniyya Sufi order, El Hajj Umar Tall, near the current Senegal-Mali border. The colonisation of the peninsula was done more peacefully, leveraging the channels of communication that facilitated trading relations and treaties between Gorée and Ndakaaru. On May 25th, 1857, Gorée's commanding officer Auguste-Léopold Protet came to the mainland to effect an *acte de prise de possession* by raising the French flag at a recently constructed fort, one of the few French structures on the peninsula at the time. What was first interpreted by many Lebou as a friendly gesture later became more properly recognised as the first step in controlling the

[4] See Ndoye 2010.

peninsula. Days later, the French declared themselves free of any tax obligations to the Lebou (*ibid.*).

The threat to the Lebou collectivity represented by French colonial rule and by urban growth in the colonial and postcolonial era brings into focus another important Lebou spatial mediator: the *penc.* The word *penc* denotes an administrative zone within the Lebou Collectivity – a village within the city, the domain of the *chef du penc* (a member of the *grand sëriñ*'s council) and his three deputies (*jambuur*). A *penc* is also that zone's central space. One example is Santhiaba plaza, the site of the *grand sëriñ*'s March 16, 2016, political speech (see above). This space consists of three elements: a mosque, a plaza, and a tree, the celebrated "*arbre à palabre*," under which people hold long meetings and settle disputes, often following a turn-by-turn style of discussion with dozens of speakers. For many Lebou, preserving the space of the *penc* means preserving an essential mediator to Lebou life. From this perspective, without the trees, the open spaces, and the mosques, Lebou forms of deliberation, openness, and submission to a higher power would cease to exist.

Nineteenth-century Ndakaaru consisted of eleven *penc*, each having a population of about 150-200 residents (Bigon 2009:100).

Shortly after the 1857 occupation, the colonial administration laid out plots according to their master-plan for Dakar, moving five *penc*—Ngaraff, Kaye, Thann, Thieurigne, and Hock—roughly one kilometer inland (Bigon 2009:189). By the turn of the twentieth century, Dakar was growing rapidly. The French had expanded the port, and completed the railway between Dakar and Saint-Louis. Then in 1902, the French made Dakar the Capital of French West Africa. With the city's population expanding nearly five percent every year from 1891 to 1909 (Seck 1970: 210), the urban landscape increasingly came to resemble long-existing French blueprints for building up and building out the city, many of which had been sketched decades before, and none of which acknowledged the Lebou terrains already in place (Bigon 2009: 107). Following a 1900 outbreak of yellow fever, the colonial administration pushed the few remaining Lebou settlements that had not been relocated in the early years occupation to the edges of the existing city. As Dakar filled up with migrant labourers, merchants, and administrators, these indigenous areas came under increasing pressure to adapt to European standards.

The piecemeal displacement of the indigenous population in the first half-century of French occupation gave way to large-scale efforts at segregation in the wake of an April 1914 bubonic

plague outbreak. Following a strong tendency towards segregation elsewhere in the colonised world, the French hygiene committee ruled that displacement of the native population "to a point far removed from the European City and the destruction of all shacks and huts not susceptible to disinfection" would be the only way to stem the spread of the disease (quoted in Betts 1971: 144). On November 17, 1914, 2,900 indigenous residents of the Plateau made the move to the new city planned by the French: Médina. The first four *penc* displaced at this time—Thieurigne, Santhiaba, Ngaraff, and Kaye—had already been moved once when the French first occupied the peninsula. And as with the previous moves, these *penc* remained intact, preserving their names as well as the collection of families that comprised each zone. Médina gradually took shape over the next decade with several more *penc*—Gouye Mariama, Gouye Salane, and Diecko—making the move from Plateau to Médina, this time voluntarily re-establishing themselves just outside of the existing neighbourhood boundaries since rural migrants had taken most of the remaining marked plots (Dieye 2013). While Médina grew, the rest of the city grew around it as well. By the time of the 1955 census, Dakar had more than 250,000 residents (Seck 1970).

Resettlements continued to take place as the city expanded. Médina was the site of slum-clearances (*déguerpissements*), which

moved residents from informal settlements to newly-constructed planned neighbourhoods on the city's outskirts, as well as eminent domain, which made way for public works projects like the Allées du Centenaire. After independence, Senegalese authorities tended to regard Médina as a blight, similar to how the French had regarded the native settlements. In both of his first two *plans de developpement*, President Senghor designated large parts of Médina to be transformed into newly constructed *Habitations à Loyer Modéré* (HLM; affordable housing units). But internally, Médina's residents, led by the Lebou, were fighting very hard to preserve the spaces that, to them, defined the city. Through petitions, protests, and other forms of advocacy, Médina's Lebou ensured that Senghor would not realise his project.

Today, roughly one-third of residences in the eight *penc* located in Médina are Lebou households (Mbaye 2012). The housing stock has diversified; some wooden barracks still stand alongside one or two story concrete residences arranged around a central courtyard, while other properties have grown upwards, with apartment buildings as tall as five or six stories now lining certain blocks. But the mosques, the trees, and the plazas (some major and some minor)—the elements that define the *penc*—remain integral to the urban landscape.

4. Music's Assembly of Indigenous Resources in Médina

In considering how music brings different mediators into relation with one another—including the powerful spatial mediators of the ocean and the *penc*, as well as other kinds of mediators such as notable people, spirits, and the divine—I turn to the work of Stephen Feld and Edward Casey. Feld's work highlights how evocations of place in musical contexts can shift perceptions of figure and ground in everyday life; in other words, how an environment that might be perceived as a backdrop to one's actions can be refigured as a central part of daily life. Feld's ethnography of the Kaluli in Papua New Guinea reveals several modes of place-evocation in song that shape local experiences of space. Some songs create imagined maps of the local environment through a "textual poesis of place-name paths" (1996, 114). Through the technique of "lift up over sounding" in ritual settings, singers recreate the sonic experience of the rainforest environment (1988). Bird songs, another feature of the local soundscape, are rendered meaningful as they become indexically associated with lost loved ones (1990). Whereas place is often taken for granted as we go through our daily routines, the practice of evoking place names and features in heightened musical registers can elevate otherwise mundane experiences of our surroundings, imbuing spaces with social values and biographical narratives.

Returning to the scene of the Layene *jang*—the white-clad religious singers, rocking in unison while miming complicated rowing sequences—we can begin to understand how powerful notions of Muslim spirituality are brought into relation with the power of the nearby ocean. The rowing sequences and accompanying songs (some of which mention the connection between Seydina Limamou Laye and the sea) provide a constant reminder that the city is surrounded by water on three sides. Songs and speeches invoke the notion of Cap-Vert as the extreme limit of western migration (a notion that grants the peninsula a special spiritual status). Furthermore, through their movements, the assembled crowd is brought into relation with notions of cooperative navigation of the water; and when Baay Ndjine asks the crowd to "make Dakar stir with the name of Allah," the city is shaken (at 3AM) with a force comparable to that of rowers navigating the oceans currents.

Many of the other public assemblies use the ocean as a mediator as well. At Soumbedioune Beach, following a mile-long procession from the Sing Sing house on Rue 22 on the first day of many *ndëp* (spirit possessions), drummers and mediums offer rhythms and libations to the spirit Ndëk Dawur Mbaye – the inhabitant of Île de Sarpan who led the Lebou to Cap-Vert, and who communicates with Adji Mbaye and enters her body at

different points throughout the three-day event. At the Paye reunion, the water is brought into relation with notions of family, present and past. In the praise song delivered by Adja Yakhara Dème, shifting frames of lyrical reference—named family members (whose achievements and characteristics can be listed) and unnamed ancestors (who were "masters of the sea")—are accompanied by shifting musical registers. Flowing from the first section, where the narratives of named-family members are delivered in a kind of recitative, the metered, drum accompanied, contoured, "masters of the sea" refrain creates an ascendant feeling of connection, linking all members of the family, as well as the assembled neighbours who have come to celebrate with them through a shared maritime heritage. These examples demonstrate how perception of the environment is foregrounded in various kinds of musical invocation. The Lebou connection to the ocean—the ever-present boundary of the city—is mediated through the performance of songs, processions, and gestures. These actions also bring the ocean into relation with diverse human and nonhuman forces – spirits, family notables, the divine.

The second process of place-making at musical assemblies in my account of Médina relates to Edward Casey's writings on place-memory (2000). Casey's phenomenology emphasises how people

appropriate the contours of a space into their own physical dispositions. From this perspective, when we repeatedly engage with a space, we *habituate* ourselves to the environment, learning how to properly navigate and use the space, familiarising ourselves with its salient physical attributes and meanings in the process. In Lebou assemblies, this work is done linguistically as well as through movement. Assemblies orient crowds to significant spaces in Médina linguistically when speech becomes laden with demonstrative pronouns (e.g., *this* mosque, *that* house *over there*, *this* tree). For example, at an event at Santhiaba Penc on June 2nd, 2016, the *chef du penc* El Hajj Youssou Diop drew attention to all of the family houses adjacent to the plaza: "The *ndey ji rew*'s house [the home of the 'interior secretary' within the collectivity] is on the right-hand side, on the left-hand side is Ndoyene [the Ndoye residence], next to that is Gueyene, and behind that Mbayene." Diop's linguistic map of the penc highlighted an urban environment where specific households have maintained their status and their spatial relation to the penc throughout multiple relocations and upheavals.

Gestural habituation to the space of the penc is achieved through dances like *ndawrabine*, that was performed by the Troupe Mame Ndiaré de Yoff at Santhiaba on the occasion of the *grand sëriñ*'s speech. Compared to the flashy, solo dance styles that are

usually associated with *sabar* drumming, *ndawrabine* is often performed as a choral dance, its movements carefully controlled and choreographed. The degree of restraint incorporated into the dance leaves an impression of the symbolic weight of the penc. Either by dancing or by observing the dancers, assembled crowds are given an idea of how to move in this space. Here, habituation—a matter of instructing and reinforcing the proper way of *inhabiting* a space—is achieved when people move through the space with musical repetition, instilling a *habitus* (see Boudieu, 1972) that aligns bodily comportment with the symbolic weight of the *penc*.

5. Conclusion

Music is a vehicle through which the Lebou population of Dakar positions itself, in various ways, towards the interpersonal, environmental, and spiritual forces of the peninsula. With nearly all events in Médina taking place within the public spaces of the neighbourhood, and in full view of the diverse collection of current residents, Lebou also aspire to provide a blueprint for how to live in the city. The capacity for Lebou to speak to a growing number of outsiders is often made synonymous with the characteristic openness of the *penc*, an openness often celebrated in speeches, like one from Mbeuteu Fall at Santhiaba Plaza on June 2nd, 2016:

Ku ci yeewoon tey mu ñew xol penc, dina xam ni ñoom jambar lañu waaye baayiwu fi ay yaafus…	If anyone came back today to see the *penc*, they would know that they didn't leave it in the hands of lazy people…
Penc boo dem nakk, yaatuwaay bu mel nii	Every *penc* should be a wide open space like this one
Mag yi ñoom ne nañu bu ñu fi def dara; na penc mi yaatu.	Our elders told us that whenever we do something here, the *penc* must remain open to everyone.

The history of Dakar and the Cap-Vert Peninsula is largely a Lebou history. While this history circulates in books, conversations, TV programmes, and is repeatedly evoked in public assemblies, it is also present in people's relation to the environment of the city and understandings of how to navigate its spaces. Lebou urban space starts with the *penc*, and from there, radiates into the surrounding streets. The streets bring together families that have been neighbours for multiple generations and through multiple relocations. The network of open spaces, streets, and households that constitutes the indigenous city facilitates acts of assembly; and acts of assembly, in turn, imbue these spaces with their significance. At Santhiaba Plaza, discourses celebrate the social values embedded the space itself: openness (the plaza), democracy (the *arbre a palabre*), and spirituality (the mosque). While attending speeches and performing dances and chants in the space, residents habituate themselves to these contours and internalise their values. At the

Layène *jang*, the rowing motions of male and female Sufi disciples establish a connection with the surrounding waters fished by Seydina Limamou Laye—the Mahdi—and they emphasise the unified social-spiritual journey of the Brotherhood. The *ndëp* ("Ndëp") orients people within a network of spiritual sites, and as they celebrate the spirits that led them to this "place of refuge," they also demand a massive social mobilisation to support the healing of an afflicted patient. Finally, Lebou public culture as a whole celebrates the indigenous history of the peninsula, showing Lebou and non-Lebou alike that African history has value, and that they can look inwards for models of dignified, democratic, and hospitable practice.

References

Barry, Boubacar. 1998. Senegambia and the Atlantic Slave Trade. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Betts, Raymond F. 1971. "The Establishment of the Medina in Dakar, Senegal, 1914." Africa. 41(2): 143-152.

Bigon, Liora. 2009. A History of Urban Planning in Two West African Colonial Capitals: Residential Segregation in British Lagos and French Dakar (1850-1930). Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press.

Bigon, Liora, and Thomas Hart. 2018. "Beneath the City's Grid: Vernacular and (Post-)Colonial Planning Interactions in Dakar, Senegal." Journal of Historical Geography 59: 52 67.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1972. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

Casey, Edward S. 2000. Remembering: A Phenomenological Study. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Coplan, David. 1985. In Twonship Tonight!: South AFrica's Black City Muisc and Theatre. New York: Longman.

Dieye, Seynabou. 2013. "Processus d'Édification d'un Quartier Indigène: la Médina de 1902 à 1919." Master's thesis, Université Cheikh Anta Diop.

Diop, Cheikh Anta. [1960]1987. Precolonial Black Africa: A Comparative Study of the Political and Social Systems of Europe and Black Africa, from Antiquity to the Formation of Modern States. Westport, CT: Lawrence Hill and Company.

Feld, Steven. 1988. "Aesthetics as Iconicity of Style, or "Lift-Up Over Sounding": Getting into the Kaluli Groove." Yearbook for Traditional Music 20: 74-113.

______1990. Sound and Sentiment: Birds, Weeping, Poetics, and Song in Kaluli Expression. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

______1996. "Waterfalls of Song: An Acoustemology of Place Resounding in Bosavi, Papua New Guinea." In Stephen Feld and Keith Basso, eds., Senses of Place, 91-135. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

Glover, John. 2013. "The Prophet Muhammad Reincarnated and His Son, Jesus: Re-Centering Islam Among the Layenne of Senegal." Journal of Historical Geography. 42: 24-35.

Latour, Bruno. 2005. Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory. New York: Oxford University Press.

Mbaye, Mame Aïssatou. 2012. "Role des Fonds Migratoires dans les Mutations Spatiales de la Médina Ouest de Dakar." Master's thesis, Université Cheikh Anta Diop.

Ndoye, Omar. 2010. Le N'doëp: Transe Thérapeutique Chez les Lebous du Sénégal. Paris: Harmattan.

Nketia, J H Kwabena. The Music of Africa. New York: Norton. Seck, Assane. 1970. Dakar, Métropole Ouest-Africaine. Dakar: IFAN.

Turino, Thomas. 2000. Nationalists, Cosmopolitans, and Popular Music in Zimbabwe. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Waterman, Christopher. 1990. Jújù: A Social History and Ethnography of an African Popular Music. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Shklovsky, V. 2004 [1925]. 'Art as Technique'. In *Literary Theory: An Anthology*, Second Edition, edited by J. Rivkin, and M. Ryan. Oxford: Blackwell.

Skarda, C. 1979. 'Alfred Schutz's Phenomenology of Music', *Journal of Musicological Research* 3(1-2): 75-132.

Werbner, P., M. Webb, and K. Spellman-Poots. 2014. 'Introduction'. *The Political Aesthetics of Global Protest: The Arab Spring and Beyond*, edited by P. Werbner, M. Webb, and K. Spellman-Poots. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Yang, K., and M. Guaralda. 2013. 'Sensuous Geography: The Role of Sensuous Experience and their Contemporary Implications in Public Squares, a Lefebvrian Approach', *Ricerche e Progetti per il Territorio, la Cittá e l'Architettura* 4(1): 174-186.

This page is left intentionally blank

Musicology Research
Issue 4: pp. 387-424

14

Listening for Tradition: Contributing to a Regional Musical Identity through Higher Education Research

Daithí Kearney

1. Introduction

Born in the south west of Ireland, my engagement with Irish traditional music was developed at an early age through my local community. My sense of place was reinforced by the narratives of that community, where I became involved with Siamsa Tíre, the National Folk Theatre of Ireland, whose focus is at a regional level (Foley, 2013; Kearney, 2013b, 2013c), and Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann,[1] an organisation for the promotion

[1] Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann (CCÉ) is the largest body involved in the promotion of Irish traditional music. It operates a network of local branches in Ireland and internationally and has a number of regional centres, one of which is located in Dundalk.

© 2018 Daithí Kearney

of Irish culture, most active in the field of music and which operates through a network of local branches (see Henry, 1989; Fleming, 2004; Kearney, 2013a). I moved to the southern city of Cork to attend university and became part of the music community there. When I finished my undergraduate studies in geography, I returned to music, seeking to understand the geographies of the music that I enjoyed learning and performing. My academic studies gave me new perspectives on my own culture, my music and the places where I live and work. Undertaking teaching roles as both a lecturer and instrument tutor further increased my engagement with concepts and the wider community of musical practice. In the paper I acknowledge music and space/place as co-constitutive and the process of identity formation for both the region and the academic institution is intertwined (see Leyshon, Matless and Revill, 1998).

The geographical importance of music lies in its role in reflecting and shaping geographical processes and, simultaneously, the role of geographical processes in shaping the music that is produced. As places seek to promote their own local identities and compete with other places for funding, tourism and jobs, music and a broader cultural self-awareness is integral to a positive representation of place. Noting the significance of music

with clear geographical implications, John Lovering states: 'Music is not just a hobby indulged at the end of the working day, an aspect of "entertainment consumption" or even a personal door to the sublime – although it can be all of these things. It is often also a profound influence on the way we see our world(s) and situate ourselves in relation to others' (1998: 32). By developing a focus on local and regional musical repertoires, narratives and traditions, academic modules and concerts organised by an academic institution can challenge and shape perceptions of Irish traditional music.

The field of ethnomusicology has evolved to focus on process over product, as 'interest shifted from pieces of music to processes of musical creation and performance – composition and improvisation – and the focus shifted from collection of repertory to examination of these processes' (Myers, 1993: 8). Education and transmission are also important processes in the development of music cultures. Academic institutions are an integral part of these processes but these processes also lead to products in the form of new collections, publications, audio recordings and performances or the reinforcement of musical canon through pedagogical practice. As musician and scholar Jack Talty notes, 'Since canonicity is frequently constructed (and occasionally challenged) through pedagogy, faculty should be

conscious of their influence' (2017: 104). Thus, this paper is largely self-reflective, focusing on one cultural region and an Irish academic institution that engages with the study and performance of Irish traditional music but I am cognisant of developing pedagogies and philosophies in higher education elsewhere in Ireland and internationally (see Hill, 2009a, 2009b; Talty, 2017). This paper is further informed by local newspaper coverage of musical events, classroom feedback and engagement with the local community, notably an ongoing study focused on the Oriel Traditional Orchestra, an ensemble-in-residence established at DkIT. These sources help balance the weight of my positionality within the institution.

2. Location

Co. Louth is located on the east coast of Ireland with the town of Dundalk located approximately halfway between the major cities of Dublin and Belfast. The 'Oriel region' comprises parts of Co. Louth and surrounding counties Meath, Monaghan, Armagh and Down and is based upon the ancient kingdom of Orialla or Airialla. The concept of Oriel as a musical region is presented in Pádraigín Ní Uallacháin's seminal study, *A Hidden Ulster* (2003), which places particular emphasis on the language and song traditions of the region. The location of the Irish border through this region from 1922 has implications for the imagination and

performance of cultural identity but a number of cultural projects have also benefitted from cross-border and peace funding since the 1990s in particular. DkIT is located approximately 10km from the border and has engaged in a number of cross-border and local cultural initiatives.

Programmes of study in the arts and humanities seek to educate students to think critically and challenge orthodoxies and it is important to look beyond a narrow canon of sources and examples, such as the narrative that locates Irish traditional music and exemplary performers in the tradition on the west coast of Ireland. Despite a rich local musical tradition, the Oriel region does not feature significantly in the narratives of Irish traditional music in the twentieth century and does not form part of a canon for the study of Irish traditional music. Its location on the east coast, impact of English conquest and the development of major urban centres contrasts greatly with the rural, seemingly untouched west of Ireland. Research and discourse demonstrates an emphasis in Irish traditional music studies on counties along the west coast of Ireland (O'Shea, 2008; Ó hAllmhuráin, 2016), influenced by the development of a 'myth of the west' and issues of music and identity in Northern Ireland (Vallely, 2008) and a romantic nationalist focus on western places but also recognisable in other studies relating to competitions and the activities of Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Eíreann (Kearney, 2013a). Flute

player and academic Niall Keegan asserts: "In traditional music today there are discourses and vocabularies that are privileged above others [...] Such terminologies are built around issues of regional style and past, privileged practice" (2012: 40). Critically responding to these narratives of tradition with references to music and musical figures beyond the canon is an important aspect of academic study.

The location of an academic institution in the Oriel region with a relatively recent engagement in the study of music (music established in 2003) adds further relevance to engaging with local musical traditions and challenging established canons. However, it is important not to seek to create new canons through the rejection of established knowledge. Furthermore, faculty and students bring their learning into and engage with the communities of musical practice outside of the institution. The relationship between these two communities is part of the development of regional musical practice and each can inform and influence the other.

3. Irish Traditional Music in Academic Spaces

Academic institutions have a role in changing and shaping local musical processes, through interaction with students who travel from and study at a distance from the institution's location, and through engagement with their local communities. These local

communities can and do become the subject of research. Within Irish traditional music, Talty has noted that 'in Ireland, for instance, young practitioner-researchers are engaging "ethnomusicology at home" at an unprecedented rate. Their research projects explore cultural and musical aspects of Irish traditional repertoire in great detail and in the process diversify students' understanding of it within and beyond academic institutions' (2017: 105). Moves towards applied ethnomusicology include facilitating workshops for and sharing research outputs with schools and community groups, leading to the reintroduction of forgotten repertoires and enhancement of local festivals (see Nettl, 2005; Pettan and Titon, 2015). In this paper I critically examine these processes from my own experience in Co. Louth and the surrounding Oriel cultural region.

The Irish traditional music community has conventionally existed outside of academia but through the twentieth century gained a greater presence at Irish institutions. This is not unproblematic. As Talty notes, 'traditional musics are communal, extra-institutional forms of expression associated with unique processes of transmission, enculturation, and social interaction' raising questions as to how these cultural processes are represented in higher education and 'what aspects of community music making do traditional music curricula hope to impart to

their students' (2017: 102). Talty challenges academics to consider their role not only in the transmission of knowledge but as factors in the evolution of a musical community. As members of the Irish traditional music community increasingly engage in academic studies and as academic institutions increasingly include the study of folk music traditions in their curricula, the role of the institutions in shaping the geography of Irish traditional music becomes more apparent. Nevertheless, an academic institution is only one factor in the development of music and regional identities and its role in a musical ecosystem should not be overplayed.

Academic institutions are spaces in which social relations are both constructed and analysed but as they draw upon international literature and research and teach students from a wide geographical area they facilitate the opening up of their regions intellectually, creatively and geographically. Academic institutions can assert a local identity and highlight their role within their region – 'Dundalk Institute of Technology (DkIT) has earned a reputation as the leading higher education provider in the North East of Ireland […] we have contributed to the transformation of our region' (www.dkit.ie) – while simultaneously promoting a strategy of internationalisation. The music of the Institute's community reflects this Janus-like vision but this does not necessitate a fixed musical sound or style.

The study of traditional music is a core component of both undergraduate and postgraduate programmes at DkIT and is an integral area of research in the Creative Arts Research Centre. Students engage with the cultural, social and historical study of traditional musics while also developing their performance skills. Central to the performance of traditional music at DkIT is the *Ceol Oirghialla* Traditional Music Ensemble. The Ensemble enriches the cultural life of the Institute and the region, performing at a number of events throughout the year. As well as concerts on campus that attract audiences including musicians from the wider community, staff and students also engage in teaching and session playing in the town of Dundalk and further afield. While the students can be drawn from a wide area, including international students, the concerts often draw on local themes and repertoire, helping to develop a sense of regional identity and make connections between the Institute community and the surrounding region. Academic activities provide validation and affirmation for local musical activities while the MacAnna Theatre and Fr McNally Recital Room at DkIT provide formal performance spaces that can be shared by various communities. Drawing attention to important musical figures in a region, sharing knowledge that may have been forgotten and organising successful musical events such as concerts or through teaching in the community, connects academic research with the

community. Challenging historical canons in the narratives and study of Irish traditional music affects how people view and hear their world and can reinforce, promote or develop a sense of regional identity amongst a community of musical practice beyond the academy.

Keegan (2012) highlights a focus on solo performers in the tradition but also acknowledges a growing relevance in ensemble performance. Academic institutions provide a space in which musicians come together and explore their practice in groups, often with credits assigned to ensemble playing. As tradition is a process, new sounds can evolve and develop that shape regional music identities but as institutions attract new students each year, the sounds produced by these musicians can constantly change. There is a desire to connect with, explore, understand and interpret the music of the past in a manner that is relevant and aesthetically pleasing in the present, while understanding the processes of interpretation and traditional aesthetics. There is an inherent challenge for both the academic community and the nearby music communities. Echoing Joshua Dickson of the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland, there is a desire for 'greater emphasis on creativity in all facets of coursework' (Talty, 2017: 110) but Keegan asserts that 'contemporary practices seen as 'new' in the context of the Irish tradition and that have an obviously syncretic source are rejected as being aesthetically invalid' (2012: 213).

However, Talty concludes, 'Fostering critical engagement and creativity in the curriculum helps prevent the perpetuation of unchallenged narratives about tradition and authenticity' (2017: 112). Thus it is important to critically engage with the processes through which contemporary artists construct and reconstruct regional identities in Irish traditional music that, in many instances, move beyond older stylistic approaches, spaces and contexts, and repertoire to engage in new forms of presentation with newly composed repertoire and in new spaces or through new media. Critical engagement in creativity can also foster a sense of regional relevance and identity.

Academic institutions have a role in changing and shaping local musical processes, through interaction with students who travel from and study at a distance from the institution's location, and through engagement with their local communities. These local communities can and do become the subject of research. Within Irish traditional music, Talty has noted that 'in Ireland, for instance, young practitioner-researchers are engaging "ethnomusicology at home" at an unprecedented rate. Their research projects explore cultural and musical aspects of Irish traditional repertoire in great detail and in the process diversify students' understanding of it within and beyond academic institutions' (2017: 105). Moves towards applied

ethnomusicology include facilitating workshops for and sharing research outputs with schools and community groups, leading to the reintroduction of forgotten repertoires and enhancement of local festivals (see Nettl, 2005; Pettan and Titon, 2015). In this paper I critically examine these processes from my own experience in Co. Louth and the surrounding Oriel cultural region.

The Irish traditional music community has conventionally existed outside of academia but through the twentieth century gained a greater presence at Irish institutions. This is not unproblematic. As Talty notes, 'traditional musics are communal, extra-institutional forms of expression associated with unique processes of transmission, enculturation, and social interaction' raising questions as to how these cultural processes are represented in higher education and 'what aspects of community music making do traditional music curricula hope to impart to their students' (2017: 102). Talty challenges academics to consider their role not only in the transmission of knowledge but as factors in the evolution of a musical community. As members of the Irish traditional music community increasingly engage in academic studies and as academic institutions increasingly include the study of folk music traditions in their curricula, the role of the institutions in shaping the geography of Irish

traditional music becomes more apparent. Nevertheless, an academic institution is only one factor in the development of music and regional identities and its role in a musical ecosystem should not be overplayed.

Academic institutions are spaces in which social relations are both constructed and analysed but as they draw upon international literature and research and teach students from a wide geographical area they facilitate the opening up of their regions intellectually, creatively and geographically. Academic institutions can assert a local identity and highlight their role within their region – 'Dundalk Institute of Technology (DkIT) has earned a reputation as the leading higher education provider in the North East of Ireland […] we have contributed to the transformation of our region' (www.dkit.ie) – while simultaneously promoting a strategy of internationalisation. The music of the Institute's community reflects this Janus-like vision but this does not necessitate a fixed musical sound or style.

The study of traditional music is a core component of both undergraduate and postgraduate programmes at DkIT and is an integral area of research in the Creative Arts Research Centre. Students engage with the cultural, social and historical study of traditional musics while also developing their performance skills. Central to the performance of traditional music at DkIT is the

Ceol Oirghialla Traditional Music Ensemble. The Ensemble enriches the cultural life of the Institute and the region, performing at a number of events throughout the year. As well as concerts on campus that attract audiences including musicians from the wider community, staff and students also engage in teaching and session playing in the town of Dundalk and further afield. While the students can be drawn from a wide area, including international students, the concerts often draw on local themes and repertoire, helping to develop a sense of regional identity and make connections between the Institute community and the surrounding region. Academic activities provide validation and affirmation for local musical activities while the MacAnna Theatre and Fr McNally Recital Room at DkIT provide formal performance spaces that can be shared by various communities. Drawing attention to important musical figures in a region, sharing knowledge that may have been forgotten and organising successful musical events such as concerts or through teaching in the community, connects academic research with the community. Challenging historical canons in the narratives and study of Irish traditional music affects how people view and hear their world and can reinforce, promote or develop a sense of regional identity amongst a community of musical practice beyond the academy.

Keegan (2012) highlights a focus on solo performers in the tradition but also acknowledges a growing relevance in ensemble performance. Academic institutions provide a space in which musicians come together and explore their practice in groups, often with credits assigned to ensemble playing. As tradition is a process, new sounds can evolve and develop that shape regional music identities but as institutions attract new students each year, the sounds produced by these musicians can constantly change. There is a desire to connect with, explore, understand and interpret the music of the past in a manner that is relevant and aesthetically pleasing in the present, while understanding the processes of interpretation and traditional aesthetics. There is an inherent challenge for both the academic community and the nearby music communities. Echoing Joshua Dickson of the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland, there is a desire for 'greater emphasis on creativity in all facets of coursework' (Talty, 2017: 110) but Keegan asserts that 'contemporary practices seen as 'new' in the context of the Irish tradition and that have an obviously syncretic source are rejected as being aesthetically invalid' (2012: 213). However, Talty concludes, 'Fostering critical engagement and creativity in the curriculum helps prevent the perpetuation of unchallenged narratives about tradition and authenticity' (2017: 112). Thus it is important to critically engage with the processes through which contemporary artists construct and reconstruct

regional identities in Irish traditional music that, in many instances, move beyond older stylistic approaches, spaces and contexts, and repertoire to engage in new forms of presentation with newly composed repertoire and in new spaces or through new media. Critical engagement in creativity can also foster a sense of regional relevance and identity.

4. Understanding Regions

Presenting at an early academic conference focused on the concept of regional styles in Irish traditional music, Co. Louth singer and collector Seán Corcoran stated:

> […] concepts of place and region have long had a powerful role in the history of Irish thought. These concepts have been largely ideological constructs with little correlation with cultural distribution patterns, and have been widely accepted in fields of folk-music and folklore studies, where they are linked with various related concepts, like "remoteness" and "authenticity"
>
> (1997: 25).

Despite the perceived acceptance of 'place' and 'region' in Irish traditional music, the discourse on regional styles is quite recent and in some instances attempts to force the identification of regions with particular aspects of musical style that can be overly romanticised or easily problematized. Seán Ó Riada is an important figure in this context, particularly through his radio series *Our Musical Heritage*, first broadcast in 1962, but his influence on the study and performance of Irish traditional music

extends far beyond that. Ó Riada (1982) focuses on a small number of regions that did not include the Oriel region, which began an examination and discussion of stylistic differences in Irish traditional music based on a regional model that was already being eroded by changes in technology and society during the 1960s. Nevertheless, the doomsayers who predicted the extinction of regional styles and the homogenisation of Irish traditional music (Ó Riada, 1982; Ó Bróithe, 1999) have been challenged by a desire amongst practitioners and listeners to engage with diversity in the tradition (Dowling, 1999), some of which remains connected at some level with a sense of place and motivated in part by a desire to commercialise regional identities in Irish traditional music within the tourism, recording and entertainment industries (Vallely, 1997, Kneafsey, 2003; Laffey, 2007). The contemporary relevance of regional identities in Irish traditional music today relates to both the continuing importance of local Irish traditional music activity and the influence of marketing and commercialism on regional styles and identities in Irish traditional music (O'Shea, 2008; Ó hAllmhuráin, 2016).

The initial focus of my own postgraduate studies focused on the concept of musical style but as my understanding developed, I became more interested in the importance of regional identities expressed in relation to music and the networks, infrastructure

and ecosystems that exist in which musical culture is shaped and supported and nurtured. As Gergory Dorchak writes in relation to Cape Breton fiddle traditions, 'to think of cultural practices only via stylistic terms can hamper the ability of a tradition to adapt to the inevitable changes that occur within a community' (2008: 153). Thus, this paper is not about musical style, although regional musical styles are a component of what I am discussing. More than this, I am referring to what Corcoran terms 'tribalism' (1997), cognisant of the problems presented by him in relation to the processes that shaped a regional understanding of Irish traditional music. The sound of music is not abandoned as we listen to the sounds that are produced but these are contextualised by a geographical narrative that considers the wider social and cultural contexts and relationship with local traditions.

As I have stated elsewhere, 'local contexts remain important for the transmission, performance and consumption of Irish traditional music' but 'local distinctiveness is challenged by changing social and economic conditions, technology and the distances that many musicians travel to take part in musical events' (Kearney, 2013a). Whereas early attempts to identify regions in Irish traditional music focused on aspects of musical style, Sally Sommers-Smith states that 'regional styles, and

indeed dance music in its entirety, are no longer geographically bound' (2001: 115). Yet it is not unusual to meet a musician who emphasises their connections to a place, read a review that interprets a recording in the context of a regional style, or supervise an academic project that seeks to highlight the musical heritage of a particular region. Thus a new understanding of regions is required. As geographer and musician Deborah Thompson notes in a study of Appalachian musical traditions:

> Like the rest of space, regions are now conceived as multiple, shifting, and contingent, with porous boundaries if they are "bounded" at all. The processual, historically contingent nature of a region and its entanglement with various networks of social relations makes it hard to characterize or describe, as it is constantly changing and evolving, with different parts changing at different rates and continually forming new webs of connection
>
> (2006: 67).

Irish traditional music has become a globally performed art form with many participants engaging with it who have no hereditary links with the country, provoking questions about the connections between music and place and concepts of authenticity (see also Keegan, 2011: 40). Place and tradition must be understood as processes and, to this end, Mats Meelin cites Spalding and Woodside's definition of tradition as a constant 'work in progress' (Spalding and Woodside, 1995: 249), remarking on the internal and external forces that shape a dance tradition and the 'paradoxical concept of continuity and change

in tradition and issues of selectivity, creativity and ongoing reconstruction within tradition' (Meelin, 2012: 132). Regional identities, though often based on the construction of historical raison d'être or foundation myth, are also a process that can be revised and reshaped and resounded. As Ó hAllmhuráin has noted, the music of regions has changed as it has moved into new spaces such as the pub and more recently become part of the tourism industry (2016: 228). The development of academic communities engaged in the research and performance of Irish traditional music involving selectivity, creativity and ongoing reconstruction have also created new spaces and soundscapes that are part of the evolution of regional identities in the tradition. While the community of musical practice may itself be divided, sometimes by oversimplified binaries of 'tradition' and 'innovation', the academic institution becomes a space for research, dialogue and experimentation (see Hill, 2009b). The institution can instigate change but is more likely to reflect changes, attitudes and practices in the wider traditional music communities. Reflective practice and increasing global interaction amongst academics brings new perspectives on and to the local.

Understanding changing contexts for the transmission, performance and commercialisation of Irish traditional music is

integral to the academic study of Irish traditional music. A central focus of this is the globalisation of Irish traditional music, which can be examined through historical phenomena (Motherway, 2013) but is particularly prominent in the 1990s. Even after the significant influence of *Riverdance* (1994) on the commercial market for Irish traditional music, Seán Laffey, editor of *Irish Music Magazine* stated: 'Riverdance was a phenomena that raised many boats on the tide of its popular commercial success, and yet running counter to its jazzy glamour has been a strong re-awakening of the local traditions, the rise of a new generation of solo and duet players re-interpreting the best of the past in a faithful and diligent fashion' (2007: 1). Laffey's statement suggests a 'revival' but, alongside a rediscovery of the past through music, there is also a process of constructing new local soundscapes within the commercial music industry. Connell and Gibson (2004) critique the association between music and place in the commercial music industry and examine the process of deterritorialization in music acknowledging that 'musicians are situated in multiple cultural and economic networks – some seeking to reinvent or revive traditions, others creating opportunities in musical production to stir national political consciousness or contribute to transnational political movements, and some merely seeking to achieve commercial success' (2004: 343). The attachment of a commercial value to

musics that are accompanied by a local or regional narrative is examined by Vallely (1997) and Keegan (2011) but these narratives do not necessitate a distinctive local sound or an adherence to older musical styles.

5. Academic Engagement – Constructing *Ceol Oirghialla*

Traditional music in Dundalk and the wider Oriel region was well-established prior to the development of music programmes at DkIT. A branch of CCÉ was first established in Dundalk in 1958 and the Dundalk-based Siamsa Céilí Band won the All-Ireland senior title three years in a row from 1967-1969. The music of the area was significantly influenced by outsiders including Sligo musician John Joe Gardiner (1892-1979), detracting from the emergence of a regional musical identity. Later artists including Gerry O'Connor (b.1958), who was a faculty member at DkIT for a time, evoked a regional identity in his recordings (Lá Lugh, 1995). This sense of regional identity was further enhanced through the publication of *A Hidden Ulster* (Ní Uallacháin, 2003). These local traditions inform the development of Irish traditional music at DkIT, which engages with local cultures alongside national and international ethnomusicologies.

Commenting on the institutionalisation of numerous oral folk and traditional musics into formal education programmes in Western-style conservatories and music academies, Juniper Hill notes: 'these programmes can have huge impacts not only on musical transmission methods, but also on aesthetics, repertoire, style, performance practices, creative opportunities, hierarchies, political manipulation, economic considerations, valuation, status, and public perception' (2009a: 207, 208). Focusing on the goals of the Sibelius Academy in Finland, she outlines aspects that are shared with DkIT: 'to resuscitate moribund traditions, to diversify the field of folk music, to increase the status and image of folk music, to produce highly skilled and knowledgeable folk musicians, and to turn folk musicians into artists and folk music into a respected art form' (2009b: 88-89). Through the inclusion of traditional music in the form of academic research and recognition, academic institutions inform, support and even advocate for traditional music in the region, engaging with local musicians, attracting musicians from outside, and facilitating rehearsals and performances.

Linking between regional and academic communities of musical practices is mutually beneficial and reciprocal. The Oriel Traditional Ensemble was established in 2017 and, as well as rehearsing in DkIT, includes members of faculty amongst its

directors and membership. The Institute is also a partner in Music Generation Louth, whose string orchestra, focusing on Western Art Music repertoire, rehearse at the Institute. Music Generation Louth have also recently partnered with CCÉ to establish a youth orchestra engaging with Irish traditional music. Researcher-practitioners at DkIT facilitated a variety of activities for Fleadh Cheoil na hÉireann[2] in 2018 that focused on the musical traditions of Louth and Oriel, and these follow a series of concerts since 2012 that present and highlight local music and musicians. Féile na Tána (est. 2015), organised by local musicians Zoe Conway and John McIntyre – who have also contributed to instrumental tuition at DkIT – has also promoted some regionally-focused musical projects. Thus, as in other music scenes, it is the emergence of several actors that underpins musical development, of which the academic institution is one and the incorporation of traditional music into academic programmes is only one aspect of the role of the institution.

Shortly after moving to Dundalk in 2011, I joined the local branch of CCÉ and began participating in local music sessions. I became more aware of the sense of tradition and, in some ways a lack thereof amongst a greater part of the community, particularly in

[2] Organised by Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann, Fleadh Cheoil na hÉireann, translated as the festival of the music of Ireland, is the largest annual festival of Irish traditional music in Ireland and has a focus on competitions.

terms of a regional identity.[3] And yet a sense of regional identity is explicitly present in the work of a variety of musicians and ensembles in the region, reinforced by promotional rhetoric and reviews. The music department with whom I took up a lecturing position was referred to as *Ceol Oirghialla*, the music of the Oriel region. Building upon the work of my colleagues and predecessors, I was presented with an opportunity to 'create a new music (sub)culture […] through a combination of ideas with education and institutional power' (Hill, 2009b: 86). Over the past seven years I have endeavoured to develop a focus in my teaching, particularly through the DkIT *Ceol Oirghialla* Traditional Music Ensemble, on the traditions of the region but placing these in a broader soundscape of Irish traditional music. Concerts have included *Bearna Uladh* (2017) which focused on the musical traditions around the Irish border. Other concerts, such as *Imirce an Cheoil* (2012) and *Ó Cladach go Cladach* (2015) reflected the region's links with musicians from Sligo and the influence of Irish-American musical traditions on the development of traditional music in Ireland. Performers in all of the concerts include many students encountering Irish traditional music from a background in other musical genres and their perceptions, creativity and interpretation shape the music of these concerts.

---

[3] My reflections as a 'blow-in' engaging in a local Irish traditional music scene are informed by the work of anthropologist Adam Kaul and his study of Irish traditional music in Doolin (2013).

Two aspects of academic engagement with Irish traditional music at DkIT that are considered herein are the development of historical research that informs current practice and can lead to a revival of aspects of a musical tradition (see Rosenberg, 2014) and the engagement in creative arts practice and teaching that impacts on changing musical aesthetics within the tradition. In addition to research undertaken by academics in the department, a number of undergraduate and postgraduate research dissertations have focused on local or regional issues, including creating critical editions from manuscript sources, developing biographical studies of local musical figures, and exploring performance practice and the musical styles of influential performers. Performing groups and teachers incorporate knowledge and skills from this research into their practice, including changing pedagogy and new or rediscovered repertoire, which may also be arranged for new and changing instrumentation or aesthetics. The development of larger scale ensembles or 'traditional orchestras' reflects a changing aesthetic and performance practice in the tradition (see also Keegan, 2012). The DkIT *Ceol Oirghialla* Traditional Music Ensemble draws inspiration from a variety of Irish traditional music groups, exploring possibilities of arrangement and inspiration with respect for both tradition and new tastes. The ensemble also draws upon research into the musical traditions of Louth and

Oriel by staff and postgraduates in the Institute. Concerts in recent years have celebrated famous local musical figures including fiddle players John Joe Gardiner (2012) and Josephine Keegan (2013), dancer Mona Roddy (2014) and piano accordion player Brian O'Kane (2017). These concerts have awakened an interest amongst audiences in local traditions and raised the appreciation for the individuals and musical traditions that are celebrated. The ensemble has provided a model for other initiatives including the recently established Oriel Traditional Orchestra. Some of the repertoire has been integrated into other teaching by local music teachers and by local branches of CCÉ. Students had the opportunity to meet, speak and perform with Josephine Keegan and Brian O'Kane, the central musical figures in *Ómós* (2013) and *Marching in Tradition* (2017). For *Marching in Tradition*, the music of O'Kane was transcribed from both manuscript and audio sources as part of a research project. For all concerts there is an effort to include learning from both aural and written sources within the classroom but students are encouraged to engage with other learning opportunities beyond the Institute. Students are also involved in the development of arrangements and the final selection of repertoire. Some students, who teach in the community and for local branches of CCÉ, have incorporated this repertoire into their own teaching.

While the *Ceol Oirghialla* ensemble contributes significantly to the cultural life of the region surrounding Dundalk through performances at home, the Department of Creative Arts, Media and Music also endeavours to provide international opportunities and experiences for students. International opportunities in recent years include Erasmus Intensive Programmes and Strategic Partnerships. The DkIT *Ceol Oirghialla* Traditional Music Ensemble has been invited to perform internationally including performances at the International Society for Music Education Conferences in Brazil (2014) and Scotland (2016), the Rauland Winter Music Festival (2017) and at events in North America (2014) and Scotland (2018). The principal aim of these tours was to provide participants with the opportunity to gain international experiences and extend their learning. Other objectives included the desire to enhance awareness of the study of Irish culture at Dundalk internationally and raise the profile of the Institute and the surrounding region. Repertoire for all international performances has focused on the musical heritage of the Oriel region, disseminating an awareness of the region and its musical traditions. Despite a regional focus, there is not an effort to fix a canon or develop pedagogical approaches that ignore a wider tradition or abandon established narratives altogether. As Talty notes, 'formalized and structured music curricula inevitably

prioritize certain components of a musical culture over others. The extent to which they accommodate diverse perspectives on a given music determines the extent to which music education eschews the construction of inflexible music canons' (2017: 103). It is important that while learning outcomes are identified, the content remains flexible and the creative outputs remain shaped by each new group of students that enter into the academic community.

Some of the research undertaken at DkIT has also included a focus on regional traditions. Many turn to the seminal study *A Hidden Ulster* (Ní Uallacháin, 2003) which primarily considers the song and poetry heritage of the Oriel region. The organisation Ceol Camloch produced a book, accompanying CDs and a DVD entitled *The Sweets of May* based primarily on research conducted by Mullaghbawn-based fiddle player and composer Josephine Keegan and assisted by Camlough uilleann piper Tommy Fegan, who also completed an MA on Irish traditional music at DkIT (2015). Dissertations by O'Connor (2008), McElwain (2014), Moley (2016) and Crawford (forthcoming) continue to engage with the musical traditions of Oriel and surrounding areas. O'Connor completed an MA at DkIT on the music of collector Luke Donnellan, while Monaghan musician Seán McElwain completed his PhD on the nearby region of Sliabh Beagh (2014),

which also had a significant focus on manuscript collections. Ciara Moley's MA dissertation focused on Irish traditional music festivals that leaned on and contributed to the construction of an Oriel musical identity while Sylvia Crawford is focusing on the harper Patrick Quin from South Armagh, who was present at the Belfast Harp Festival of 1792 but has not received the same level of attention as some of his contemporaries. Research by Ní Uallacháin, O'Connor and McElwain informs a number of their creative outputs and commercial musical releases including *A Hidden Ulster – The Gaelic Songs of Ulster Volume 1* (2007), *Ceoltaí Oiriala* (2017), *Journeyman* (2009) and *Our Dear Dark Mountain with the Sky Over It* (2014), while Crawford's research has informed musical recordings for Ní Uallacháin's website www.orielarts.com (2017). The album *A Louth Lilt* (2017), comprised of new compositions by performers and DkIT academics Adèle Commins and Daithí Kearney, was recorded at DkIT and reflects influences from both the local area and their travels internationally as musicians.

Community engagement is another important aspect of the Institute's strategy and faculty and students in music have been prominent. These activities can also impact on regional geographies of Irish traditional music. Some local performers have participated in performances at the Institute with the

students, including students of Mona Roddy and the Walsh School of Music. While the local community are the audience for concerts in DkIT, staff and students also participate in music activities outside of their academic studies, teaching, directing ensembles and organising events. A number of staff and students were also involved as performers and organisers in Fleadh Cheoil na hÉireann, which was held in the neighbouring town of Drogheda in 2018. This event will further add to the recognition for the musical heritage of the region. As Stokes argues: 'The musical event […] evokes and organizes collective memories and present experiences of place with an intensity, power and simplicity unmatched by any other social activity' (1994: 3). Other projects in the Department have engaged further with local groups, leading, in some instances, to performances of collaboratively written songs and these, along with activities in other institutions (see Dillane et al 2017), provide models for further developments.

All of this activity reflects a move towards ethnomusicology at home and, with it, brings a number of challenges. Writing in the second edition of the seminal ethnomusicological book on fieldwork *Shadows in the Field* (2008), Bruno Nettl contends:

> We came to realize that we should do field research in our own communities, something that was both easier (it's our turf) and harder (be "objective" about one's own family and friends?) than working abroad. We began to question the role we were playing in the "field"

> communities, whether we were doing harm or good, and about our relationship to ethnomusicologists from those host communities. We worried that our very presence would result in significant culture change (and sometimes it did) (2008: vi).

Similarly acknowledging the potential impact of academia on communities of practices, Scottish geographer and flute player Frances Morton thus argued:

> There is currently concern within Geography, surrounding the intrusion of academic research performances on lay social practices and performances. There is a worry that the lay practices may change due to the influence of academic research. However, recognising that research is a performance in its own right, allows better critique of how we undertake our research, accumulate and understand our geographic knowledge, and relate to our research participants (2001: 67).

As is outlined in this paper, it is clear that there is a close connection between academic research and practice in Irish traditional music, with many academics identifying themselves and being identified as practitioners.

6. Conclusions

Performances and discourses of Irish traditional music often express or make reference to regional identities. A trend towards regionalisation and regionality in the tradition is influenced by local politics, commercial endeavour and academic study. In many instances there is an emphasis on story over musical style through the processes of naming tunes and presenting narratives that associate repertoire with people and places rather than

performing in a particular musical style or creating an identifiable regional sound. Audiences can relate to and interpret the musical performance based on their own prior experiences, knowledge of music and culture and ability to relate to extra-musical geographical narratives. The authenticity of performances may be judged differently by local and global audiences and understanding differences in the understanding and interpretation of authenticity in performance practice is central to identifying regional differences in aesthetics and musical identities.

Regionalisation can challenge the established canon and narratives of the tradition, drawing attention to neglected places and highlighting alternative soundscapes and approaches. The academic institution is a space in which regional identities are constructed, deconstructed and performed through research, learning and teaching. Through a variety of research practices including archival research, performance practice and applied ethnomusicology, Dundalk Institute of Technology plays a role in the (re)construction and dissemination of a local regional identity for the Oriel region. Reflecting and contributing to the activities of a wider community of musical practice in the region, faculty and students are active agents in the processes of musical

evolution and the expression of a regional identity locally and globally.

References

Ceol Camloch. 2009. *"The Sweets of May": The Céilí Band Era, Music and Dance of South Armagh*. Newry: Ceol Camloch.

Corcoran, S. 1997. 'Concepts of Regionalism in Irish Traditional Music' in *Selected Proceedings from Blas: The Local Accent in Irish Traditional Music*, edited by M. Ó Suilleabháin and T. Smith. Limerick: Irish World Music Centre, University of Limerick / Dublin: Folk Music Society of Ireland: 25-30.

Connell, J. and C. Gibson, 2004. 'World Music: Deterritorializing Place and Identity' in *Progress in Human Geography* 28(3): 342-361.

Dillane, A., M. Power, and E. Devereux, 2017. 'Locating Culture, Making Soundscapes, and Activating Critical Social Relations: A Case Study from Limerick Soundscapes' in *Portuguese Journal of Social Science*. 16(3): 343-358.

Dorchak, G. 2008. 'The Formation of Authenticity Within Folk Tradition: A Case Study of Cape Breton Fiddling' in *Driving the Bow: Fiddle and Dance Studies from Around the North Atlantic 2*, edited by I. Russell and M.A. Alburger. Aberdeen: The Elphinstone Institute: 153-165.

_______. 2010. 'The Exported Cape Breton Fiddler: A Hermeneutic Study of the Meaning of Cape Breton Fiddle Music Outside of Cape Breton' in *Crossing Over: Fiddle and Dance Studies from Around the North Atlantic 3,* edited by I. Russell and A. Kearney Guigné. Aberdeen: The Elphinstone Institute: 250-259.

Dowling, M. 1999. 'Communities, Place, and the Traditions of Irish Dance Music' in *Crosbhealach an Cheoil – The Crossroads Conference 1996*, edited by F. Vallely, H. Hamilton, E. Vallely, L. Doherty. Dublin: Whinstone Music.

Fegan, T. 2015. *Irish Travellers and Irish traditional music*. Unpublished MA Diss., Dundalk Institute of Technology.

Fleming, R. C. 2004. 'Resisting Cultural Standardization: Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann and the Revitalization of Traditional Music in Ireland' in *Journal of Folklore Research* 41(2): 227-257.

Foley, C. 2013. *Step Dancing in Ireland: Culture and History*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Henry, E. O. 1989. 'Institutions for the Promotion of Indigenous Music: The Case for Ireland's Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann' in *Ethnomusicology* 33(1): 67-95.

Hill, J. 2009a. 'The Influence of Conservatory Folk Music Programmes: The Sibelius Academy in Comparative Context' in *Ethnomusicology Forum* 18(2): 207–241.

_______. 2009b. 'Rebellious Pedagogy, Ideological Transformation, and Creative Freedom in Finnish Contemporary Folk Music' in *Ethnomusicology* 53(1): 86 114.

Kaul, A. 2013. *Turning the Tune: Traditional Music, Tourism, and Social Change in an Irish Village* (Vol. 3). New York: Berghahn Books.

Kearney, D. 2013a. 'Regions, Regionality and Regionalization in Irish Traditional Music: The Role of Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann' in *Ethnomusicology Ireland* 2/3: 72-94.

________. 2013b. 'The Evolution of Irish Folk Theatre' in *Sharing Cultures – Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on Intangible Heritage*. Lisbon: Green Lines Institute: 117-128.

________, D. 2013b. 'Siamsa Tíre: The National Folk Theatre of Ireland' in *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*. Dublin: UCD Press: 933-934.

Keegan, N. 2011. 'The Linguistic Turn at the Turn of the Tune: The Language of Contemporary Ensemble in Irish Traditional Music' in *Ethnomusicology Ireland*: 37-48.

________. 2007. 'CD Reviews: Nuala Kennedy *The New Shoes* Compass Records 744522'. *Journal of Music*, 1 September.

[available online: <http://journalofmusic.com/criticism/cd-reviews-nuala-kennedy>] Last Accessed 14 January 2018.

Kneafsey, M. 2003. '"If It Wasn't for the Tourists We Wouldn't Have an Audience": The Case of Tourism and Traditional Music in North Mayo" in M. Cronin and B. O'Connor, *Irish tourism: image, culture and identity*. Cork: Cork University Press.

Laffey, S. 2007 'Feeling the Pulse' in *Irish Music Magazine*. 14(2): 1.

Leyshon, A., D. Matless, & G. Revill, (Eds.). (1998). *The Place of Music*. New York: Guilford Press.

Lovering, J. 1998, 'The Global Music Industry: Contradictions in the Commodification of the Sublime' in A. Leyshon *et al*., *The Place of Music* New York: Guilford Press.

Male, A. 2017. 'It's just me, on the phone in my son's bedroom.' The church hall that became contemporary music's hottest venue'. *The Guardian.* 16 June. [available online < https://www.theguardian.com/music/2017/jun/16/a-love-of-louth-why-remote-ireland-is-ringing-the-changes-in-new-music>] Last Accessed 14 January 2018.

Melin, M. 2012. 'Local, Global, and Diasporic Interaction in the Cape Breton Dance Tradition' in *Routes and Roots: Fiddle and Dance Studies from Around the North Atlantic 4*, edited by I. Russell and C. Goertzen. Aberdeen: The Elphinstone Institute: 132-144.

McElwain, S. 2014. *Opening up the Canon of Irish Traditional Music: The Music of the Sliabh Beagh Region of North Monaghan/East Fermanagh*. Unpublished PhD Diss., Dundalk: Dundalk Institute of Technology.

Moley, C. 2016. *Exploring Festival, Place and Community in Irish Traditional Music*. Unpublished MA Diss., Dundalk: Dundalk Institute of Technology.

Morton, F. 2001, *Performing the Session: Enacted Spaces of Irish Traditional Music*. Unpublished MA Dissertation: University of Strathclyde.

Motherway, S. *The Globalization of Irish Traditional Song Performance*. Ashgate Publishing Group, 2013.

Myers, H. 1993. *Ethnomusicology: Historical and Regional Studies.* London: Macmillan.

Nettl, B. 2005. *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-one Issues and Concepts*. University of Illinois Press.

_______. 2008. 'Preface' in *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology, Second Edition*, edited by G. Barz and T. Cooley. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ní Uallacháin, P. 2003, *A Hidden Ulster: People, Songs and Traditions of Oriel.* Four Courts Press, Dublin.

Ó Bróithe, É., 1999, 'Fiddle, Tyrone' in *The Companion to Irish Traditional Music*, edited by F. Vallely, Cork: Cork University Press: 128, 129.

O' Connor, G. 2008. *Luke Donnellan's Dance Music of Oriel: Volume 1 & 2*. Unpublished MA Diss., Dundalk: Dundalk Institute of Technology.

Ó hAllmhuráin. G. 2016. *Flowing Tides: History & Memory in an Irish Soundscape.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Ó Riada, S. 1982. *Our Musical Heritage.* Fundúireacht an Riadaigh i gcomhar le The Dolmen Press, Mountrath, Portlaoise, Ireland. (This book was compiled from the programme series, *Our Musical Heritage*, presented by Seán Ó Riada on Radio Éireann, 7th July to 13th October, 1962).

O'Shea, H. 2008. *The Making of Irish Traditional Music.* Cork: Cork University Press.

Pettan, S., and J. T. Titon, (Eds.). 2015. *The Oxford Handbook of Applied Ethnomusicology*. Oxford: Oxford Handbooks.

Rosenberg, N. 2014. 'A Folklorist's Exploration of the Revival Metaphor' in *The Oxford Handbook of Music Revival*, edited by C. Bithell and J. Hill. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 94-115.

Rycroft, S. 1998. 'Global Undergrounds: The Cultural Politics of Sound and Light in Los Angeles 1965-1975' in A. Leyshon *et al*., *The Place of Music.* New York: Guilford Press.

Spalding S. and J. Woodside, 1995. *Communities in Motion: Dance, Community and Tradition in America's Southeast and Beyond*. Westport: Greenwood Press.

Stokes, M. 1994. *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place*. Berg: Oxford, UK.

Talty, J. 2017. 'Noncanonical Pedagogies for Noncanonical Musics: Observations on Selected Programs in Folk, Traditional, World, and Popular Musics' in *College Music Curricula for a New Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Thompson, D. 2006, 'Searching for Silenced Voices in Appalachian music' in *GeoJournal* 65: 67-78.

Vallely, F. 2008. *Tuned Out: Traditional Music and Identity in Northern Ireland*. Cork: Cork University Press.

Discography

Commins, A. and D. Kearney, 2016. *A Louth Lilt*. Own Label ACDK001.

Kern, 2016. *False Deceiver*. Kern Music AGACD01-16.

Lá Lugh, 1995, *Brigid's Kiss*. Lughnasa Music LUGCD961

McElwain, S. 2014. *Our Dear Dark Mountain with the Sky Over It.* Dark Mountain Records DMR01.

Ní Uallacháin, P. 2007. *A Hidden Ulster – The Gaelic Songs of Ulster Volume 1*. Ceoltaí Eireann CE5056

Ní Uallacháin, P. 2017. *Ceoltaí Oiriala.* Ceoltaí Eireann CE6717.

O'Connor, G. 2004. *Journeyman.* Lughnasa Music LUGCD 962.

Other Media

Dundalk Institute of Technology. https://www.dkit.ie/home-page/study-dkit/about-dkit Last Accessed 29 January 2018.

Oriel Arts. www.orielarts.com. Last Accessed 19 January 2018.

Musicology Research
Issue 4: pp. 425-452

15

The Social and Spatial Basis of Musical Joy: *Folk Orc* and the Music Centre as Special Refuge and Everyday Ritual

Thomas Graves

1. Introduction

Much has been written about emotional responses to music, however the merits of group music making in inducing joy in daily life has been little explored other than in examinations of religious ecstasy like those of Becker (2004), Rouget (1985), and Durkheim's "effervescence" (1965: 247). The word "joy" is here used to separate the short-lived nature of emotion, as 'brief but intense affective reaction' (Juslin & Sloboda, 2010: 10), from the longer-term affective state of happiness. This conceptualisation of happiness is drawn from Aristotle's "eudaimonia", which

© 2018 Thomas Graves

denotes a more permanent state of wellbeing, as ''Well-being' and 'blessedness' are good translations of Aristotle's *eudaimonia*' (Newby, 2011: 104). Aristotle extends happiness beyond emotion to encompass material demands, asking:

> Why, then, should we not call him happy whose acts have been those of consistent and perfect virtue, and whose equipment of external goods has been sufficient, and that not for any chance period, | but for a lifetime of fair length?
>
> (Aristotle, 1869: 27)

Happiness, then, is not an emotion, although often named as one of five universal "basic emotions" posited by evolutionary psychologists as '*happiness, anger, sadness, fear and disgust*' (Sloboda & Juslin, 2010: 77). For the purposes of this essay, "joy" is substituted for "happiness" when discussing the basic emotion. Therefore, the emotion of joy that can present itself as the result of a particular group of people, making particular musical sounds, in a particular place together can be conceptualised as one of many factors contributing to a prolonged state of happiness, or "eudaimonia." Many recent studies of wellbeing have taken econometric approaches, suggesting that 'subjective well-being = $h(w(y,z,t)) + e$' (Ballas & Tranmer, 2012: 71), where h is self-reported subjective happiness, w is "true" wellbeing, y is income, z is demographics, t is time-

period, and e is an error-term (Ibid.). In this framework, joy, as above described, belongs to the h category.

It has been suggested that geography plays a vital role in happiness; 'the distribution of socioeconomic variables . . . and happiness at different levels may be subject to the influences of grouping' (Ballas & Tranmer, 2012: 71), and while this may be true of happiness (as "eudaimonia" or wellbeing), exact location may not be integral in the immediate experience of *joy* as induced by music and social context, as reported by my informants: 'Swanage has exactly the same feel to it as here' (Michelle, Interview, 6 April 2017).

This essay will examine induction of joy in the Folk Orchestra *Folk Orc* in their rehearsals at CODA music centre in New Milton, Dorset. *Folk Orc* is a group of non-professional musicians led by a professional musician. It started in November 2009 and the only criterion for membership is the £6 fee for each session. Sessions are weekly at CODA, and also weekly in Swanage, with a slightly different membership for each. Each week at CODA typically has between ten and twenty participants comprised of a core membership of five to ten musicians and others who attend with varying degrees of frequency. They mostly play guitar, tenor guitar, mandolin, or fiddle, but also often with bodhrun,

bass guitar, or flute. Songs are sung in unison or improvised harmony by the musicians. The group plays publicly at seasonal local festivals and community gatherings, but these are usually not more than six or seven a year.

This essay will discuss how *Folk Orc* fits into everyday lives in either a continuous link or a space cognitively separated from the everyday. As such, enjoyment is examined not as 'embodied meaning' generated only by musical content, as suggested by Meyer (Hesmondhalgh, 2008: 92), but as closer to the somatic emphasis of Keil's 'engendered feeling' (Ibid.), contingent on social relations and the inclusive intention of the event, suggesting an aesthetic close to Turino's participatory music (2008: 26). Beyond joy, other positive outcomes of *Folk Orc* for longer-term wellbeing are manifested in formation and maintenance of friendships, and utilisation of social context in musical "enskilment", where one is 'caught in an ever-flowing stream of practical acts' (Pálsson, 1993: 34). Such positive effects of this form of musical practice exist within a web of value judgments and expectations relating to musical taste, perceptions of musicality, and the "amateur"/"professional" distinction (Finnegan, 2007: 15).

2. Methodology and Reflection

My interest in this group of musicians stems from nine months in 2015 and 2016 during which I regularly attended rehearsals, not for research purposes, but as part of everyday life, as I worked in an office to fund my masters degree. Therefore, this research takes a 'fieldwork at home' (Stock & Cheiner, 2008: 108) approach, conceptualised as 'a homecoming that brought with it familial and social obligations quite distinct from those confronting a visiting researcher' (Ibid.: 109). As such, parts of this research may be framed in Conquergood's terms as 'ethnography of the ears and heart that reimagines participant-observation as coperformative witnessing' (2002: 149); as shared experience, although experiences of *Folk Orc* members are somewhat heterogeneous. This heterogeneity is reflected in the varied lengths of interviews, lengths of answers, and which questions drew focus in interviews. The focus on lived experience also reflects the phenomenological turn in ethnomusicology, in which perception, as directed 'intentionality of consciousness' (Berger, 2008: 69), is 'the key place, where meaning in music is made' (Ibid.), a concept relevant to induction of joy in musical practice.

This "field" is particularly close to "home", as the music centre at which the rehearsals take place is a ten-minute drive from the

house I grew up in, and is where my sister had piano lessons. One informant was my schoolteacher at age seven, and I share music tastes with many attendees, as well as having played folk music since the age of sixteen. In this sense, I am an 'insider' and may take the corresponding 'emic' viewpoint (Stock & Cheiner, 2008: 113). However, unlike Stock, I do not fit 'its 40-plus age profile' (Ibid.: 111), and it must be emphasised that '"home" is as constructed as the "field." It may be multiple, as we add new "homes" to older ones as our lives progress' (Ibid.: 113). My postgraduate studies in ethnomusicology have thus separated me from longer-term inclusion in *Folk Orc*.

During my own membership of *Folk Orc,* it gave me a release from my day-to-day stress, and the joy I felt in playing simple music with a group reignited my passion for playing the guitar. Other members expressed similar sentiments, and it is for this reason that I became curious about what, in the opinions of its members, was the cause of the joyful nature, and long-term effects of membership of this ensemble.

As well as reflection on my subjective experience of *Folk Orc*, this research involved face-to-face semi-structured interviews with five *Folk Orc* musicians between the ages of forty-five and sixty-five playing a variety of instruments and from a variety of

occupations, and an e-mail exchange with its bandleader. Interviewees were selected based on conversations during two rehearsals on 31 March and 6 April 2017. Therefore there may be bias towards people I personally know or who are more confident to speak about their musical practices. Interviews varied in length, depending on how much informants had to say, and whether answers to questions from the question list (Appendix 1) led to further questions, with the shortest interview (Michelle's) lasting twenty minutes, and the longest (Roy's) lasting one hour and three minutes. Interviews were recorded and uploaded to my laptop. Selection of quotes to include was based on their relevance to the themes of joy, wellbeing, space, place, and socialisation. These quotes were transcribed.

3. Everyday or Special? Folk as Accessible Music of Place

While some informants expressed that the mood of *Folk Orc* was the same at CODA as Swanage (its other version which occupies a pub), other aspects of place are vital in the existence and constitution of *Folk Orc,* the induction of joy, and its contribution to wellbeing. One noted that he 'got into *Folk Orc* because of CODA being there' (David, Interview, 10 April 2017), recounting how after taking his daughter for guitar lessons there, he took guitar lessons, and his guitar teacher encouraged him to join. Thus, while exact location may not immediately affect induction

of musical joy, it may be instrumental in creating *social conditions* that allow the event in which musical joy is induced. Furthermore, lack of reported differences may be due to similarity in conceptualisation of each rehearsal space, as both Swanage and CODA are examples of 'transforming the everyday into the special' (Sloboda, 2010: 497), as each are 'public places characterized by the freedom to move through them at will' (Ibid.), transformed by the presence of instruments, the ritualistic temporal structure of the event, and seating configuration.

A determinant of whether a musical emotion is everyday or "special", other than attention paid to music, is choice, as 'lack of choice tends to generate negative emotions as a response to a thwarting of goals or values' (Ibid.: 498), referring to the goal-directedness of basic emotions (Sloboda & Juslin, 2010: 77). While repertoire is decided by the bandleader, participants attend *Folk Orc* by choice, and are often given collective choice of the final song, which may lead to the most positive responses occurring at the end of the session, and thus influencing more positive longer term appraisal[1], as events conceptualised as a series exhibit recency, that is, the effect of more recent events being remembered better than those in the middle of the series:

[1] In the ITPRA theory of musical emotion as triggered by expectations, appraisal is the final post-outcome response, 'feeling states are evoked that represent a less hasty appraisal of the outcome' (Huron, 2006: 17).

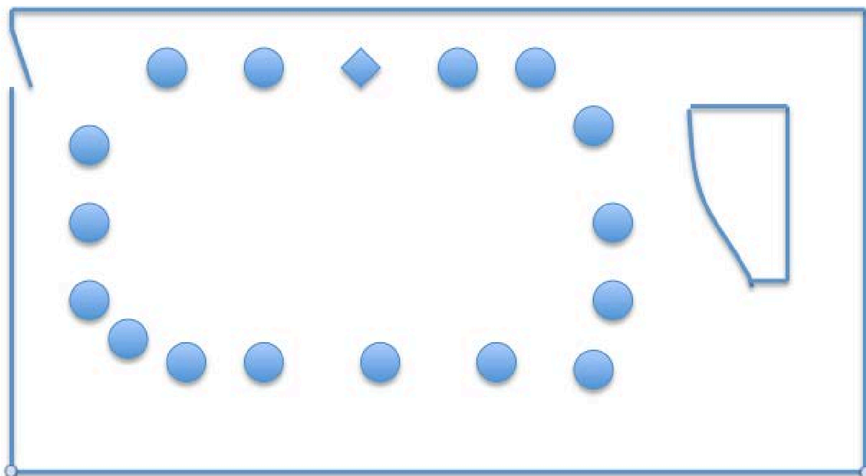
> long-term recall of a series of inputs to memory will exhibit an effect of recency only if those inputs, from the standpoint of the subject at the time of recall, constitute a well-ordered series.
>
> (Bjork & Whitten, 1974: 188)

Moreover, positive emotions are more likely to be remembered, as 'positive life events are remembered slightly better than negative life events' (Levine & Bluck, 2004: 559). This ongoing appraisal process, if it remains positive, may contribute to improvement of wellbeing, as 'appraisal emotions have the potential to last for years' (Huron, 2006: 16).

The role of seating position in joy and wellbeing is related to communication. As *Folk Orc* participants sit in a circle facing each other (fig. 1), they are able to see and communicate with all present in the room. This ease of communication facilitated by seating position likely improves circulation of emotion in 'affective economies where feelings do not reside in subjects or objects, but are produced as effects of circulation' (Ahmed, 2004: 8). Furthermore the circular arrangement may carry representational Peircean semiotic meanings for its constituents, for example as dicent, iconic legisign (Turino, 2014: 213-216) of equality (dicent as perceptions of circularity as equality are affected by actual equality experienced in the situation of the circular arrangement; iconic of a perfect circle which, as it has no

angles, accords no greater importance to any point on its circumference; legisign as circular arrangement is a general type exemplified by specific arrangements [sinsigns] at specific rehearsals). This sign of equality may contribute to wellbeing, as 'there is an intimate connection between 'well-being' at the personal level and the furtherance of communal well-being' (Newby, 2011: 154). While this analysis is my experiential interpretation, iconic links to shared mythologies like King Arthur's round table make it likely that other musicians would make similar associations.

Figure 1. Seating positions of musicians at a rehearsal of Folk Orc at CODA music centre. Circle = musician, diamond = bandleader.



These equal seating positions contrast the hierarchical arrangement of traditional western classical orchestras, whose placement reflects both hierarchies of sections, and of individual

musicians within sections (Small, 1999: 68). In *Folk Orc*, however, musicians sit where they please, regardless of instrument played, or perceived proficiency (although in practice, musicians sit in certain places for proximity to friends or by habit). This egalitarianism extends to complexity of parts, as musicians are free to make parts as simple or complex as they wish, due to 'acceptance that there were people there at all levels and you played at your level' (David, Interview, 10 April 2017).

While Michelle recognised no difference between the two venues, another informant, Roy, discussed Swanage as a location rooted in social history:

> The pub where it's organised is probably four or five hundred years old, so the history of the building in itself has an influence and is obviously different to the buildings here which are twentieth century and obviously for a folk musician to be playing songs that are maybe three hundred years old in a building that is five hundred years old is very rooting and is very very poignant and you really do feel an intense historical connection that you are continuing a thread that somebody else maybe started three or four hundred years ago . . . you are part of that history.
>
> (Interview, 6 April 2017)

Connection with history was important to other informants too, with David noting 'a satisfying historical element' (Interview, 10 April 2017) to songs, suggesting that connection to wider history through lyrics plays a role in musical joy. However, this does not necessarily mean that the overall joyful effect is improved by

lyrics, as Ali and Peynircioğlu's study found 'lyrics detracted from the emotions elicited by happy or calm emotions' (2006: 528-529). The satisfaction felt by David and Roy at historical aspects of both music and place, framed in the social terms above, as well as the natural, as 'Swanage is kind of on a promontory really and like a lot of places in that geographical location it's a bit of an enclave' (Roy, Interview, 6 April 2017), illustrate that 'social and natural history combine in often unpredictable ways to engender emotional attachments' (Smith, 2007: 221).

The accessibility of folk music was cited as an important reason for *Folk Orc* attendance, with its *raison d'être* being 'to make it accessible to as wide a range of abilities as possible' (Chris H, email communication, 8 April 2017). Likewise, informants attributed reasons for attending to flexibility:

> It's what you make of it, for some people it's the bestest favourite thing they've ever done, for some people it's a chance to be in a band if you want that you might not have necessarily got, and for others it's a chance to get out of the house for two hours every week.
>
> (Craig, Interview, 6 April 2017)

On the surface, these three reasons for attending *Folk Orc* seem unrelated, however each suggests an affective state that is lifted or separated from the everyday into the 'special' (Sloboda, 2010:

497), whether in the form of especially intense joy as for Chris A who stressed 'enjoyment' (Interview, 5 April 2017), novel opportunity as for Roy who called it a 'bridge between sitting on the end of your bed learning to play an instrument and the next step' (Interview, 6 April 2017), or refuge from the day-to-day as for David who identified 'an opportunity in the week to do something completely unlike anything else I do' (Interview, 10 April 2017).

Also lying behind the rhetoric of accessibility may be perceptions of "professionalism" and "amateurism" as expressed in terms of perceived musical ability rather than income source, recalling Finnegan's observation that 'when local musicians use the term 'professional' they often refer to evaluative rather than economic aspects' (2007: 15). A statement reminiscent of this was made by Craig, who said 'I've never had a lesson, I'm completely self-taught, but there are people who have had years and years of musical training' (Interview, 6 April 2017).

4. Listening Practices, Degrees of Integration, and "Folk Performativity"

For some informants, such as Michelle, Craig, and Roy, *Folk Orc* was greatly integrated into their lives, and for others, like David and myself, it was a separate area, a refuge from everyday life.

This was reflected in the congruence between listening practices and performance practices. Those who attended both CODA and Swanage, formed bands with other *Folk Orc* members, and attended more extra *Folk Orc* related events often reported listening practices broader than performing practices, but giving folk music a prominent position: 'it really is a mixed bag but I do listen to a lot of folk' (Michelle, Interview, 6 April 2017). Whereas those who separated *Folk Orc* from the everyday tended to give less emphasis to folk music in listening practices, like David, who expressed 'a liking for both punk and prog rock', but said 'I don't listen to much folk at all' (Interview, 10 April 2017). However, these two modes of engaging with folk music and *Folk Orc* did not seem to affect emotional responses to rehearsals, with all informants expressing intense emotions of joy during rehearsals, and often positive mood alteration as a result: 'I don't think I've been to one yet where I didn't feel uplifted or better in myself at the end of it' (Michelle, Interview, 6 April 2017). Such eclectic listening practices suggest 'a society with a multimusical culture' (Nettl, 2015: 386), rather than 'social groups, each with its own music' (Ibid.).

With different levels of life-*Folk Orc* integration may come different levels of what may be called "folk performativity", drawing on Turner's version of performativity in which 'human

life was necessarily performative, in the sense of being a set of active processes' (Loxley, 2007: 151). In informal conversation, a musician for whom *Folk Orc* was highly integrated with everyday life expressed that finding clothes to wear for a pirate festival we had performed in Summer 2016 was easy for *Folk Orc* members as they wore those sorts of clothes anyway. Such items of clothing as waistcoats were thus seen as visual representations of what it was to be "folk", as were drinking ale and playing folk music. As such, the co-occurrence of non-musical performative aspects of *Folk Orc* act as Piercean (Metonymic) indices (Turino, 2014: 214-215), which by virtue of co-occurrence, demonstrates 'the reiterative power of discourse to produce the phenomena that it regulates and constrains' (Butler, 1993: 2). This is relevant to musical joy, as the maintenance of an in-group via "folk performativity" likely promotes the 'feeling of complete solidarity' (David, Interview, 10 April 2017) that was the most valued part of *Folk Orc* by most informants, such as Michelle, who responded to questioning regarding her reasons for attending with: 'it's jolly good fun. It genuinely is for the people as much as for the music' (Interview, 6 April 2017).

5. Music Performance, Social Relationships, and Joy

The sentiment, expressed by most informants, that social aspects of *Folk Orc* were the most important and the largest contribution

to joy, with fairly little importance assigned to place in the production of joy, is congruent with the findings of Ballas and Tranmer:

> Area differences in happiness are not statistically significant, or in other words and in response to the question posed in the title of this article, it is "people" and not "place."
>
> (Ballas & Tranmer, 2012: 95)

When asked 'why do you come to *Folk Orc*?', answers almost ubiquitously revolved around socialising, enjoyment, and fun. Laughter was often highlighted as vital, with Craig answering 'because it's a good laugh' (Interview, 6 April 2017). Another word used was 'camaraderie' (Michelle, Interview, 6 April 2017), combining elements of joy and socialising. The emphasis on laughter reflects that 'laughter is fundamentally a social phenomenon' (Panksepp, 2000: 183). Furthermore, as 'laughter is most certainly infectious and may transmit moods of positive social solidarity' (Ibid.: 184), it is likely to compound positive affect communicated as response to playing music together, and the solidarity communicated by David in response to singing the *a cappella* verse of the song *Blackleg Miner*. While much laughter at *Folk Orc* is not musically induced, there are some cases in which it is, for example in *Billy Boy*, in the third line of every other verse a B7 chord is held for an undefined period of time before a count of four ushers in the final line of the verse. During

the period in which the B7 is held, some guitarists like to pick out the notes of the chord to extend the undefined period, and at one rehearsal, this unexpectedly extended for much longer than usual, eliciting laughter from the orchestra. This is an example of how 'musically induced laughter is one of the responses a listener can experience when surprised' (Huron, 2006: 27). Craig's observation that at rehearsals, musicians 'mess about a bit because there's no audience' (Interview, 6 April 2017) suggests that the lack of presentational aspect to rehearsals is conducive to laughter, thus to joy, thus to wellbeing, vindicating Turino's advocacy of 'the value of participatory music' (2008: 231).

While laughter is one of the affective responses Huron attributes to 'violation of expectation' (Huron, 2008: 26), mechanisms of musical emotion other than musical expectancy also operate in the induction of joy and other emotions in *Folk Orc* rehearsals. Of Juslin and Västfjäll's six mechanisms (2008: 563), while it is likely that all six are activated during the course of a rehearsal, emotional contagion and episodic memory were the most applicable to the answers given by informants. Episodic memory is evident from Craig's description of music generally as 'evocative of time and place, it reminds you of something from your past' (Interview, 6 April 2017), however it is unclear the

extent to which this is true of *Folk Orc* songs. Emotional contagion, in which 'the listener perceives the emotional expression of the music may be present in the music, and then "mimics" the expression internally' (Juslin & Västfjäll, 2008: 565), is evident in Craig's preference to both play and listen to music that is 'energetic, aggressive, intense' (Interview, 6 April 2017), in other words, music that induces high arousal emotions, which on dimensional models of emotion such as Russell's circumplex model (Sloboda & Juslin, 2010: 78) includes happiness and excitement on the positive valence side, with anger and alarm on the negative.

The structure of a *Folk Orc* rehearsal can be described in terms of ritual. The group meets weekly at the same time, day, and place, with seasonally determined hiatuses. Each session is presided over by the bandleader, who determines most songs and pieces; time of start, break, and end; and arranges the pieces' structures. Each rehearsal follows a predetermined temporal structure of arrival, tuning up and chatting, welcome and introduction of piece, playing music with breaks for instruction or chatting between pieces, a tea break during which a "money offering" is placed on the bandleader's violin case, more songs are played, chairs are cleared up, and musicians leave separately. The provision of a ritual frame for expression of musical joy may

contribute to a slightly altered state of consciousness, as 'a possession ritual is an architecture of time also composed of various phases connected with different kinds of music' (Rouget, 1985: 32-33). The temporal architecture of *Folk Orc* rehearsals does come in loose phases, as it always starts and ends with a song, often starting with a new song and ending with something that is more well-known. This suggests different mechanisms of musical emotion are likely fore-fronted at different times of the "ritual", with more familiar songs likely to rely more on episodic memory, evaluative conditioning (Juslin & Västfjäll, 2008: 564-568), and appraisal responses of musical expectancy (Huron, 2006: 14), with less familiar new songs more likely to rely on brain-stem reflex, emotional contagion, visual imagery (Juslin & Västfjäll, 2008: 564-568), and reaction responses of musical expectancy (Huron, 2006: 13).

The social, ritual nature of *Folk Orc* rehearsals and the joy that accompanies them may be explained in terms of Durkheim's effervescence, which explains how music is a necessary condition for expression of a 'collective sentiment':

> Since a collective sentiment cannot express itself collectively except on condition of observing a certain order permitting co-operation and movements in unison, these gestures and cries naturally tend to become rhythmic and regular; hence come songs and dances.
>
> (Durkheim, 1965: 247)

As such, a 'collective sentiment', in this case, of shared joy, requires a process of entrainment in which 'one rhythm adjusts to match, or synchronize with another' (Clayton: 2007: 77). Beyond shared joy, other 'collective sentiments' expressed at *Folk Orc* rehearsals include that of national identity, being 'part of the heritage of the country as a whole' (David, Interview, 10 April 2017), and folk music is thus an expression of 'imagined political community' (Anderson, 1991: 6), while another expressed in clothing and personality rather than music is that of difference from or opposition to the local hegemony of conservative values:

> Most people within *Folk Orc* are a little bit alternative . . . it's a means of personal expression . . . you see the clothes becoming a bit more flamboyant.
>
> (Roy, Interview, 6 April 2017)

Durkheim's further description of effervescence that 'the human voice is not sufficient for the task' (1965: 247) is reflected in the presence of instruments. His observation that 'the effervescence often reaches the point that it causes unheard-of actions' (Ibid.) is perhaps reflected by the smutty humour in the song lyrics: 'it's filth and it amuses me greatly' (Craig, Interview, 6 April 2017).

6. Longer-Term Effects: Flow and Enskilment

Beneficial effects for wellbeing have been attributed to Csikszentmihalyi's "flow", defined as 'a state of heightened concentration, when one is so intent on the activity at hand that all other thoughts, concerns, and distractions disappear and the actor is fully in the present' (Turino, 2008: 4). In *Folk Orc*, just as lyric songs lead to feelings of solidarity and collective expression, instrumental tune sets can lead to states of flow, an experience described as:

> …an enjoyable tension in playing it in that everybody's just kind of concentrating on playing without saying anything and so when it finishes you tend to get a big smile and a laugh of relief goes around the room and enjoyment
>
> (David, Interview, 10 April 2017)

This illustrates both the concentration required for flow, and its immediate positive effects as 'both a temporary transcendence and a cumulative expansion of the self' (Turino, 2008: 233). Furthermore, it discusses 'tension', the second pre-outcome response of Huron's ITPRA theory of musical expectancy (2006: 9-10), raising questions of links between musical expectancy and flow. The conditions for flow, particularly the requirement for a balance between challenge and skill level (Turino, 2008: 4-5), are fulfilled by *Folk Orc*'s commitment to accessibility, that it can 'be as technical as you want' (Michelle, Interview, 6 April 2017).

Informants expressed how *Folk Orc* helped improve musical skills, with David saying ‘you find yourself doing stuff you know that six months a year ago you couldn’t do’ (Interview 10 April 2017), and Michelle advocating it as an ideal method of learning ‘entry level with any instrument’, and a motivating force, saying ‘if I hadn’t got involved with folk music it’s actually questionable whether I’d still be playing’ (Interview, 6 April 2017). As musicians are caught in an ‘ever-flowing stream of practical acts’ (Pálsson, 1993: 34), musical skills are improved in processes of enskilment. However, as explored above, musicking together requires ‘becoming attentive and responsive to our relations with others’ (Ibid.), and thus likely acts in social enskilment, giving practical experience of the lives of others. David, a teacher, also situated the educational value of musical activity in the wider political climate, saying ‘I find it shameful that the state system doesn’t provide what CODA provides’ (Interview, 10 April 2017).

7. Conclusion

From the case of *Folk Orc,* it is clear that induction of musical joy in group music making takes myriad forms and mechanisms. In this case, most sources of musical joy were identified as ‘“people” and not “place”’ (Ballas & Tranmer, 2012: 95), with Craig calling *Folk Orc* a ‘community resource if you like rather

than a band' (Interview, 6 April 2017). This sociality of musical joy can be examined as individually activated mechanisms of musical emotion and states of flow. These are produced, maintained, and modulated by social context in 'affective economies' (Ahmed, 2004: 8), facilitated by spatial configuration and ritual temporal structure, existing in shared systems of semiotic meaning, national history, and sub-cultural identity as expressed in "folk performativity". As such, the participatory nature of the rehearsal carries much of its affective power. As 'listeners are highly sensitive to the prosodic expression of anger, joy, and sadness' (Thompson & Balkwill, 2010: 777), it is possible that in *Folk Orc*, this is compounded by performance, as musicians simultaneously create and listen, participating in the production of their own emotional responses.

Various elements in the process of musical joy contribute to longer-term wellbeing or happiness, defined as "eudaimonia" (Newby, 2011: 104). Enskilment, both musically and socially, also contributes to the subjective happiness section of the wider equation of subjective wellbeing (Ballas & Tranmer, 2012: 71).

References

Ahmed, S. 2004. *The Cultural Politics of Emotion.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Ali, S.O. & Peynircioğlu, Z.F. 2006. 'Songs and Emotions: Are Lyrics and Melodies Equal Partners?.' *Psychology of Music*. 34 (4). pp511-534.

Anderson, B. 1991. *Imagined Communities.* London; New York, NY: Verso.

Aristotle & Williams, R (trans). 1869. *The Nichomachean Ethics.* London: Longmans, Green & Co.

Ballas, D. & Tranmer, M. 2012. 'Happy People or Happy Places? A Multilevel Modeling Approach to the Analysis of Happiness and Wellbeing.' Internationl Regional Science Review. 35 (1). pp70-102.

Becker, J. 2004. *Deep Listeners: Music, Emotion, and Trancing*. Bloomington; Indianapolis: Indiana University Press

Berger, H.M. 2008. 'Phenomenology and the Ethnography of Popular Music: Ethnomusicology at the Juncture of Cultural Studies and Folklore.' In: Barz, G. & Cooley, T. (eds). *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp62 75.

Bjork, R.A. & Whitten, W.B. 1974. 'Recency-Sensitive Retrieval Processes in Long- Term Free Recall.' *Cognitive Psychology*. 6. pp173-189.

Butler, J. 1993. *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex".* New York, NY; London: Routledge

Clayton, M. 2007. *Music, Time & Place: Essays in Comparative Musicology.* Delhi: BR Rhythms.

Conquergood, D. 2002. 'Performance Studies: Interventions and Radical Research.' *The Drama Review*. 46 (2). Pp145-156.

Durkheim, E. & Swain, J.W. (trans). 1965. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. New York, NY; London: The Free Press, Macmillan; Collier Macmillan.

Finnegan, R. 2007. *The Hidden Musicians: Music Making in an English Town.* Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press.

Hesmondhalgh, D. 2013. *Why Music Matters.* Chichester: Wiley Blackwell.

Huron, D. 2006. *Sweet Anticipation: Music and the Psychology of Expectation.* Cambridge, MA; London: The MIT Press.

Juslin, P.N. & Sloboda, J.A. 2010. 'Introduction'. In: Juslin, P.N. & Sloboda, J.A. (eds). *Handbook of Music and Emotion: Theory, Research, Applications.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp3-12.

Juslin, P.N. & Västfjäll, D. 2008. 'Emotional Responses to Music: The Need to Consider Underlying Mechanisms.' *Behavioural and Brain Sciences*. 31. pp.559-621.

Levine, L.J. & Bluck, S. 2004. 'Painting with Broad Strokes: Happiness and the Malleability of Event Memory.' *Cognition and Emotion.* 18 (4). pp559-574.

Loxley, J. 2007. *Performativity.* London; New York, NY: Routledge.

Newby, M.J. 2010. *Eudaimonia: Happiness is not Enough.* Leicester: Matador.

Nettl, B. 2015. *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-Three Discussions*. Urbana; Chicago; Springfield, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Pálsson, G. 1993. 'Introduction: Beyond Boundaries'. In: Pálsson, G. (ed). *Beyond Boundaries: Understanding, Translation, and Anthropological Discourse.* Oxford; Providence, RI: Berg. pp1-40.

Panksepp, J. 2000. 'The Riddle of Laughter: Neural and Psychoevolutionary Underpinnings of Joy.' *Current Directions in Psychological Science*. 9 (6). pp183-186.

Rouget, G. 1985. *Music and Trance: A Theory of the Relations*

Between Music and Possession. Chicago, IL; London: The University of Chicago Press.

Sloboda, J.A. & Juslin, P.N. 2010. 'At the Interface Between the Inner and Outer World: Psychological Perspectives'. In: Juslin, P.N. & Sloboda, J.A. (eds). *Handbook of Music and Emotion: Theory, Research, Applications.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp73-97.

Sloboda, J.A. 2010. 'Music in Everyday Life: The Role of Emotions.' In: Juslin, P.N. & Sloboda, J.A. (eds). *Handbook of Music and Emotion: Theory, Research, Applications.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp493-514.

Small, C. 1998. *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening.* Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press.

Smith, M. 2007. 'On 'Being' Moved by Nature: Geography, Emotion, and Environmental Ethics'. In: Davidson, J., Bondi, L. & Smith, M. (eds). *Emotional Geographies.* Aldershot; Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

Stock, J.P.J. & Chiener, C. 2008. 'Fieldwork at Home: European and Asian Perspectives'. In: Barz, G. & Cooley, T.J. (eds), *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp108-124.

Thompson, W.F. & Balkwill, L. 2010. 'Cross-Cultural Similarities and Differences'. In: Juslin, P.N. & Sloboda, J.A. (eds). *Handbook of Music and Emotion: Theory, Research, Applications.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp755- 788.

Turino, T. 2008. *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation.* Chicago, IL; London: The University of Chicago Press.

Turino, T. 2014. 'Peircean Thought as Core Theory for a Phenomenological Ethnomusicology.' *Ethnomusicology.* 58 (2). pp185-221.

APPENDIX

Interview question list

Demographics:

1. Would you like to be anonymous, use your first name and initial, or initials?
2. How old are you?
3. Marital status?
4. Nationality?
5. Where do you work/what is your occupation?

Interview questions:

1. How long have you been coming to *Folk Orc*?
2. Why do you come to *FO*?
3. How do *FO* rehearsals make you feel? Enjoyment
4. What are the differences between Swanage *FO* and Coda *FO*?
5. Do you use Coda for anything other than *FO*?
6. What are your thoughts on Coda?
7. How important is a sense of place in the music you play and listen to?
8. Tell me about your musical training? Does *FO* help you learn?
9. Why folk music? How did you get into folk?
10. When you listen to music at home or at work, what do you listen to?

11. Which do you prefer to listen to, Rock/Pop/Classical/Jazz etc. or folk?
12. Which for you prefer to play, … or Folk?
13. Why?
14. What are your favourite *FO* pieces to play? Why?
15. Is there a difference in how pieces with lyrics make you feel to play/sing compared to instrumentals?
16. What does music mean to you?

Musicology Research
Issue 4: pp. 453-482

16

War in Space, Music in Time: Dimitri Shostakovich's *Greek Songs* in Transnational Historical Context

Artemis Ignatidou

In August 1953, the Soviet folklorist Lev Kulakovsky took to the press to express his admiration for the heroic spirit of the (modern) Greeks. Rather more accurately, he took to the Soviet musicological journal *Sovetskaya Muzyka* to describe in fiery words, and with the help of musical examples, the courage Greek fighters had demonstrated from the Greek Revolution of 1821 that won independence from the Ottoman Empire to their recent resistance against Nazi occupation and the civil war that followed. The basic premise of his article was that this continuous struggle against all forms of oppression was clearly

© 2018 Artemis Ignatidou

depicted in the traditional, resistance, and communist songs of the Greek people (Kulakovsky, 1953: 92–5).

It appears as an inevitable conclusion, supported by fragmentary evidence and the broader historical circumstance, that Lev Kulakovsky was the force behind Dmitri Shostakovich's little-known *Greek Songs* (sans. Op.), a set of four songs transcribed by Shostakovich between 1953 and 1954, first published as a set in 1982, and recorded as recently as 2001 (Hulme, 2010: 360–1; Shostakovich, 2010: 123). Although until recently most scholars and editors placed the composition of the songs between 1952 and 1953, this is disputed in the latest edition of the score (published in 2010), which regards the date of the manuscript as an approximation added later (Shostakovich, 2010: 123). Moreover, even though Hulme (2010) dates the premiere of the work to 1991 in France, there exists a recording of at least one earlier live performance, by Heiner Hopfner (tenor) and Hartmut Höll (piano) at the Berlin Festival of 1986 (Shostakovich, 1986). Whatever the details, the transcription of this set of songs was—as will become evident in the course of this story—the outcome of three factors: Kulakovsky's passion for the theory of folk music, a purge, and a civil war; a set of processes that render these songs a testimony to the social life of music rather than an influential set of songs among so many others in Shostakovich's oeuvre.

From 1930 onwards, Lev Kulakovsky (1897–1989) was employed at the State Academy of Art Studies (GAIS) in Moscow, where he focused on Russian folk song and folk polyphony (Zacharov, 2016: 47). During the first period of his work, before he joined the academy, he was an adherent of Boleslav Yavorsky's theory of modal rhythm, and he wrote on form and rhythmic structure in folk song (Zacharov, 2016: 42). After he was appointed to the academy, however, Kulakovsky joined the ranks of the 'anti-formalist' musicological critics, a development that according to Zacharov (2016: 47) resulted in a shift in his approach from his previously 'scientific' work, to almost propagandistic analyses of 'expressiveness' in music. With the political climate turning just as much against musicologists and music historians as it was turning against composers, albeit less obviously, after 1948 the pressure upon musicologists to produce ideologically correct works intensified, music historians and critics were purged, and in 1950 a new set of objectives was announced for the advancement of Soviet musicology (Schwarz, 1972: 250-258). Consistently with this 'anti-formalist' ethnomusicological turn, a notion that had haunted Soviet music in all its appearances since the early 1930s, Kulakovsky's analysis of Greek songs in *Sovetskaya Muzyka* of August 1953 verged on outright propaganda.

In a sensationalist approach to modern Greek history, Kulakovsky conflated past and present struggles in an attempt to illustrate how the Greek revolutionary 'spirit' could be traced as an uninterrupted stream within and between traditional songs, songs of the resistance against the Nazis, and communist songs from the Greek Civil War of 1946–1949. The three historical events that came together in Kulakovsky's ethnomusicological observations about continuity through song were the 1821 Greek Revolution against the Ottoman Empire, which resulted in the creation of the modern Greek nation state in 1830; the Greek resistance against Italian fascist and German Nazi occupation during World War II; and the civil war between the communist factions of the Greek resistance and the Greek government following the end of the war. The reason behind this conflation—and a key to the multiple stories that contributed to the transcription of the Greek songs by Shostakovich—is that the text accompanying the musical examples was an ideologically charged attempt to legitimise the idea of a broader historical continuity through a very specific genre of Greek song: songs of the communist wing of the resistance.

The ideological subtext here is obvious: as the songs of the Greek communists make clear, the indefatigable 'spirit' of the 1821 revolutionaries continued to serve to unify Greek fighters of the past and the present through the liberal messages of traditional

and revolutionary songs. Accordingly, his example of the Greek dance 'Zalongo'—a dance associated with courage and resistance—Kulakovsky swiftly connected with the Greek communists, singing this song of defiance in the concentration camps in which they were imprisoned following their defeat in the civil war (Kulakovsky, 1953: 92–3). Similarly, he had already linked the revolutionary songs of the Greek Enlightenment thinker Rhigas Ferreos (1757– 1798) with the Greek communists by claiming that the communists were one group in a long line of Greek dissident fighters, a claim that puts the armed bandits of 1821 (klephts) in the same group as the communist guerrilla fighters of the civil war (Kulakovsky, 1953: 92–3). After establishing these basic connections between past glories and contemporary woes, Kulakovsky then presented another six songs of the Greek communist resistance—later the Democratic Army of Greece—before concluding that the songs of the fallen communists would forever carry the spirit of liberated humanity forward (Kulakovsky, 1953: 95).

Where ideological narrative thrived, though, musicological integrity meant that these assertions had to come with a discreet disclaimer. Always keeping in mind that he was addressing a specialised musical audience through the Composers Union's musical journal, Kulakovsky made sure to insert a small

clarification on page two of his analysis. Connected as these songs were in virtue of their revolutionary and patriotic national spirit, they were nevertheless 'diversified through their unique form, language, and emotional charge' (Kulakovsky, 1953: 93). In musicological terms, it appears as if the folklorist was half admitting that although traditional Greek song and the songs of the communist fighters were part of the same national heritage, they were otherwise quite diverse in form and content. Be that as it may, the ideological connection was enough to go on, and, as will be seen shortly, it was probably the main reason these transcriptions were created in the first place.

Less than a year later, in May 1954, Dmitri Shostakovich's transcription of one of the communist songs presented by Kulakovsky was included in supplementary edition no. 5 of *Sovetskaya Muzyka*. The transcription, titled 'Forward!' ('Embros!'/ 'Εμπρός!' in Greek) and subtitled 'Song of the Greek Resistance', was accompanied by a small footnote explaining that the original lyrics were by the revered Greek poet Kostis Palamas, an artist endorsed by the Secretary General of the Greek Communist Party (KKE) as 'the greatest poet of modern Greece' (Shostakovich, 1954: 17–19). The score also included some basic information on the Greek Enlightenment thinker, Rhigas Ferreos, who is mentioned in the lyrics of the song, and it acknowledged Shostakovich as the transcriber and Sergei Bolotin and Tatyana

Sikorskaya as the translators of the lyrics into Russian (Shostakovich, 1954: 17–19). 'Forward!' was just one of the four Greek songs Shostakovich transcribed and, even though information on them is scarce, the broader social environment of Shostakovich's musical life during the years of their composition sheds some light on the mystery of their creation.

As has by now been well established, between 1948 and 1954 Shostakovich went through a second rough patch in his relationship with the Soviet cultural authorities, and this had considerable consequences for his financial situation and his psychological condition. Transcriptions such as his *Greek Songs* are evidence of the coping mechanisms the composer had developed to navigate through the periods he was out of favour with the authorities. To better understand the function of such pieces it is imperative to move away, at least briefly, from the 'totalitarian' model of political analysis of the Soviet Union and to follow in the steps of Sheila Fitzpatrick by investigating the social environment of the composer, and by extension the social life of his music.[1]

While the Soviet Union was a society of increasing equality of opportunity—mainly through universal access to education—

[1] The shift to a more organic social history of the 'totalitarian' structure of the Soviet Union has been outlined concisely by Fitzpatrick (1986).

equality of income remained an as yet unachieved goal (Chapman, 1963: 179–180). The state was the only provider of employment, a fact that protected workers of all strata from unemployment and secured for them an array of quantifiable benefits, such as insurance, pension, and maternity cover, but at the same time left them vulnerable to the ideological and political whims of the sole employer in the land: the Communist Party.[2] One of the effects of this inequality of income was that, in a society that aspired to classlessness, it created a covert class system. In the case of the arts, Mervyn Matthews (1978: 97) has found the rates of pay for writers in 1944 to be between 3.3 and 6.6 times the average wage, a figure he suggests would have been similar if not identical for all of the arts. Moreover, artists were eligible for several sources of extra income and could compete for the prestigious and lucrative, if often artistically sterile, State Stalin Prizes (Matthews 1978: 92–8; Frolova-Walker, 2004). En route to complete equality then, during the years we are interested in here, the Soviet state operated a system of differentiated treatment, with stratified incentives and varied lifestyles, a fact that is clear from the group relevant to this study: the artistic intelligentsia (Chapman, 1963: 179–180). This systemic privileging of the intellectual class was partly rooted in the

[2] Chapman (1963: 138, 178) has calculated the relationship of added income in the form of benefits to real gross wages to be 30.8 per cent in 1948, 22.8 per cent in 1952, and 22 per cent in 1954 (the period of interest here).

mutually dependent relationship between the party and the intelligentsia: the two were entangled in a dance for power. After the cultural revolution (in the early 1930s) the intellectual elite would, through their institutions and unions, secure access to networks similar to those that served the communist administrators (Fitzpatrick, 1992: 2–6, 14). On the other hand, after the war, the party appears to have tightened its grip on the arts with Andrei Zhdanov manipulating the intelligentsia so that they engaged in venomous infightings that forced them into rapid denunciations and admissions of guilt in fear of gravely harm (Schwarz, 1972: 205-206). Within this context of a highly complex relationship between the state and its artistic daughters and sons, a class structure based on income and access to networks of privilege, and the manipulative methods of the party, Shostakovich's various predicaments and the resulting riddle of his (in)famous compositional 'double face' will be regarded here as the composer's own relationship with the state and power.

After Zhdanov's 1948 decree against 'formalism' in music, all sources testify Shostakovich faced an array of practical and psychological challenges, and he had to appease the establishment in order to survive. In financial terms, the denunciation resulted in a significant loss of income, following his humiliating dismissal from the conservatories of Moscow and

Leningrad and a ban on the performance and publication of eight of his works (Sadie, 2001: 293-294). The road to rehabilitation began immediately and in the following years Shostakovich was paraded in international events representing the Soviet Union, and composed anodyne patriotic works (Sadie, 2001: 293–4). Yet, as grave as all these facets of a life read, for Shostakovich—and for the guild of composers as a whole—the state made some room for negotiation and redemption, albeit only after a period of applying intense pressure and uncertainty. As Mstislav Rostropovich observed, the decree had 'the function of a biological experiment', and it had a variety of outcomes for the different people it targeted. In some cases, its effects were physical, as is clear from the case of Vissarion Shebalin who suffered a stroke from the immense psychological pressure. In other cases, it resulted in a loss of social status, as was the case with Khachaturian, and sometimes in financial losses – e.g. Shostakovich and Prokofiev (Wilson, 1994: 217–218). On the other hand, as Levon Hakobian (2005:219–220) has argued, such was the unusual position of music among the arts that, during the various purges of the Soviet period, 'no significant composer perished in the GULAG, very few left the country, and almost no one was expelled from the Union of Composers (such expulsions were extremely severe punishment)'. In other words, in this struggle between the intelligentsia and the party, it appears as

though the latter asserted its power through these almost masochistic experiments, but, aware of the special status of the composers, their class, and their valued ideological function for the regime, the party was also careful not to deplete its cultural capital through their complete (literal or artistic) annihilation. Gradually, in a multi-stage process that emerged after the first five-year plan (1928), the state succeeded, through stylistic submission and institutionalised boredom, in implementing 'socialist realism' in music (Frolova-Walker, 2004: 121).

Thus, although Shostakovich was affected psychologically by Zhdanov's 1948 decree, and although it afforded him a renewed awareness of the limits of his relationship with Soviet cultural politics, its effects on him were mainly financial. A rare glimpse of what this financial blow meant in practical terms for the Shostakovich family and their position in the social ladder is provided by Galina Vishnevskaya, renowned soprano and Rostropovich's wife, who described Shostakovich's personal distress and the hardship he faced in her memoirs. What she inadvertently shared, in providing this description, was a partial explanation of why, during the times of systemic hostility towards famous composers, the price for limited intellectual freedom was worth paying. After describing how Shostakovich had been made destitute after losing his position at the conservatories, and how his surrender of part of his artistic

freedom had caused his morale to plummet, Vishnevskaya detailed how, in times of extreme poverty, Shostakovich turned to his friends for short-term loans:

> All his life Shostakovich feared he wouldn't be able to provide for his family; it was a large one, and he was the only breadwinner. Both his children– his daughter Galina with a husband and two children, and his son Maxim, still a student, with his wife and a son– were in fact dependent on him. Besides them, there was the old nanny, who had been with him all his life, the maid in the Moscow apartment, and another maid and furnace-man at the dacha, plus his chauffer and secretary. They all counted on him for wages. If we add Dmitri Dmitriyevich and his wife, that makes a total of fifteen persons to feed. He used to say, 'Just think. Tomorrow morning for breakfast we'll need three dozen eggs, two pounds of butter, six pounds of cottage cheese, and several quarts of milk! That's my family. What will happen to them if I stop composing?'
>
> (Vishnevskaya, 1994: 231)

And so compose he did. In light of the fact that Shostakovich was a patriotic Soviet citizen, even though tested and harshly disciplined by the regime, there are two immediate conclusions to be drawn here. Firstly, poverty is a relative measure, in this case conditioned by the social class the Shostakovich family belonged to in the Soviet structure: he was supporting nine family members and a staff of six between two households on a single salary. Secondly, even though he was unperformed and unpublished—and was thus deprived of his more profitable sources of income—he was nevertheless surviving this cat-and-

mouse game that the regime was playing with him. For this period of 'discipline', Shostakovich had to produce compositions of a lower quality than his recognised masterpieces, a concession that was part of the bargain he had effectively struck with the regime for the maintenance of his long-term position and, ultimately, his life – something a significant number of other artists and ordinary citizens were not able to do. It is very interesting to observe how the regime, via his colleagues—who denounced him publicly in the Composers Union and the conservatories—micromanaged his artistic output through a system of imposed poverty and selective rewards.

During this period of disfavour with the regime, Shostakovich pursued personal projects at home or performed privately – notably his First Violin Concerto (1947–1948), the song-cycle 'From Jewish Folk Poetry' (1948), and his Fourth Quartet (1949), but he was also allowed to work for the cinema (Arnold, 1983: 1682). Between 1947 and 1953, when the film industry was looking to employ the best professionals to escape the party's unfair cultural persecution itself, Shostakovich composed seven works for the cinema, Vissarion Shebalin five, and Aram Khachaturian four, contributing significantly through their misfortune to the production of quality incidental music, and the revival of piano accompaniment (Ergorova, 1997: 121–122). At the same time, on his path to rehabilitation he worked

extensively with texts by the conformist poet Yevgeny Dolmatovsky and won the prestigious and lucrative Stalin Prizes—worth up to 100,000 rubles apiece—for his *Song of the Forests* and *The Fall of Berlin* (First Class, 1950), and his *Ten Poems* (Second Class, 1952) (Sadie, 2001: 293; Frolova-Walker, 2016: 233). Last but not least, he received royalties from the circulation of his work overseas, though significantly reduced after deductions by the state (Vishnevskaya, 1994: 231–232). In terms of his financial situation, then, Shostakovich indeed lost the main source of his income—performance and publication of his works and teaching—yet the state allowed him other sources of (albeit reduced) income and other rewards in kind: a state dacha in Bolshevo for the 1949 Peace Conference in New York, for example (Sadie, 2001: 294). As Marina Frolova-Walker (2004:103) has remarked, in this potentially lethal and often coercive transactional relationship between important musicians and the state, composers had known their position in the system since the 1930s and cannot be seen uniformly as victims of intellectual oppression.

It is in this setting of coercion and submission that Shostakovich's need for rehabilitation and redemption, expressed partly through a promise to compose folklore-infused melodies, met with Kulakovsky's aforementioned 'anti-formalist'

musicology and work on folklore (Fay, 2000: 167). And, indeed, sitting among Shostakovich's other possessions in the Shostakovich Archive in Moscow is the manuscript of Kulakovsky's handwritten collection of Greek songs, a collection compiled in the early 1950s, containing forty samples of Greek music, which the composer must have consulted when transcribing his own version of Greek songs (Kulakovsky, n.d). Shostakovich's choice to transcribe the *Greek Songs* struck a perfect balance between the multiple fronts he had to negotiate during his predicament. Politically correct but not immediately relevant to Russian cultural politics at the time, in tune with the folklorist spirit of the times and in line with his promise to accentuate the melodic voice of the people, but at the same so innocuous as to be inconsequential, Shostakovich's pairing with Kulakovsky's interest in folk songs resulted in a set of transcriptions that were harmless enough to bear his name, and insignificant enough to be forgotten and to pass by without prompting discussion. This is a fine example of a sort of music that was political in its original cultural setting, being transformed into something apolitical through the highly political conditions in which it was recreated.

Three of Shostakovich's musical offerings to the state for his rehabilitation can be found in Kulakovsky's article in *Sovetskaya*

Muzyka, and another one was not included for reasons that will be examined below:

1. Forward! (Εμπρός), a communist song of the Greek resistance,
2. Penthozalis (Πεντοζάλης), a traditional dance from the island of Crete- not included in Kulakovsky's article,
3. Zolongo (Ζάλογγο), a pseudo-folk dance with mixed origins, and
4. the 'Hymn of ELAS' ('Ύμνος του ΕΛΑΣ'), an anthem of the communist wing of the Greek Resistance.

In their original settings, these four songs tell a diverse set of Greek stories. Grouping the two political ones together, and the two folk songs similarly, we shall now examine their content and function in their original setting. The two folk songs—Penthozalis and Zolongo—represent two traditional dances, the first from the island of Crete, in the southern part of the Aegean Sea, and the other from the region of Epirus, in north-west Greece.

'Zolongo' (number 3 here) refers to Mount Zalongo (Ζάλογγο) in the region of Epirus. It is said that, in 1803, between 20 and 100 women of Greek and Hellenized Albanian descent from the village of Souli danced to their deaths, falling off a local precipice

with their children to avoid capture by the Ottoman army (Sakellariou, 1997: 248–50). The political and artistic afterlife of this event up to Shostakovich's transcription is a fascinating story of a historical event being transformed into a national myth through its association with song and dance. The story of the collective suicide and the dance was first recorded in 1815, it attracted pan-European interest and was included in various Western histories of the Greek Revolution thereafter (Politis, 2005: 37–39). In the various histories and narrations of the historical event throughout the nineteenth century, the dance was mentioned occasionally—depending on how much the historian in question trusted the original testimony—and it was never universally accepted as a solid fact. At the height of philhellenism, the Souliot women and their courageous self-sacrifice—sans the dance—became the theme of Ary Scheffer's painting *Les Femmes souliotes*, exhibited at the Salon of 1827 alongside other similar Romantic works, and the story became a symbol of Greek suffering under Ottoman oppression (Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, 1989: 102–107).

The first inclusion of a piece of music titled the 'Dance of Zalongo' in a collection of traditional songs came only in 1908, and thereafter this narration of a musical suicide was associated with the pseudo-traditional "Farewell bitter world" ('Έχε γεια καημένε κόσμε') (Loutzaki, 2006: 18; Politis, 2005: 43). A few

years later, in 1913, there is the first reference to the creation of the song/dance of Zalongo, in the *Syrtos* style of traditional dancing, set to the aforementioned song in septuple metre (7/8) (Loutzaki, 2006: 19). From then on, the song/dance and the historical event came to be viewed as a single unit and to be featured in forms of popular entertainment—such as fiction and shadow puppet theatre—and it was widely re-enacted in school drama productions and, especially after 1950, in film (Sparti and Van Zile, 2011: 207–11). Consequently, a multilayered construct based on the events of 1803 became an integral part of the Greek national tradition and collective imagination. In the early 1950s it travelled to the Soviet Union, and it was collected and placed among other Greek songs by Kulakovsky as a symbol of the enduring spirit of the Greeks. Then, between 1953 and 1954, it was transcribed by Shostakovich, and it was thus given a new (international) life, although in a significantly sorrowful and introspective style, without the element of dance. The lyrics in Shostakovich's transcription are an adaptation of the original by Tatyana Sirkoskaya, with the same references to the precipice as in the original. They lament the loss of life and celebrate the heroism of the Souliot women (Shostakovich, 2010: 53–5).

The 'Penthozalis' dance (number 2), relates to a much more straightforward story. The lyrics accompanying this version are a

love song, and it is probably for this reason that it was not included among Kulakovsky's revolutionary and patriotic presentation of Greek tradition in *Sovetskaya Muzyka*. As a dance, it originates on the island of Crete. It is a fast line dance, with local variations, in duple metre (2/4), and its name in the local dialect translates as 'Five Steps' (Holden and Vouras, 1965: 67; Hunt, 1996: 83–4). In western Crete, the dance is introduced with a slow section during which the dancers sing while holding hands before the singing ceases as the tempo quickens and the dancers adopt a shoulder hold (Petrides, 1975: 89). Shostakovich's transcription is a straightforward harmonization of the melody at a slower tempo, and the lyrics are again a loose adaptation of the originals by Sergei Bolotin. Taking advantage of Pentozalis's duple metre and reducing the tempo, Shostakovich removed the dance character of the folk dance/song, and transformed it into his distinctive musical language where it became something akin to a revolutionary march, with lyrics about the unfulfilled love of a man for a woman who will not return his affections (Shostakovich, 2010: 51–2). In the 1950s, at the composer's request, the verses of both 'Zalongo' and 'Penthozalis' were translated equirhythmically, i.e. prioritizing the inherent metre and the melodic aspects of the language in relation to the music rather than providing a literal translation of the meaning (Shostakovich, 1982: vi; Apter and

Herman, 2016: 1). It is particularly interesting to note at this point that during the work's 1984 Berlin performance the performers chose to sing both 'Penthozalis' and 'Zalongo' in Greek, using the original, untranslated lyrics (Shostakovich, 1986).

The second set of songs in Shostakovich's musical vignette of Greek music is intimately connected to the political identity of the person who transferred and gave them to Kulakovsky. 'Forward!' ('Εμπρός!'), and the 'Hymn of ELAS' ('Ύμνος του ΕΛΑΣ'), are both songs of the Greek communist faction of the resistance, and later on of the Greek civil war. 'Forward!' (Number 1) is a song by the communist composer Alekos Xenos, and the lyrics come from the 1912 poem 'Forward' by the Greek poet Kostis Palamas, as the supplementary edition of *Sovetskaya Muzyka* in 1953 mentions (Shostakovich, 1954: 17–19). The original poem was created to verse a choral composition by Greek composer Manolis Kalomiris—father of the Greek National School of Music—and it pays homage to the motherland and to those who revolted against the Ottoman Empire in 1821 (Palamas, 1964: 371). In Bolotin and Sikorskaya's translation, the content and meaning remain broadly the same, including most of the same geographical references to important battles and landmarks, with some altered for rhyming purposes (Shostakovich, 2010: 49–50). In terms of tempo and style, Shostakovich kept the original common time signature (4/4), and

he preserved the original march-like character of the communist song (Shostakovich, 1954: 17–19). Lastly, the 'Hymn of ELAS' (number 4), a 1940s song of the Greek resistance that uses the lyrics of Sofia Mavroidi-Papadaki and the music of Nikos Tsakonas, exalts the heroism of the members of the National Popular Liberation Army (ELAS), who, fighting for the liberation of Greece, embodied in their struggle the spirit of all those fighters of the past who had fought for the country's independence (Gazi, n.d: 11). Bolotin's translation appears to be a loose interpretation or adaptation of the original lyrics, in three verses instead of the original seven, which alters the exact content but maintains its original function as a war song for ELAS (Shostakovich, 2010: 56–8).

As mentioned briefly above, out of the four transcriptions by Shostakovich, three are to be found in Kulakovsky's 1953 article, and they are all songs of the communist wing of the Greek resistance during World War II, with the exception of 'Zalongo', which is a traditional song that Kulakovsky nevertheless interpreted as a tribute to dissident fighters. The rest of the songs sampled in the same article (seven in total) are all communist or revolutionary songs, and thus their lyrics helped to contribute to Kulakovsky's narrative of an omni-courageous Greek people. The last piece in this transnational puzzle of musical creation via politics is a geographical displacement. As has by now been well

established, Kulakovsky handed the pieces to Shostakovich after collecting them from a Greek woman called Maria Beikou, who at the time resided in Moscow.

Maria Beikou joined the Greek resistance and the Greek Communist Party in 1943 at the age of 18, and later the same she year took up arms with the ELAS, waging guerrilla war in the mountains against Nazi occupation (Beikou, 2011: sections 'At the EPON' and 'In the XIII Division of ELAS'). The day of liberation, in October 1944, found ELAS under the nominal command of General Ronald Scobie, a British general unaware of the fragile relations between the Greek government and the predominantly communist Greek Resistance Movement (EAM), while Greece overall was placed under British influence after the Stalin-Churchill 'percentages agreement' of 1944 (Close, 1995: 130–131). In a climate of mutual suspicion between the Greek government and the Greek communists, and amidst British military presence, the attempted demobilization of the 60,000-strong ELAS resulted in violence throughout the country and the so-called 'Battle for Athens' of 3 December 1944, when a peaceful demonstration by members of the resistance and civilians was fired upon by British soldiers (Clogg, 2013: 134). After the failure of both sides to reach an agreement for a political resolution to the tensions between the communists and the government, in 1947 Maria Beikou found herself again in the mountains, this

time fighting with the communists in the full-blown Greek Civil War of 1946–1949 (Beikou, 2011: section 'With the Democratic Army of Roumeli'). The end of the Civil War in 1949 saw the surrender of the communists and the exile of at a moderate estimate, 55,881 people—some sources suggest up to 130,000 refugees—who were accepted as political refugees in the countries of the Soviet bloc (Tsekou, 2013: 12; Voutyra, Dalkavoukis, Marantzidis and Bontila, 2005: 10). Maria Beikou fled to Albania in 1949, and from there she travelled through the Dardanelles to Poti in the eastern Black Sea, through the Caspian Sea and Batoumi to Tashkent in Uzbekistan, one of the main cities receiving of exiled communist fighters, where she settled and worked in a factory for three years (Beikou, 2011: section 'From Albania to Tashkent'). While in Tashkent she was informed that the Greek radio programme in Moscow was recruiting presenters, and in 1952 she managed to relocate to Moscow where she stayed until 1976 (Beikou, 2011: section 'In Moscow').

How exactly she came to pass the songs on, she did not appear to remember. In her memoir, she recalls singing the songs to Shostakovich himself, but it is improbable that such event took place. As she herself admits, it was not until 2007 that she recalled this event at all, when a friend saw her name on the first recording of the *Greek Songs*, and her recollection does not fit

with the rest of the evidence surrounding the creation of the songs. According to Beikou:

> One day they asked me to go sing songs of the Greek Resistance, as well as traditional Greek songs for a certain musician called Shostakovich! Of course I had no idea who that musician was. I don't remember if I sang at a house or at a [recording] studio. The only thing I know is that I sang 'Forward!', the hymn of ELAS, Penthozalis, and 'Zalongo'.
>
> (Beikou, 2011: section 'In Moscow')

She admits that it was only when she later met with the friend who made her aware of the recording ('Shostakovich: Complete Songs 1950-1956, vol. 1, Delos: DE3304), and saw the CD, that she remembered meeting Shostakovich and singing for him. She nevertheless, suggested the meeting would have occurred in 1953 or 1954, which is at least consistent with the broader chronology of the songs' collection and composition.

She never mentioned Kulakovsky at all, even though all other sources, as well as the folklorist's article for *Sovetskaya Muzyka*, suggest that he was the person who collected the songs and gave them to Shostakovich. Moreover, the fact that her only solid memory of the event was singing the same songs that later appeared in the recording suggests that she reconstructed the memory of meeting the composer after seeing the CD. Perhaps in reality she sang to Kulakovsky all the communist/resistance

songs included in his 1953 article, out of which he then constructed the narrative in support of the Greek communists. This understanding of the story would also provide the missing link between the songs and the aforementioned narrative by identifying the source of the songs, an exiled communist fighter who sang songs of the Greek resistance, alongside folksongs, and in this way embodied the very argument that Kulakovsky was attempting to make: that the Greek communist fighters were part of a long line of Greek dissident fighters who, since the creation of the state, had struggled for the 'liberation' of the motherland.

Unfortunately, Maria Beikou passed away in 2011, and so a follow-up interview to establish whether she would have been able to recall Kulakovsky or the incident is now impossible. Nevertheless, there is no suggestion in the scholarship about Shostakovich that he received the pieces from Beikou rather than from Kulakovsky. The precise way they were transmitted will, for now, remain a mystery, and it is perhaps irrelevant whether Beikou in fact saw Shostakovich's face. At the same time that Beikou was relocating to Moscow, Shostakovich turned to the transcription of the songs, partly out of personal interest and partly to appease the establishment. His *Spanish Songs* (Op. 100) are seen, alongside the *Greek Songs*, as part of his second period of song production (1948–1966), a period during which the composer used easily digestible and widely acceptable material

(Fairclough and Fanning, 2008: 234, 244). Kulakovsky, taking part in the intellectual fights in his own guild, supplied Shostakovich with ideologically correct material to transcribe, and out of these three parallel processes a Greek song cycle was composed.

Ironically, while in the sphere of the arts, such folklore-inspired gestures were accepted as ways in which musicians could repent, while Kulakovsky was finding in song a continuous history of Greek courage, and while Beikou was becoming the new voice of the Greek radio programme in Moscow and (perhaps) Shostakovich's inadvertent song supplier, the Soviet state had been actively discriminating against and displacing ethnic Greek populations from Crimea, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, and other places, since 1937. After 1949, 41,618 ethnic Greeks were relocated from the Black Sea to central Asia with devastating consequences for their livelihoods (Fotiadis, 2003: 128–130, 140). Nevertheless, as far as the cultural apparatus was concerned, part of the road to Shostakovich's musical redemption was paved with reimagined Greek melodies.

References

Apter, R. and Herman, M. 2016. *Translating for Singing: The Theory, Art and Craft of Translating Lyrics*. London: Bloomsbury.

Arnold, D. ed. 1983. *The New Oxford Companion to Music*. Vol. 2 [K-Z]. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, N. 1989. *French Images from the Greek War of Independence 1821–1830*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press.

Beikou, M. 2011. *Since you are asking, I shall remember*. [e-book] Athens: Kastaniotis Publishers. Available at: <https://www.kastaniotis.com/book/978-960-03-5283-2> [Accessed 23 October 2017]. [Original in Greek: Μπεΐκου, M. 2011. Αφού με ρωτάτε, να θυμηθώ... Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Καστανιώτη].

Chapman, J.G. 1963. *Real Wages in Soviet Russia since 1928*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Clogg, R. 2013. *A Concise History of Modern Greece*. 3rd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Close, D.H. 1995. *The Origins of the Greek Civil War*. London & New York: Longman.

Dmitri Shostakovich Archive [Архив Д.Д.Шостаковича], ф. 1,р.2, ед. хр. 52 (10 л.).

Egorova, T. 1997. *Soviet Film Music: An Historical Survey*. United Kingdom: Harwood Academic Publishers.

Fairclough, P., Fanning, D. eds., 2008. *The Cambridge Companion to Shostakovich*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fay, E.L. 2000. *Shostakovich: A Life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Fitzpatrick, S. 1992. *The Cultural Front: Power and Culture in Revolutionary Russia*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.

Fitzpatrick, S. New Perspectives on Stalinism. *The Russian Review*, 45(4), pp. 357–73.

Fotiadis, K.E. 2003. *The Greek populations of Russia and the Soviet Union*. 2nd ed. Thessaloniki: Antonis Stamoulis Publishers.

[Original in Greek: Φωτιάδης, Κ. Εμμ. 2003. Β΄Έκδ. Ο Ελληνισμός της Ρωσίας και της Σοβιετικής Ένωσης. Θεσσαλονίκη: Εκδοτικός Οίκος Αντώνη Σταμούλη].
Frolova-Walker, M. 2004. Stalin and the Art of Boredom. *Twentieth-century music*, 1(1), pp. 101–24.
Frolova-Walker, M. 2016. *Stalin's Music Prize: Soviet Culture and Politics*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press
Gazi, K. (n.d) *Partisan Songs (Collection)*. Athens: DAMPublishers. [Original in Greek: Γάζη. Ν. (χ.η) Αντάρτικα Τραγούδια (Συλλογή). Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις ΔΑΜ].
Holden, R, Vouras, M. 1965. *Greek Folk Dances*. Newark, New Jersey: Folkraft Press.
Hulme, D. 2010. *Dmitri Shostakovich Catalogue: The first hundred years and beyond*. 4th ed. Lanham, Toronto, Plymouth UK: The Scarecrow Press Inc.
Hunt, Y. 1996. *Traditional Dance in Greek Culture*. Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies.
Kulakovsky, L. 1953. Songs of the Greek Struggle. *Sovetskaya muzyka*, 8, 19 August, pp. 92–5. [Original in Russian: Кулаковский, Л. Греческие Песни Борьбы. Советская музыка № 8, август 1953, С. 92–5].
Loutzaki, R. 2006. The Zalongo dance. *Archaeology and Arts*, 100, pp. 17–25. [Original in Greek: Λουτζάκη, Ρ. Ο Χορός του Ζαλόγγου. *Αρχαιολογία και Τέχνες*, τχ. 100 (Σεπτέμβριος, 2006), σελ. 17–25].
Matthews, M. 1978. *Privilege in the Soviet Union: A Study of Elite Life-Styles under Communism*. London, Boston, Sydney: George Allen & Unwin.
Palamas, K. 1964. Collected Works. Vol. 5. Athens: Biris-Govostis Publications. [Original in Greek: Παλαμάς, Κ. 1964. Άπαντα: τομ. 5. Αθήνα: Μπίρης-Γκοβόστης]
Petrides, T. 1975. *Greek Dances*. Athens: Lycabettus Press.
Politis, A. 2005. The 'Zalongo Dance'. Transmitters of information, transmitters of reproduction, receptors of understanding. *The citizen*, 139, pp. 35–43 [Original in Greek: Πολίτης, Α. «Ο Χορός του Ζαλόγγου».

Πληροφοριακοί πομποί, πομποί αναμετάδοσης, δέκτες πρόσληψης. *Ο Πολίτης*, τχ. 139 (Δεκ. 2005) 35–43]

Sadie, St. ed. 2001. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. 2nd ed. Vol. 21. London: Macmillan Publishers Limited.

Sadie, S. ed. 2001. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. 2nd ed. Vol. 23. London: Macmillan Publishers Limited.

Sakellariou, M.B. ed. 1997. *Epirus: 4000 years of Greek History and Civilization*. Athens: Ekdotike Athenon.

Schwarz, B. 1972. *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia 1917 1970*. London: Barrie & Jenkins.

Shostakovich, D. 1954. Forward! [score]. Supplementary edition of *Sovetskaya muzyka*, 5, pp. 17–19.

Shostakovich, D. 1982. *D. Shostakovich: Collected works in forty-two volumes, Volume thirty-two: Romances and Songs for Voice and Piano*. Moscow: State Publishers 'Music'. Score.

Shostakovich, D. 1986. *Greek Songs*. [Recording of live performance in Berlin] Performed by Heiner Hopfner and Hartmut Höll. Broadcaster: BBC Radio 3, 9 September 1987 [Held at the British Library Sound Collection, catalogue number: B2719/2/2]

Shostakovich, 2002. *Shostakovich, D.: Songs (Complete), Vol. 1- Vocal Cycles of the Fifties (1950-1956)* [CD] Delos

Shostakovich, D. 2010. *Shostakovich: New Collected Works*. Vol. 92. Moscow: DSCH Publishers. Score.

Sparti, B. and Van Zile, J. eds. 2011. *Imaging Dance: Visual Representations of Dancers and Dancing*. Hildesheim, Zürich, New York: Georg Olms Verlag.

Tsekou, K. 2013. *Greek political refugees in Eastern Europe 1945 1989*. Athens: Alexandria Publishers. [Original in Greek: Τσέκου, Κ. 2013. Έλληνες πολιτικοί πρόσφυγες στην Ανατολική Ευρώπη 1945-1989. Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Αλεξάνδρεια].

Vishnevskaya, G. 1984. *Galina: A Russian Story*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Voutyra, E., Dalkavoukis, V., Marantzidis, N. and Bontila, M. eds. 2005. *'With the Guns at the Ready': Political refugees of the Greek civil war in Eastern Europe*. Thessaloniki: University of Macedonia Press. [Original in Greek: Βουτυρά, Ε., Δαλκαβούκης, Β., Μαραντζίδης, Ν., Μποντίλα, Μ. (επιμ.) 2005 «Με το όπλο παρά πόδα»: Οι πολιτικοί πρόσφυγες του ελληνικού εμφυλίου πολέμου στην Ανατολική Ευρώπη. Θεσσαλονίκη: Εκδόσεις Πανεπιστημίου Μακεδονίας].

Wilson, E. 1994. *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered*. London, Boston: Faber & Faber.

Zacharov, Y. 2016. The origins of melody analysis in the USSR: Lev Kulakovsky. *Man and Culture*, 2, pp. 41–51. [Original in Russian: Захаров Ю.К. У истоков анализа мелодии в СССР: Лев Владимирович Кулаковский // Человек и культура. — 2016. - № 2. - С. 41–51].

Acknowledgements

The author would like to express her gratitude to Dr. Konstantinos Pantelidis for translating significant primary sources from Russian, and for sharing his insight on Shostakovich and his work, over tea and cookies.

Credit for the recording of the songs: Dr. Andriana Minou (piano), Ms. Danae Bletsa (voice)

Musicology Research
Issue 5: pp. 483-506

17

'Claiming back the Artic': Evaluating the Effectiveness of Music as a Voice for the Indigenous Subaltern

Kiara Wickremasinghe

1. 'The scramble for the Arctic': Introducing the context

> [Referring to indigenous people of the Arctic] '…often through the music which had sustained them through everything, the music allowed their human dignity to shine again'.
>
> (Sara Wheeler on BBC Radio 3 *Private Passions* – 6th December 2015 Broadcast)

Drawing on her adventures in the Arctic during an interview with Michael Berkeley on BBC Radio 3's *Private Passions*, author Sara Wheeler comments on music being a voice for the marginalised and pathway to indigenous self-representation. In

© 2018 Kiara Wickremasinghe

awe of the Arctic wilderness, Sara Wheeler describes her reaction to the fusing of sublime beauty and terror as 'overwhelming and uplifting and terrifying, all at the same time'.

The Arctic is often imagined as a pristine, silent and dreamy place that is surpassed by the power of nature. In reality, the Arctic Region is a fragile, politicised and contested space, among the first to experience the impacts of climate change and pose consequences for the wider world (Leduc, 2010). While global warming increases the rapidity of polar ice melt, sea level rise and other alarming forms of environmental change, the Region also presents geopolitical opportunities where oil reserves are exposed and shipping routes opened, ultimately causing a 'scramble for the Arctic' (Craciun, 2009: 103). Often dominated by state projects, defeated by energy corporation agendas, and overshadowed by polar bears and other poster boys for climate change are the narratives of indigenous people living in the Arctic Region. While the Arctic has not experienced an emblematic version of colonialism, the framing of indigenous people as 'other' and suppressing of their voices perpetuate colonial relations (Cameron, 2012: 103), echoing Spivak's (1988) concept of the *subaltern*. Adopting a postcolonial theoretical approach, this paper explores the use of music as a medium for attaining *subaltern* self-representation through exercising

indigenous advocacy and communicating indigenous knowledge and counter-narratives. Depending on the message carried, voices represented, audience reach and response of listeners, music can be a vehicle for decolonisation, promoting indigenous sovereignty in the Arctic Region. This paper argues that sovereignty and 'claiming back the Arctic' manifests not merely in a physical territorial sense but also as cultural preservation. Along with promoting mediums for the *subaltern* to speak, fostering platforms for effective listening is equally important for purposes of generating response and action. Will we stop and listen?

2. 'Oriental undertones in the Arctic': Applying postcolonial theory to an Arctic context

There is value in seeing the Arctic and its indigenous populations through a postcolonial theoretical lens. Postcolonial scholars recognise the positioning of places and people and offer a critical approach for analysing colonial legacies and relations. By problematising the dominance of Western knowledge systems, postcolonial scholars propose alternative views of the world and counter-narratives that privilege marginalised voices (Sharp, 2009). The cultural imagination of the Arctic Region as a pristine and dreamy wilderness is significant when considering Said's (1978) scholarship on *Orientalism*. Patronising and

exoticized views of place and people in the *East* or *Orient* legitimised *Western* or *Occidental* dominance in this region. Thus, Said argued that culturally imagined binary geographies shaped real geographies practiced in the *Orient*. This is an argument that resonates with the Arctic context, where romanticised views of the wilderness may influence the way indigenous populations in this Region are perceived and how power dynamics play out as a result. Though the Arctic was not subjected to colonial rule in an emblematic sense, the beliefs and practices of indigenous groups have been suppressed historically by nation states and Christian missionaries and sustained in present times through framings such as 'local' and 'traditional' (Cameron, 2012: 103). Such positionings of indigeneity that romanticise indigenous knowledges (Li, 2000) and assume 'intellectual and spatial confinement' (Appadurai, 1988: 38) can result in political marginalisation. This echoes Spivak's (1988) concept of the *subaltern*, that is those at the margins of society who are rendered without agency under the hegemonic terms set by postcolonial culture. Claiming that the *subaltern* faces 'epistemic violence' (ibid.: 25) where their knowledges are undermined while Western knowledge systems are privileged, Spivak emphasises the need for self-representation. Concerning *subaltern* self-representation, Spivak asserts that *subaltern* heterogeneity which

generates diversity in voice must be recognised to avoid certain voices being privileged over others.

In the Arctic context this may involve unpicking the complex positionings of indigenous people in the Canadian Arctic (Inuit) versus those in the European Arctic (Sámi) and how these ambiguities may impact the counter-narratives that postcolonial scholars are eager to convey. Inuit communities are particularly caught up in climate change debates as their physical territory and livelihoods are threatened by environmental change and political processes. While there are ongoing efforts to recognise their vulnerability linked to climate change, Inuit rhetoric points to historical and contemporary colonial practices underlying climate change itself, where the dispossession of indigenous lands and resources have paved the way to industrial shipping and resource extraction in the region and increased greenhouse gas emissions (Cameron, 2012). In addition, Inuit call for participation in regional governance and input in designing mitigation and adaptation strategies for climate change, both of which would benefit from indigenous ways of knowing and intercultural dialogue (ibid.). There have been non-musical measures advocating for indigenous autonomy in the Arctic which must be acknowledged, one being the Pan-Inuit Trails Atlas. A collaboration between Inuit and researchers, this interactive atlas draws on indigenous knowledge to digitally

map Inuit trails over satellite imagery thereby preserving indigenous knowledge and history while asserting historical Inuit sovereignty and mobility in this Region (University of Cambridge Research, 2014). In the wake of sea ice fragmentation resulting from global warming, preserving knowledge of trails is important to Inuit for whom sea ice represents home, connects communities, provides a space to travel and contains fishing lakes and hunting grounds (Bravo, 2010).

In the European Arctic, Sámi inhabit the northern regions spanning the nation states of Norway, Finland, Sweden and Russia, and have sought recognition as a distinctive group of people since the nineteenth century (Ramnarine, 2013). 'Positioned ambiguously within the borders of the western, the indigenous, the European and the colonised' (ibid.: 251), Sámi have historically been denied agency including the right to map and settle in their own lands, practice shamanism and sing joik due to being perceived negatively by scientists, Christian missionaries and Nordic governments (ibid.). Thus for them, music is not only a medium for communicating indigenous counter-narratives but also a direct vehicle for decolonisation as reviving Sámi joik and language practices promote cultural sovereignty and help 'claim back the Arctic' in a different sense. The heterogeneous nature of indigeneity and complexities

attached to historical and contemporary colonial practices can influence counter-narratives, so while counter-narratives represent a different vantage point and give agency to the marginalised group, they may not directly oppose the dominant narrative. Interestingly, as postcolonial scholar Bamberg (2004) notes, subjects can tack between dominant and counter-narratives and position themselves in the process. Having laid out the context for indigeneity in the Arctic Region, this paper proceeds to critically explore music as a medium for projecting indigenous counter-narratives and promoting subaltern self-representation.

3. 'Music to direct change': Indigenous advocacy and counter-narratives

Through music, indigenous people can offer an alternative environmental critique to Western schools of thought, namely one that situates the human subject as part of the environment rather than in relation to it (Ramnarine, 2009). The dissemination of these indigenous counter-narratives enhances intercultural dialogue (Leduc, 2010) as the Earth enters a new epoch conceptualised by Crutzen and Stoermer (2000) as the *Anthropocene*. The Earth's exit from its current geological epoch, namely the Holocene, and into this new epoch, the *Anthropocene* is largely attributed to adverse human activities which are

shifting human and global environmental relations. At a time where climate scepticism is rising and human development is being challenged, many are unwilling to accept that humankind has become 'a global geological force in its own right' (Steffen, Grinevald, Crutzen and McNeill, 2011: 843).

Sámi composer and political activist Valkeapää's *Bird Symphony* (1993) portrays a special bond that indigenous people have with ecology and reminds listeners of human coexistence with nature. Featuring recorded birdsong and waterscapes as improvising agents from his home environment, with joik singing and reindeer bells signalling human presence, Valkeapää captures the integration between all subjects and calls for listening to the flow of one another (Ramnarine, 2009). While justifying coexistence and serving as a reminder that human musical creativity is often derived from sonic ecosystems, *Bird Symphony* is not past-focused nor myth-driven. Rather, it is a political work that critiques Western ways of approaching nature as a resource for human ownership and exploitation (ibid.). Considering the Arctic itself has been subject to resource extraction, forest logging, ozone layer depletion and transboundary pollution, musical works such as *Bird Symphony* are a symbol of protest against political processes that threaten indigenous territory and natural ecosystems. Such musical works are also modes for self-

representation, critical to processes of 'asserting land rights, histories, and the validity of indigenous philosophies, as well as to rejecting external (colonial) representations' (ibid.: 208).

Alongside conveying indigenous wisdom, revivals in joik symbolise decolonisation considering this form of Sámi music making was historically prohibited. Due to their association with shamanism and the supernatural, joiking and drumming were negatively perceived by Christian missionaries (Hirvonen, 2008). Thus, in reviving these cultural and spiritual practices, the *subaltern* Sámi are speaking out, expressing their identity and declaring cultural sovereignty. In Sámi tradition, joik is an indigenous vocal style comprising a multi-layered narrative with no beginning nor end and portraying relationships between music, environment and the sacred (Ramnarine, 2009). Joik has become an integral part of the indigenous political project as evidenced in another of Valkeapää's works, a musical collaboration with Paakkunainen named *Joik Symphony* (1989). Composed for symphony orchestra, an improvising instrumental group, two joik singers and solo saxophone and formed of four movements as in Western classical music, *Joik Symphony* employs what Ramnarine (2009: 187) terms 'symphonic activism' to protest against negative representations of Sámi and struggles over minority status. Based on activist Valkeapää's melodies and

poems, the titles of the four symphonic movements are striking in their communication of nature-based discourse and indigenous philosophy – 'Polar night resounding with cold', 'Drone, joik of the hills', 'Sisters, brothers, the wind in my heart' and 'The ocean of life' (ibid.). Although joik can represent a mode of decolonisation, Helander and Kailo (1998) warn of 'white shamanism', a contemporary form of colonial practice where indigenous songs, knowledge, beliefs or healing methods are appropriated by non-indigenous people and sold for profit. This commercialisation of Sámi spirituality moulds it into an exotic commodity, misinterprets and distorts shamanistic wisdom and consequently diminishes the effect of the indigenous project (ibid.).

Returning to indigenous counter-narratives, Valkeapää's *Joik Symphony* which adopts Western musical structures when furthering the indigenous political project, illuminates the complexities in indigenous positionings. This supports postcolonial scholar Bamberg's (2004) observations about subjects tacking between master and counter-narratives when stating a different vantage point. A more recent musical initiative that demonstrates ambiguous indigenous positioning is the work of young Sámi rapper – Amoc. Rapping since 2005, Amoc has pioneered the use of Inari Sámi language (a minority language

with only around 300 remaining speakers), dispersing it across local and global platforms and ultimately helping preserve this endangered language (Leppänen & Pietikäinen 2010). Moreover, through music he has helped Inari Sámi regain their collective voice, strengthened ethnic identity within the community and motivated younger Sámi to learn the language, enabling it to sustain into the future (Ridanpää and Pasanen, 2009). A striking contribution of Amoc's musicianship is his bridge-building between two stereotypically opposite worlds that is Western urban rap culture and rural, nature-centred Sámi culture. In this respect, his rap 'functions as an emancipatory tool deconstructing the stereotypical ways of approaching ethnic heritages' (ibid.: 213). Sámi tend to be imagined through colonial eyes as modest, submissive, communal and primitive but Amoc's rap features lyrics such as 'I am Amoc, and when I go mad – people are frightened to death' and 'I have been alone for my whole life, I'm alone everyday'. These examples of lyrics reveal aggression and individual loneliness respectively, deconstructing stereotypes of Sámi being purely peace-loving and communal people (ibid.). Said's (1978) explorations in *Orientalism* show how art and other cultural practices contribute to 'othering' by fuelling stereotypes and imaginary opposition, so Amoc's work can be credited for deconstructing stereotypes of Sámi people while conserving a minority language. Ironically however, it is

Amoc's exotic ethnic roots and related Sámi stereotypes that make his music hugely appealing and a topic of discussion in academic, media and political circles (Ridanpää and Pasanen, 2009).

This section has highlighted how indigenous music making aids both physical and cultural aspects of 'claiming back' the Arctic. Works such as Valkeapää's *Bird Symphony* protest against the destruction of indigenous territory and natural ecosystems due to resource extraction and other political processes, and alert listeners about land rights and issues relating to physical territory. Calling for indigenous knowledge to be taken seriously and reviving historically silenced methods of music making such as joiking mark decolonisation and declare cultural sovereignty. However, the misappropriation and commercialisation of indigenous cultural assets threatens the power of the indigenous political project to effect meaningful change. At times, the ambiguous positionings of indigeneity as revealed through music can confuse or diminish the distinct message conveyed. On the other hand, cases such as Amoc prove that mixing styles and leaving ambiguities unresolved does appeal to listeners and deconstructs stereotypes in the process. This paper now turns to imaginations of the Arctic wilderness and how anxiety about losing it fuels musical initiatives for environmental advocacy,

while debating whether indigenous populations reap any benefits from these efforts.

4. 'Ecotopian Arctic soundscapes': Music for environmental advocacy

When sound and music are channelled positively to circulate environmental messages via social justice events, they create 'ecotopian soundscapes' according to Morris (1999: 129). Greenpeace's *Save the Arctic* campaign have fashioned ecotopian soundscapes in varying capacities to raise awareness about the fragile state of the Arctic and stimulate environmental action. In 2015 for example, a group of string players set up outside global energy company Shell's headquarters in London and performed a *Requiem for Arctic Ice* in an effort to halt Shell's plans for Arctic oil drilling expansion (The Guardian, 2015). Employees and passers-by alike stopped to listen, proving that music is 'not merely a meaningful or communicative medium' but has the power to influence 'how people compose their bodies, how they conduct themselves, how they experience the passage of time, how they feel – in terms of energy and emotion – about themselves, about others, and about situations' (DeNora, 2000: 16, 17). Considering *Requiem for Arctic Ice,* the ecotopian soundscape captured the attention of people, composed their bodies by stopping them in their tracks and turned their

attention towards a specific situation and place, that is global warming in the Arctic Region.

On another occasion in 2016, Greenpeace produced a music video featuring popular Italian pianist Ludovico Einaudi performing his composition *Elegy for the Arctic* on an iceberg in Svalbard (Classic FM, 2017). With pristine Arctic wilderness and a crumbling glacier as a backdrop, this solemn and minimalist musical reflection accents what could be lost at the expense of human development and why urgent action is required. Attracting almost two million viewers on YouTube, this music video has an impressive reach owing to the famous pianist and alluring production techniques. Ecotopian soundscapes may have discernible emotional impacts on audiences but monitoring correlations between such events and any environmental action taken after is challenging. Nevertheless, while artists such as Einaudi and organisers of environmental initiatives such as Greenpeace cannot guarantee activating change, they do provide 'aesthetic infrastructure and environmental behaviour' that viewers can incorporate into everyday life choices if the soundscapes move them to do so (Galloway, 2014: 71). This echoes ethnomusicologist Titon's (2012) claim that sound and music can convey knowledge and promote environmental change where science and policy have been inaccessible and thus less successful.

Both the above Greenpeace initiatives capitalise on the emotional affordance of music to effect change and carry a key message, reminding audiences that humans are only one group in a larger interconnected ecosystem and should therefore maintain reciprocal relationships with other groups. Privileging the image of silent, pristine wilderness in its key message resonates with Murray Schafer's (1977) pioneering work on soundscapes which defines ideal soundscapes as those free of the mechanical, electric and industrial noises of increasing human development, often at the expense of nature. The key message also echoes indigenous counter-narratives on coexistence between humans and nature and yet these populations are largely excluded. While silence and isolation are highlighted, people – especially indigenous populations of the Arctic – are missing in image and voice in the campaign, music video and composer voice. Thus, these ecotopian spaces in the examples discussed can be contested in terms of whose gaze and narratives they privilege. Further, the effectiveness of these idealised spaces depends on how participants engage, that is whether they choose to actively listen and proactively adjust their actions (Galloway, 2014). The following section addresses this notion of effective listening, which applies to any form of musical advocacy, whether indigenous or environmental.

5. 'Hearing the subaltern speak': Fostering platforms for effective listening and action

Ecotopian soundscapes 'consolidate a listenership who is united by common ecological values' (Galloway, 2014: 71). Alongside creating mediums for the subaltern to speak, promoting active listening is equally vital to the process of advocacy. Elements such as audience reach and response to messages conveyed via music influence the level of action taken. Alaskan composer John Luther Adams' composition *Sila: The Breath of the World* is an example of music that facilitates different experiences of ecological listening depending on where it is performed and with what configuration of instruments. Through his work *Sila,* Adams encourages the audience to search for music within surrounding sounds with the expectation that they will leave the performance transformed (Lincoln Centre, 2014). Its outdoor premier in 2014 at Lincoln Centre's Hearst Plaza, New York City featured five choirs of woodwind, brass, strings, percussion and voice, superimposed over the City's soundscape. Though non-indigenous, Adams derives compositional inspiration from the Inuit concept of 'Sila', a force that broadly signifies, and is experienced in weather. Spiritual and ideological aspects of Inuit knowledge are often marginalised by Western interpreters due to their presumed inaccessibility, isolation in the past and non-empirical nature (Leduc, 2010), yet Adams 'aligns with Inuit

thinking and further shapes an ear for climate change in this era of global warming' (Chisholm, 2016: 174). In composing a musical work that is inspired by and applies Inuit knowledge to the context of climate change, Adams has successfully fused indigenous and environmental advocacy efforts. When depicting 'Sila', Adams (2009: 1) is not focused on specific harmonic, melodic and rhythmic patterns but rather 'an ecology of music' which centres around 'the totality of the sound'. He seeks to attune listeners to unsettling noise, which has now become 'the breath of the world' (ibid.: 4), and reorient them so that they become outward-focused and conscious of larger patterns of life on earth.

Signalling a departure from musical compositions, sonic images in both indigenous and non-indigenous cinema which draw on Arctic themes can aid advocacy efforts and possibly secure a wider reach than songs, in number and demographic. Combining the sonic and visual can be effective in evoking emotion and crafting memorable themes and messages for audiences. *Ofelas (Pathfinder)* (1987), an example from Sámi cinema, and *Disney's Frozen* (2013), a Western animation that reflects northern politics and people, both illuminate indigenous ideologies though in varying degrees and targeting different audiences. The former is an action film based on a Sámi legend,

filmed in Norway and broadcast in Sámi Lapp language (with English subtitles) while the latter is a recent addition to the Disney collection catering to younger, English speaking audiences. While *Ofelas* is based on a Sámi legend, Ramnarine (2013: 251) claims it is not past-focused but rather 'tells a story about conflict in the past to promote Sámi indigenous sensibilities in the present, as well as point to future political possibilities for global cooperation'. Considering Sámi oral tradition holds keys to records of past geophysical events which can contribute to current climate change debates, *Ofelas* advocates for indigenous knowledge systems and reminds viewers of the value in community and global interdependency. *Frozen* tells a fictional tale of sisterhood, mystical icy powers and a quest to reverse a perpetual weather condition and save a kingdom.

Despite stark differences from the outside, both films begin by featuring Sámi joik in their opening credits sequence. *Ofelas* portrays joik and shamanic drumming with Sámi composer and activist Valkeapää contributing to the film soundtrack, while the opening joik *Vuelie* in *Frozen* is composed by Norwegian-Sámi musician Frode Fjellheim. *Vuelie* or *Song of the Earth* has no beginning nor end which is characteristic of indigenous joik, but Fjellheim also marks the influence of Lutheran missionaries in

Scandinavia by overlaying the joik with a church hymn-like vocalise (Ramnarine, 2016). Both films continue to capture elements of indigeneity though *Ofelas* perhaps portrays links between the environment and sacred more accurately and through a Sámi lens. In one scene, a reindeer sighting foretells the shaman's death and in another, a shamanic vision of a reindeer after Aigen (the boy protagonist) defeats and survives invaders symbolises his appointment as the next shamanic leader/pathfinder (Ramnarine, 2013). Though much less solemn in its depiction, *Frozen* describes the closeness between reindeer herder Kristoff and his reindeer Sven especially through the song 'Reindeers are better than people'. *Frozen* also refers to the sacred Sámi landscape in the song 'Fixer Upper' when rocks come to life as spirit beings. In citing links between the environment and sacred, *Frozen* departs from master narratives and presents alternative views of the world, in this case the Sámi one. Additionally, while its plot is fictional, *Frozen* raises awareness about climate change and the fragility of the northern landscape, though this is depicted in an inverted sense as perpetual winter as opposed to global warming (Ramnarine, 2016). The animation also illuminates the power dynamics at play in claiming the kingdom, somewhat resonating with current political claims to the Arctic Region (ibid.). In summary, combining sonic and visual elements can be an effective means of capturing the

attention of audiences and a platform which promotes active listening.

6. 'Claiming back the Arctic': Conclusion

Imagining the Arctic as pristine and sublime wilderness masks its fragile reality as a contested space, scrambled over by political, indigenous and environmental parties. Fear and nostalgia associated with losing the Arctic wilderness have sparked multiscale efforts to save this Region. Where music has been incorporated in environmental advocacy such as in Greenpeace's *Save the Arctic* campaign, it has afforded emotional uplift, united listeners and encouraged environmental behaviour. However, as environmental advocacy efforts, inter-state dialogue and regional development agendas progress, indigenous populations find themselves on the sidelines. From a postcolonial theoretical perspective, *subaltern* populations such as Inuit and Sámi in the Arctic face marginalisation and often lose out in scrambles for the Arctic. As argued in this paper, music can provide a voice for the indigenous *subaltern* and promote physical/territorial and cultural 'claiming back' of the Arctic. Indigenous musical works such as *Bird Symphony* can assert physical sovereignty by serving as icons of protest against land rights issues or destructive resource extraction. Through conveying indigenous knowledge, wisdom and narratives, such

musical works also express cultural sovereignty. Works such as *Joik Symphony* which revive historically suppressed practices like joiking, or Inari rap by Amoc which deconstructs ethnic stereotypes, also declare cultural sovereignty by breaking free from colonial barriers and representations. However, projecting marginalised indigenous voices through music only represents one side of the coin. The other side demands platforms for effective listening that generate response and action. This entails reorienting listeners through musical initiatives such as Adams' *Sila* or conveying memorable sonic and visual narratives through films such as *Ofelas*. Only once platforms for effective listening are fostered will we hear the *subaltern* speak.

References

Adams, J. L. 2009. *The Place Where You Go to Listen: In Search of an Ecology of Music*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press.

Appadurai, A. 1988. 'Putting hierarchy in its place', *Cultural Anthropology* 3: 36-49.

Bamberg. M. 2004. 'Considering counter-narratives'. In *Considering Counter-Narratives: Narrating, resisting, making sense,* edited by M. Bamberg and M. Andrews. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

BBC Radio 3. 2015. 'Sara Wheeler' in *Private Passions*. Available online at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b06r44b4

Bravo. M. 2010. 'Epilogue: The humanism of sea ice'. In *SIKU: Knowing Our Ice,* edited by I. Krupnik, C. Aporta, S. Gearheard, G. J. Laidler and L. Kielsen Holm. London: Springer.

Cameron. E. S. 2012. 'Securing indigenous politics: A critique of the vulnerability and adaptation approach to the human dimensions

of climate change in the Canadian Arctic', *Global Environmental Change* 22: 103-114.

Chisholm, D. 2016. 'Shaping an ear for climate change: The silarjuapomorphizing music of Alaskan composer John Luther Adams', *Environmental Humanities* 8 (2): 172-195.

Classic FM. 2017. 'Einaudi plays piano on an iceberg as an Arctic glacier crumbles around him'. Available online at: https://www.classicfm.com/composers/einaudi/news/iceberg-video-greenpeace/

Craciun, S. 2009. 'The scramble for the Arctic', *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies* 11(1): 103-114.

Crutzen, P. and Stoermer, E. 2000. 'The Anthropocene', *Global Change Newsletter* 41: 17-18.

DeNora, T. 2000. *Music in Everyday Life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Galloway, K. 2014. 'Ecotopian spaces: Soundscapes of environmental advocacy and awareness', *Social Alternatives* 33(3): 71-79.

The Guardian. 2015. 'Greenpeace performs Arctic requiem in effort to touch hearts over Shell drilling'. Available online at: https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2015/aug/03/greenpeace-adds-a-new-string-to-its-bow-with-musical-protest-at-shell

Helander, E. and Kailo, K. (eds.) 1998. *No Beginning, No End: The Sami (Lapps) speak up.* Alberta: Canadian Circumpolar Institute.

Hirvonen, V. 2008. *Voices from Sápmi: Sámi Women's Path to Authorship.* Guovdageaidnue (Kautokeino): DAT.

Leduc, T. 2010. *Climate, Culture, Change: Inuit and Western dialogues with a warming North.* Ottawa: University of Ottawa press.

Leppänen, S. and Pietikäinen, S. 2010. 'Urban rap goes to Arctic Lapland: Breaking through and saving the endangered Inari Sámi language'. In *Language and the Market,* edited by H. Kelly-Holmes and G. Mautner. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Li, T. M. 2000. 'Articulating indigenous identity in Indonesia: Resource politics and the tribal slot', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42(1): 149-179.

Lincoln Centre. 2014. 'Sila: The breath of the world'. Available online at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rUDjOyacZoU

Morris, M. 1999. 'Ecotopian sounds; or, the music of John Luther Adams and strong environmentalism'. In *Crosscurrents and Counterpoints: Offerings on honour of Bengt Hambraeus at 70,* edited by P. Brosman, N. Engebretsen and B. Alphonce. Göteborg: Göteborg University Press.

Murray Schafer, R. 1977. *The Soundscape: Our sonic environment and the tuning of the world.* Vermont: Destiny Books.

Ramnarine, T. K. 2009. 'Acoustemology, indigeneity and joik in Valkeapää's symphonic activism: Views from Europe's Arctic fringes for environmental ethnomusicology', *Ethnomusicology* 53(2): 187-217.

_________. 2013. 'Sonic images of the sacred in Sámi cinema: From Finno-Ugric rituals to Fanon in an interpretation of Ofelas (Pathfinder)', *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies* 15(2): 239-254.

_________. 2016. 'Frozen through Nordic frames', *Puls: Swedish Journal of Ethnomusicology and Ethnochoreology* 1: 13-31.

Ridanpää, J. and Pasanen, A. 2009. 'From the Bronx to the wilderness: Inari-Sami rap, language revitalisation and contested ethnic stereotypes', *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 9(2): 213 -230.

Said, E. W. 1978. *Orientalism.* New York: Vintage Books.

Sharp, J. P. 2009. *Geographies of Postcolonialism.* London: Sage.

Spivak, G. C. 1988. 'Can the subaltern speak?' In *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture,* edited by C. Nelson and L. Grossberg. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Steffen, W., Grinevald, J., Crutzen, P. And McNeil, J. 2011. 'The Anthropocene: Conceptual and historical perspectives', *Philosophical Transactions of The Royal Society A* 369: 842 867.

Titon, J. T. 2012. 'Ecosystem as metaphor', *Sustainable Music: A research blog on the subject of sustainability and music.* Available online at: http://sustainablemusic.blogspot.ca

University of Cambridge Research. 2014. 'First atlas of Inuit Arctic trails launched'. Available online at: http://www.cam.ac.uk/research/news/first-atlas-of-inuit-arctic -trails-launched

This page is left intentionally blank

Musicology Research
Issue 4: pp. 507-530

18

Engagement and Immersion: The Extent to which an Expanded Narrative is Present within American Minimalist Music during the 1960s and 1970s

Joanne Mills

1. Introduction

La Monte Young and Terry Riley are described by Keith Potter in his subject entry for Minimalism in the *Grove Music Online* database as two of the 'pioneers in the evolution of musical minimalism', a term which had been introduced by Michael Nyman in a 1968 article for *The Spectator* (Nyman, 1968: 22-23). However, as Kyle Gann, Potter and Pwyll ap Siôn note in their introduction to *The Ashgate Research Companion to Minimalist and Postminimalist Music*, most composers termed minimalist have "disavowed" the term (Gann, Potter and ap Siôn, 2013:3).

© 2018 Joanne Mills

Gann, Potter and ap Siôn list the main features of minimalism as being harmonic stasis, repetition, drones, gradual process, steady beat, static instrumentation, metamusic, pure tuning and audible structure, while 'emphasizing that no one of them can be found in all works we might want to term minimalist' (Gann et al.; 2013: 4-6).

Of these features, the use of repetition as a transitional concept links these composers with the Minimalist art movement of the period, referencing the sculptures of Robert Morris, Donald Judd and Carl Andre. Similarly, the use of sustained sounds and drones, and the creation of a soundscape, can be seen as the aural equivalent of the large scale sculptural 'scenes' created by Morris, Ronald Bladen and Fred Sandback.

An additional feature which links Young and Riley with the aforementioned artists is relational practice[1]. Wim Mertens notes that '…both Young and Riley were interested in the physiological and psychical effects of music' (Mertens, 1983: 36), adding that '[f]or Young, the positioning and the spatial mobility of the listener are an integral part of the experience of the composition' (ibid.: 30). In 1969, while a Creative Associate at

[1] Nicolas Bourriaud described art as 'a state of encounter' in his text Relational Aesthetics (2002), through which an 'arena of exchange' is created requiring a degree of participation from the audience (Bourriaud, 2002:17-18).

the Center of the Creative and Performing Arts at the State University of New York at Buffalo (SUNYAB), Riley gave an interview to the *Buffalo Courier* ahead of the 'Evenings for New Music' concert on 3rd May 1969 in which he is quoted as working towards 'opening up a new concert situation… to get away from a rigid audience structure where people are confined in rows of seats… [towards] people listening in an open space, where they could move around' (Puttnam, 1969). This relationship between work/performance and audience can be evidenced by the works discussed within this paper.

(© Material from this interview belongs to the State University of New York at Buffalo. No part of this extract may be reproduced, transmitted, or utilized in any form by any electronic, mechanical, or others means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying, microfilming, and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system).

It seems appropriate to leave a definition of the genre to the composers themselves. As Riley notes in an interview included in the text *New Voices* by Geoff Smith and Nicole Walker Smith, 'its radical simplicity and hypnotic patterns captured the spirit of an age that sought a return to the spiritual essence of life through social and political liberation' (Riley in Smith and Smith, 1995: 227). Riley continues by noting that,

> [a]fter World War Two there was a change in the climate, just before the 1960s – in my view the high point of the twentieth century in terms of really wanting to be free, to tear off the bonds of society which said you

> had to live a certain way or do certain things to be a valid individual – and that was when minimalism happened.
>
> (ibid.:232)

2. Intermedia, Engagement and Immersion

In his essay *Intermedia*, Dick Higgins notes that '[m]uch of the best work being produced [during the 1960s/1970s] seems to fall between media', attributing this change in part to the perceived movement at this time towards 'the dawn of a classless society, to which separation into rigid categories is absolutely irrelevant' (Higgins, 1978: 12). Higgins notes that such 'Intermedia' incites a dialogue to a greater extent than single mediums, citing as an example the Happening. According to Higgins, 'the Happening developed as an intermedium, an uncharted land that lies between collage, music and the theater', adding that '[t]he concept itself is better understood by what it is not rather than what it is' (ibid.: 16).

Artists who actively sought to engage and encourage participation from their audience included Allan Kaprow, who placed importance on simplicity, spontaneity and originality over that which is easily reproducible, encouraging improvisation and chance events and suggesting that events be loosely scripted and planned in order to elicit wilful participation. Kaprow's Happenings themselves do not require

an (read formal, defined) audience, as all those involved are players or participants within the work. Passive watching is discouraged, except where it is required as part of the work, yet it is noted that works taking place in public arenas may result in the passing gaze of others not involved, who are thus interpreted as part of the environment.

Higgins notes the 'parallels to the Happenings in music', including composers whose work '[falls] into the intermedium between music and sculpture' (Ibid.). This paper aims to take this claim further, by positing the idea that the case studies identified, could all be described as happenings, existing as an intermedium between performance and installation.

The relevance of audience experience to music and sound are discussed by Wim Mertens and Brandon LaBelle. Mertens recognises that a listener has the freedom to experience a work as they choose, as 'each moment may be the beginning or the end… he will never miss anything by not listening' (Mertens, 1983: 90), alluding to the cybernetic notion of concept over content by stating that 'repetitive music has brought about a reversal of the traditional position; [where] the subject no longer determines the music, as it did in the past, but the music now determines the subject' (ibid.).

LaBelle extends this, by noting that the location and positioning of an audience are of paramount importance to the experience, comparing Young and Marian Zazeela's *Dream House* with the experience of an artwork within a gallery, referring to the notion of cybernetic and behaviourist art forms,

> Through the position of the viewer's body in various places within a gallery space, the sculpture takes on dimension: as a material presence with weight, mass, and volume, set against the given space of the gallery that, in turn, informs the perceptual experience… as a "behavioural" unfolding akin to Young's Dream House. Minimalist art and music moves toward relational interests in which the presence of a viewer or listener, and object or sound, and the spatial situation form an extended conversation.
>
> (LaBelle, 2010: 81)

At its most basic level, sound is naturally embedded in the everyday environment, allowing the individual the ability to switch between passive and active listening (bird song as compared to an electronic voice advising which cashier to visit for example).

The naturally immersive qualities of sound are discussed by Frances Dyson, who notes that '[s]ound surrounds', adding that '[i]ts phenomenal characteristics – the fact that it is invisible, intangible, ephemeral, and vibrational – coordinate with the physiology of the ears, to create a perceptual experience

profoundly different from the dominant sense of sight' (Dyson, 2009:4).

Dyson describes the 'vibration' as a particularly transformative concept, which 'figuratively and literally, fluctuates between particle and wave, object and event, being and becoming', linking this concept to philosopher Martin Heidegger's notions of *Stimmung* or 'vibration as attunement' and *Dasein* (ibid.: 10). The former 'provides a metaphysical interval, a space where certain rhetorical manoeuvres can take place, and a portal through which individuals can access the spiritual center of their "ownmost" being', while the latter is used to describe 'being-in-the-world, literally being-there' (ibid.).

Musical compositions and performances can be experienced in a variety of ways, from the intimate, personal experience of listening to a pre-recorded work using headphones, to the more theatrical and immersive environment of the concert hall or stadium, where the quality and experience of performance is often altered by the musicians involved, allowing for chance events, and may also be accompanied by visual enhancements such as smoke and lights, supporting video or performances such as dance. Often this experience takes the form of passive listening, the audience is not asked or expected to do anything

other than watch or listen – however this paper presents three historic examples of works which have allowed for a shift towards a more active relationship between audience and composition.

3. Case Study 1: Dream House

Young and Zazeela's *Dream House* was originally created in 1969 for an exhibition at Galerie Heiner Friedrich in Munich, after which it was developed into a commission from the Dia Art Foundation between 1979 and 1985. The installation has included both live performances and recorded audio, and the current version of the sound and light environment is exhibited at the MELA foundation in New York.

Young's biography on the MELA Foundation's website states that the concept of the *Dream House* environments was 'formulated' in 1962, with each described as 'a permanent space with sound and light environments in which a work would be played continuously' (Young). Zazeela's own biography on the same website further describes the environment as 'a major ongoing architectural project involving the presentation of continuous sound and light', in which,

> '[t]he ultimate design of each installation is determined by the architectural structure of the exhibition site, thereby making each light environment a unique work with its own shape and dimensions.'
>
> (Zazeela)

While the installation has taken place in several locations and taken many forms during its history, all are characterised as being an immersive audio-visual environment in which the audience can sit or freely move about the space to experience the work. An additional component to the work is a consideration of 'time', As Young and Zazeela note,

> '[t]ime is so important to the experiencing and understanding of this work that the exhibition has been specifically structured to give visitors the opportunity to spend long intervals within the environment and to return perhaps several times over the span of its duration.'
>
> (Young and Zazeela, 1996: 218)

According to Young and Zazeela, 'it may be necessary to experience the frequencies for a long period of time in order to tune one's nervous system to vibrate harmoniously with the frequencies of the environment' (ibid.). This can be seen to have parallels with Dyson's transformative concept of the sonic vibration. However, Jeremy Grimshaw notes that this experience may initially be difficult to the uninitiated, noting that,

> '[t]he timbral peculiarity and sheer volume of the *Dream House*'s sound environment may present an almost physical barrier to

> unprepared listeners, and only after extended, attentive exposure can one expect to discern the work's most remarkable aspects.'
>
> (Grimshaw, 2011:116)

Describing his experience of *Dream House: Seven+Eight Years of Sound and Light* at the MELA Foundation in New York, Ted Krueger notes the scent of incense and the availability of 'several pillows on the floor [which] invite repose', while '[t]he white walls, ceilings, woodwork and carpet are bathed in an amazing magenta light, and an extraordinary sound pervades the space' of which 'the frequency and intensity of the tones vary in each ear and that the changes correlate with even the slightest movement' (Krueger, 2008: 13). Together with the sound, suspended aluminium spirals form part of Zazeela's *Imagic Light*, whose 'ultra-slow spin is induced by air currents from a viewer's movements or thermal differences in the room' which 'creates a slowly changing composition of shadows and objects in varying intensities of contrasting hues' (ibid.: 14). Krueger adds that,

> '[g]iven the scale of the room, the compositions on both sides cannot be compared in a single view, and as I look to the other side I sweep my head through a melody. The interplay between movement and stasis, of sound and light, directly integrates these works. Each becomes the context for the other.'
>
> (ibid.)

4. Case Study 2: Time Lag Accumulator

The Magic Theater exhibition opened at the Nelson Atkins Museum of Art (formerly the Nelson Gallery of Art) in June 1968, curated by Ralph T. Coe. Works shown combined light, sound and interactivity, including the *Time-Lag Accumulator* developed by Riley and Ron Steinhilber (and later, Stuart Hutchison), which took the form of an 'octagon with eight pairs of glass doors opening into chambers' in which people could stand and make sounds which would be relayed/delayed to the other chambers (Coe, 1970: 190). A second version of the installation was developed in 2003 for the Festival of Lille and is now owned by the Museum of Contemporary Art in France.

Coe notes that 'magic theater art [exists] in the viewer's mind' (Ibid.: 15). He describes his vision for the exhibition by likening the audience's navigation around the works as a "voyage" to indicate the essential quality of 'space experience' (ibid.: 168), which 'implies the limitless seas and ports of call that begin and end at different points of each mental sailing' (ibid.). Coe describes the *Time Lag Accumulator* as containing '[r]ecorders and amplifying equipment… elevated overhead in a concealed area' (ibid.: 190). Additionally, '[e]ach of the eight outer chambers has a flashing strobe light in the ceiling and a microphone suspended in a black sock to pick up noise or utterance', while '[t]he

speakers are concealed above the outside door of every cubicle' (ibid.). This inclusion of lighting serves as a parallel to the use of sound and light in Young and Zazeela's *Dream House*. Coe notes that visitors gained from repeated visits to *The Magic Theater*, which allowed them to 'experienc[e] the same environments under differing conditions' (ibid.: 157). He suggests that this was part of the concept of the exhibition, which was 'never meant to be the same experience twice' (ibid.). One reviewer, George Ehrlich noted that, despite his concerns that the concept of the works took precedence over the experience of them, and that the works seemed 'familiar', it was a 'major experience in the memory of many' (Ehrlich, 196940). According to Ehrlich,

> [i]ts very physical presence made it much more than a "happening"; and as a provocative, stimulating and challenging experience, it involved people in a variety of ways, not the least of which was the post-experience impact with its discussion and reflection upon the significance of the production.
>
> (ibid.)

5. Case Study 3: LaMonteYoung&MarianZazeelaTerry - RileyJonHassell: A Collaboration

(© Material from this case study belongs to the State University of New York at Buffalo. No part of this extract may be reproduced, transmitted, or utilized in any form by any electronic, mechanical, or others means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying, microfilming, and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system).

On 3rd May 1969, at 8.30pm, three pieces of music composed and performed by Young, Riley and Jon Hassell were presented

continuously, together with Zazeela's *Ornamental Lightyears Tracery*, at the Albright Knox Gallery in Buffalo:

- *8:30-9:37 P.M. 4 III 69 from 'Map of 49's Dream the Two Systems of Eleven Sets of Galactic Intervials'*, by Young, performed by Young and Zazeela
- *Kundalini Dervish*, by Riley, performed by Riley, Hassell, Edward Burnham, Lawrence Singer, Yuki Takahashi and Jan Williams
- *Goodbye Music*, by Hassell, performed by Hassell and Riley

The event formed part of the *Evenings for New Music* concert series organised by the Center of the Creative Arts at SUNYAB, while both Riley and Hassell were members of the Center. During the concert, the auditorium was filled with the scent of burning incense. While the seats in the auditorium were fixed, audience members were able to move freely throughout the performance, thereby having some control over their own experience.

Renée Levine Packer, Center Coordinator at the time of the concert, describes how an increasing number of composers of the period 'sought to control the environment in which their music was performed' (Levine Packer, 2010:4). This event, which had been proposed by Riley during his tenure as Creative Associate for the season's final concert, is described by Levine Packer as

'unlike any [the Center] had ever presented' (Ibid.:93). According to Levine Packer's account of the start of the event,

> '[o]ne heard the sound even before one entered the darkened, amplifier-strewn auditorium. Mauve and green Indian-inspired filigree projections bathed the walls on either side of the stage. Incense permeated the space. In the dim light, one could barely make out La Monte Young and Marian Zazeela sitting cross-legged on the floor of the stage…'
>
> (ibid.)

6. Locating the themes of this investigation within contemporary artistic practice

To understand further the themes identified within this investigation and demonstrate their continued relevance within contemporary artistic practice, the author developed an audio-visual environmental work, *A-Wakening*, in collaboration with Dr Chris Foster (University of Wolverhampton) (see Figure 1)

A-Wakening was installed in a 'black box' theatre space in January 2018 and was developed with Foster, a composer whose current research focuses on the place of indeterminacy in composition as a means of developing collaborative interactions. His intention within this work was to explore an approach in which extended sounds articulate a varied indeterminate texture, and a melodic soundscape is created by a phased musical structure.

Dream House and *LaMonteYoung&MarianZazeelaTerryRileyJon - Hassell: A Collaboration* were two key influences on this work, with the intention of re-inventing some of the central elements of these two works – primarily creating an audio-visual environment augmented by the inclusion of scent and audience action within the space.

Figure 1. *A-Wakening* (University of Wolverhampton)

Consideration was given both to audience perception, as discussed by Mertens; and to LaBelle's notion of the 'extended conversation' between the 'presence of a viewer or listener, and object or sound, and the spatial situation'. LaBelle cites the example of sculpture within a gallery as an example, yet the sentiment could be argued to equally apply to any art form,

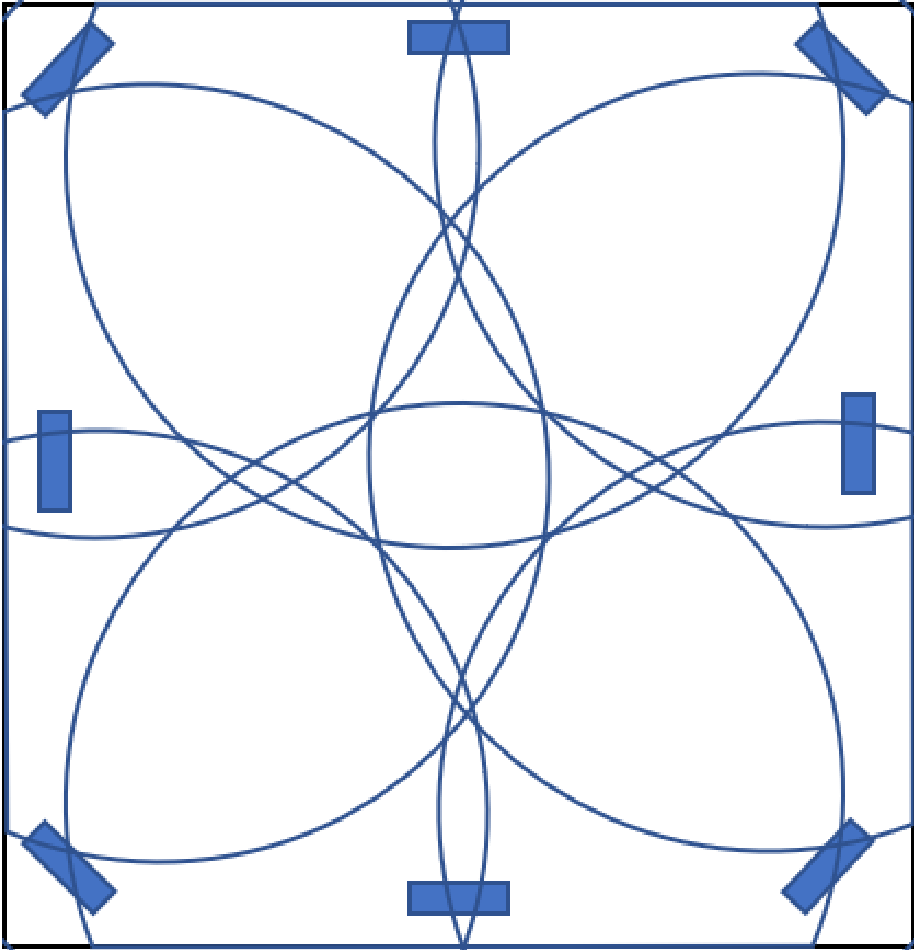
> '[t]hrough the position of the viewer's body in various places within a gallery space, the sculpture takes on dimension: as a material presence with weight, mass, and volume, set against the given space of the gallery that, in turn, informs the perceptual experience… as a "behavioural" unfolding akin to Young's *Dream House*.'
>
> (LaBelle, 2006:81)

During the development of *A-Wakening*, methods of enhancing audience engagement through multiple senses and allowing freedom to control how they moved within the space and experienced the work were considered.

Firstly, the aural sense was addressed using an immersive soundscape to compliment the constructed environment and convey the sense of 'being in a dream', encouraging the movement and engagement of the audience within the space. Eight speakers were used to present separate tracks to the audience at once, allowing the audience to experience different combinations of sounds with each step. Figure 2 demonstrates

the set-up of both the speakers and the projections within the space.

Figure 2. Speaker and Projections Set-up



Secondly, the visual sense was addressed through a looped projection of animated colours and shapes. This animation refers to many of the concepts identified through the investigation, principally repetition (through looping and repeated shapes), light, colour, and movement. A top layer of smaller circles

appeared and disappeared, following a spiral pattern. The colours and shapes appear, move and disappear slowly, almost imperceptibly travelling across the space, echoing the aural patterns and 'themes' in the accompanying soundscape.

Thirdly, the olfactory sense was addressed through fragrance. Ways of bringing scent into this work were considered, as a way of referring to the two historic case studies which incorporated incense, as a seminal part of moving this work forward from these events. The method chosen involved 'ready-made' coloured plastic cubes used as portable, hand-held objects containing a selection of scents. The scents chosen were 'Vanilla' and 'Heather/Bracken', which were selected for their potential ability both to enhance the dreamlike environment of the work, and to evoke positive memories and a pleasurable response from the audience.

Around twenty people attended the public showing of *A-Wakening*, thirteen of whom submitted feedback questionnaires. Of these, three respondents commented that the installation was relaxing, tranquil or calming, while one described a dream-like quality. All agreed that the visuals complemented the audio, however only a small group described the scent-cubes as enhancing or affecting their experience – others did not pick

them up, could not notice a scent, or felt that the cubes did not contribute to the work. Most respondents felt comfortable walking around the space, however it was noted that most attendees walked around a little, before taking a traditional viewing position of sitting or standing opposite the projection. This feedback, while disappointing, will inform further developments of this work.

A-Wakening references the three case studies within this paper as follows:

a) *Dream House* – An audio-visual environmental work, referencing the original sound and light environment.
b) *Time Lag Accumulator* – Several people can engage with the space simultaneously, referencing the multiple participants which could engage with the original installation.
c) *LaMonteYoung&MarianZazeelaTerryRileyJonHassell: A Collaboration* – By using continuous looped audio, colours, shapes and scent, referencing the performances from the original concert which led on from one another with no break, together with the light installation and incense.

7. Conclusion

This paper posits the idea that Young and Riley should be considered as pioneers of what we today recognise as immersive artistic practice, and that a state of immersion is achieved by not only a combination of audio and visual material, but by engagement of at least one additional sense (for example olfactory) and an element of audience interaction/free movement as evidenced by the case studies within this chapter:

a) *Dream House* – a sound and light installation which encourages audience control over their movement (or stillness) within the space.
b) *Time Lag Accumulator* – a physical installation requiring participants to make sounds to be relayed throughout adjoining chambers.
c) *LaMonteYoung&MarianZazeelaTerryRileyJonHassell: A Collaboration* – a continuous performance including lighting installation and incense.

This sense of collaboration between audience and artwork/performance places importance on the presence or participation of the spectator as integral to the work. These performances and works *would* exist without the audience, but *both* need to be present to create the experience. This can be seen to apply to the works discussed as case studies within this chapter, through the creation of spaces or objects which require

some involvement or navigation by the audience. This can be developed one stage further by describing them as 'immersive intermedia environments', draws lineage from Higgin's concept of intermedia as works which lie between art forms, which can be defined by the following:

- Audience Experience – The audience is immersed in the work as either an observer or an active participant. Free, un-encumbered movement is essential with no need to learn or 'get used to' equipment. Boundaries between audience and artwork/performance become blurred and to a degree erased with audiences no longer passive or kept at a distance from the work.
- Sensory Engagement – At least three of the following senses must be addressed: visual, aural, olfactory, tactile, and gustatory.

The works discussed in this paper allow for active audience involvement, as a move away from passive listening and watching, towards experiencing, discovering, moving and interacting with a work or the environment in which it is located. *A-Wakening* can be seen to develop from the case studies discussed within this chapter, primarily by creating a multi-sensory environment which allows for freedom of movement and therefore exploration of the spaces.

References

Bourriaud, N. 2002. *Relational Aesthetics*. Dijon: Presses du réel
Coe, R. T. 1970. *The Magic Theater*. USA: Sosland Press.

Dyson, F. 2009. *Sounding New Media*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London; University of California Press

Ehrlich, G. 1969. '"The Magic Theatre" Exhibition: An Appraisal' in *Art Journal*. 29(1)

Gann, K., Potter, K. and Ap Sion, P. 2013. 'Introduction: experimental, minimalist, postminimalist? Origins, definitions, communities' in Potter, K., Gann, K., ap Siôn, P. (eds.) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Minimalist and Postminimalist Music*. UK: Ashgate Publishing

Grimshaw, J. 2011. *Draw a Straight Line and Follow It: The Music and Mysticism of La Monte Young*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Higgins, D. 1978. *A Dialectic of Centuries: Notes Towards a Theory of the New Arts*. USA: Printed Editions

Krueger, T. 2008. 'This is Not Entertainment: Experiencing the Dream House' in *Architectural Design*. 78(3)

LaBelle, B. 2006. *Background Noise: A History of Sound Art*. London: Continuum

Levine Packer, R. 2010. *This Life of Sounds: Evenings for New Music in Buffalo*. New York: Oxford University Press

Mertens, W. 1983. *American Minimalist Music: La Monte Young, Terry Riley, Steve Reich, Philip Glass*. (Trans. J. Hautekeit). London: Kahn and Averill

Nyman, M. 1968. 'Minimal Music' in *The Spectator*. UK.

Potter, K. Date unknown. *Minimalism*. UK: Oxford University Press.

Puttnam, T. 1969. 'Another Evening of Continuous Music Set at UB in May' in *Buffalo Courier Express*. 9 March. USA, New York

Smith, G., and Walker Smith, N. 1995. *New Voices: American Composers Talk About Their Music*. USA, Oregon: Amadeus Press

Young, L.M., Zazeela, M. 1996. 'Continuous Sound and Light Environments' in Duckworth, W., Fleming, R. *Sound and Light: La Monte Young Marian Zazeela*. USA: University Associated Press.

Young, L.M. Date unknown. *La Monte Young*. US: Mela Foundation. [available online: <http://www.melafoundation.org/ly1para8.htm>] Last Accessed: 21 May 2018

Zazeela, M. Date unknown. *Biographical Narrative*. US: Mela Foundation. [available online: <http://www.melafoundation.org/narrabio.htm>] Last Accessed: 8 February 2018]

This page is left intentionally blank

Musicology Research
Issue 4: pp. 531-552

19

Bethlem Hospital and Sound as Biopower in Seventeenth-Century London

Joseph Nelson

> What is madness? To have erroneous perceptions, and to reason correctly from them? Let the wisest man, if he would understand madness, attend to the succession of his ideas while he dreams.
> – Voltaire, "Madness," in *A Philosophical Dictionary* (1767)

> When life itself seems lunatic, who knows where madness lies? Perhaps to be too practical is madness. To surrender dreams – this may be madness. To seek treasure where there is only trash. Too much sanity may be madness – and madness of all: to see life as it is, and *not* as it should be!
> – Cervantes in *Man of La Mancha* (1965)

In his fanciful account of London, entitled *The London Spy*, Ned Ward describes Bethlem asylum through caricatures of the resident mad poor. He writes with some disdain that he thinks it mad that the 'Magnificent Edifice' was built for 'Mad-Folks,'

© 2018 Joseph Nelson

calling it 'so costly a *Colledge* for such a *Crack-brain'd Society*' (Ward, 1699: 63). Ward's account echoes Thomas Brown, a contemporary of Ward, who writes that, 'The Outside is a perfect Mockery to the Inside, and Admits of two amusing Queries, Whether the persons that Ordered the building of it, or those that inhabit it, were the maddest?' (Andrews, et al., 1997: 29). Similar sentiments appear in the early anonymous poem, *Bethlehems Beauty* (1676): 'So Brave, so Neat, so Sweet it does appear, / Makes one Half-Madd to be a Lodger there…' (Aubin, 1943: 245-248). These writers had likely visited the asylum, as so many bourgeois and aristocrats did in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Ward's description of Bethlem recounts precisely this kind of voyeurism. However, the sight of the residents' decrepitude was not the only thing to affect visitors, so too did the sounds within Bethlem. Ned Ward's description of the asylum includes rattling chains and howling residents that reminded him of Don Quevedo's vision of hell. Robert Hooke, the architect of Bethlem's Moorfields building, wrote that 'Lunaticks…cannot obtain that, which should, and in all Probability would, cure them, and that is a profound and quiet Sleep' (Hunter, Macalpine, 1963: 220). Thus, sound formed an important component of the interior world of the asylum. Doubtlessly this

contributed to the perception of Bethlem as a place of chaos and disorder, both helping to define early modern attitudes toward the mentally ill and the practice of confining the mad to prevent their disorder from spreading. As such, the sound emerging from the mad poor and echoing through the halls of Bethlem would act as evidence of the patients' resistance to being cured and disrupt the power of the dominant classes to enact their biopower onto the patients. Sound, in other words, acted as a resistant form of biopower.

The above passages all refer to the hospital's second building at Moorfields, designed by the famed geometer Robert Hooke and opened in 1676. This second incarnation of the hospital greatly expanded its physical dimensions from the former facility at the nearby Priory of St. Mary of Bethlehem and was part of a series of reforms intended to improve the conditions and treatment of the patients. Bethlem continued to loom large in the minds of seventeenth-century Londoners, so much so that its name continued to signify chaos and disorder. The practice of admitting visitors to spectate among the residents meant that stories about the conditions inside the asylum did not circulate just among the family and community members helping to care for loved ones. It also put those bourgeois and aristocrats visiting for entertainment in direct contact with those regulated by the

biopolitics of the ruling classes. Bruce R. Smith has demonstrated, however, the continued importance of aurality in the lives of early modern people, both in structuring daily life, such as in the use of church bells to tell time and in structuring meaning (Smith, 1999). His work intersects with that of J. Martin Daughtry, both detailing how sound delineates territories within an urban environment and, in the case of Daughtry, how sound within those territories impact the bodies and minds of listeners (Daughtry, 2015). With that argument in mind, it seems reasonable to think that the sounds of mad people, sounds that emerged from their suffering and disordered bodies, became saturated with meaning and to represent that suffering in the minds of visitors to the asylum. Thus, visitors to the asylum must have been impacted by this interior sonic landscape, or soundscape, as we see evidenced by Ward's vivid recounting.

This sound world may have disappeared into the distant past, yet it still holds some valence for today as one sees in the accounts of soundscapes within prisons and the use of sound and music in torture.[1] Despite the intervening centuries, one might look to some remaining evidence of the sonic structure of this environment in the broadside ballad depicting one of the

[1] See Cusick, S. G. 2008. ''You Are In A Place That Is Out of the World…': Music in the Detention Camps of the 'Global War on Terror,'' *Journal of the Society for American Music*, Vol. 2, Issue 1: 1-26.

most famous characters associated with the asylum, Poor Tom o' Bedlam, or Mad Tom.

I.

The broadside ballad, "A New Mad Tom; Or, The Man on the Moon drinks Claret" (c. 1658), circulated in several different printings throughout the mid- to late seventeenth century.[2] This form of street literature, the broadside ballad, sold for a penny and was purchased by people from all classes. Indeed, people of all classes would recognise the figure of Tom as a vagabond, bedlamite beggar, and a trickster figure as he appeared in sixteenth-century travel literature about London's streets and also in William Shakespeare's *King Lear* (1606). Surviving copies of this broadside ballad exist in several different versions of this print in the Roxburghe, Pepys, and Crawford collections. These collections remain a vital part of understanding street literature and popular ballad culture of the seventeenth century.

Mad Tom was perhaps the most famous archetype of madmen in seventeenth-century London and his ballad gives us some indication of what disorder sounded like to the audience of those broadsides. First, the ballad tune comes from 'Grays Inne Mask,' a Morris dance performed in the antimasque portion of the

[2] For the history of this ballad and a musical score see Chappell, W. 1855. *Popular Music of the Olden Time, Vol. 1.* London: Cramer, Beale, & Chappell, 328-336.

Francis Beaumont work *The Masque of the Inner Temple and Grays Inne* (1613). The antimasque shows the world in a Hobbesian 'state of nature' or a world in disarray that is set right when the masque proper begins, in other words with the entrance of the character representing the sovereign. This dance tune appeared in John Playford's *English Dancing Master* (1651), but by the fourth printing had gained the subtitle 'A New Mad Tom.' Already, then, Mad Tom carries associations with rural entertainment by lower-classed people. Using a Morris dance tune also seems appropriate given that John Awdeley equates Tom and his bedlamite beggars to highwaymen in his *The Fraternity of Vacabondes* (1561), a trope repeated by numerous writers afterward. Even Shakespeare's piteous 'Poor Tom' does not escape suspicion as he appears in *Lear* as a disguise adopted by Edgar as he attempts to unravel the machinations of his brother Edmund. In this way, Tom resembles other trickster and changeling figures from folklore and Shakespeare, such as Thomas the Rhymer, Tom Thumb, and Robin Goodfellow. These intersecting characters impact the view of those within Bethlem as characters deserving as much suspicion as pity and add that dimension of danger to the network of meaning imbued into the soundscape.

The music of the broadside ballad also offers some evidence as to the kind of sounds associated with the bodily and mental disorder of the asylum. The ballad does not contain a structure reminiscent of courtly dances that became standard to the French dance suite, such a binary work with contrasting A and B sections, for example. Instead, it has multiple sections that one might vaguely compare to the Italian *lament aria*, a resemblance that one might expect given that the composer of 'Grays Inne Mask,' John Cooper, also called 'Coprario,' trained in Italy. The particularly interesting structural feature here is the D section listed in the chart below. This section, after the repeats of the previous sections, resembles nothing so much as the 5/8 section of *Orlando's Mad Scene* from George Fredric Handel's *Orlando* (1733). It is a highly disruptive episode in an otherwise unremarkable set of musical rhymes accompanying a bizarre and jovial text.

Table 1. Structural Chart of 'A New Mad Tom'

Section	A	B	C	D	E	F
# of Measures	8+8	4+4	4+4	4+4	4+4	8
Meter	4/4	4/4	4/4	4/4	4/4	6/4
Final	A4	E4	C5	(E4)	A4	A4
Mode	Major	Minor	Major	Minor	Major	Major

Another element of the broadside ballads that offers some evidence of Bethlem's character comes in the form of the woodcut images stamped onto the prints. Simon Chess has noted that one cannot attach too much meaning to many of the images

given the practice of routinely exchanging and reusing stamps. However, the images on the Mad Tom broadside ballads seem particularly important in an intertextual reading (Chess, 2017). The Roxburgh print includes a figure that one could associate directly with the bodily disorder and grotesquery described by Ned Ward (see Figure 1). This figure resembles the old medieval anatomical models rather than the more accurate anatomy images in texts by such sixteenth- and seventeenth-century anatomists as Andreas Vesalius (1514-1564). The madman here has cut himself open to reveal his insides, and possibly having cut his penis in half given the dangling flesh between his legs. This image overturns the concept of the idealised body by turning the man's inside parts into his outside.

The grotesquery of this also resembles the image of Mad Tom from the Euing print (see Figure 2). While the Roxburgh anatomical man has skin hanging loosely around his waist, the Euing madman has an article of clothing wrapped around his waist, and breeches that show clear signs of wear. Rather than a bisected penis, he has a loose cloth hanging between his legs. The Euing madman also hearkens to the description of Tom by Edgar in his speech in Act II, scene 3. There, Edgar describes Tom as having '…numbed and mortified arms' struck through with '…pins, wooden pricks, nails, sprigs of rosemary…'

(Shakespeare, Halio, 1992: 159). This description of the 'Bedlam beggar' also mirrors a similar description by Awdeley.

Figure 1. 'New Mad Tom of Bedlam,' Roxburgh 1.2999.

Figure 2. 'A New Mad TOM of Bedlam,' Euing 248.

One should note that this image also closely parallels the Hans Holbein depiction of the Wild Man.[3] The similarity between the

[3] See Hans Holbein the Younger (1497 or 1498-1543). c. 1528. Wild Man Brandishing an Uprooted Tree Trunk. drawing. Place: British Museum, London,

two images places Mad Tom in the context of the Wild Man, a cryptozoological figure emerging during the medieval period around Europe and that may be traced back to the cults of Orcus and Maia, among other sources. Such a discussion lies outside the bounds of this article, but the Wild Man iconography adds a further dimension to Mad Tom, and Bethlem's beggars, of sex, nature, and death (Husband, 1980: 1-17).

II.

The above discussion explores the quality of the sounds within Bethlem, but J. Martin Daughtry provides a rich study that can also apply to the soundscape of the asylum and the experiences of sound by visitors. He describes the sonic landscape of wartime Iraq as *belliphonic*, a combination of the Latin *bellicus* and the Greek *phone* (Daughtry, 2015: 33). He explores a range of territories where sound directly impacts minds and bodies, both with the concussive force accompanying sound and the psychological impact of sound as demarking potential violence. Similarly, sound impacted bodies and minds of both residents and visitors within the asylum, making the soundscape of Bethlem a *psychophonic* territory.

United Kingdom. https://library-artstor-org.ezp2.lib.umn.edu/asset/LESSING_ART_10310752474.

To understand the effect of this environment on residents and visitors, one need only return to Robert Hooke's quote above that insists the hospital contained a soundscape loud enough to prevent residents from attaining a healing sleep. So, too, should one consider Ward's description of the asylum's sonic landscape resembling nothing so much as Don Quevedo's vision of hell. This statement might hearken back to Dante Alighieri's *Inferno* and the soundscape at the gates of hell in Canto III (Alighieri, Musa, 1995: 34-35):

> Here sighs and cries and shrieks of lamentation
> echoed throughout the starless air of Hell;
> at first these sounds resounding made me weep…

This *psychophonic* environment sat in a liminal space outside the old Roman wall of seventeenth-century London, first outside Bishopsgate and then in Moorfields outside the Moor Gate. It placed those who failed to exist within the range of behaviours or norms of social relations outside the city proper. Such confinement lay at the heart of Michel Foucault's biopolitics in *The History of Sexuality, Vol 1.* This liminality was not defined solely by geography, but also the structure of the hospital itself. The gates of the Moorfields building had two large statues looming down, those of *Melancholy* and *Raving Madness* (1680) by Caius Gabriel Cibber. Visitors could not fail to notice those statues flanking the entrance to the asylum in Restoration

London and with that as their welcome to the hospital, they entered the world described above.

Those entering the asylum moved from a world dominated by the belief in the supremacy of reason in both proper social relations and in the functions of government. Spectating among the mad poor of Bethlem placed those spectators of the wealthy and ruling classes in contact with the environment that arises as an effect of their power, particularly of their biopower. In the late seventeenth century, the sovereign power of the state lay increasingly in the hands of the aristocrats and wealthy, rather than the power of the absolute monarch. In Foucault's Hobbesian configuration of sovereign power, one should remember that Hobbes himself allowed for sovereign power to lay in the hands of a ruling class of people and not merely in a single person.

The sovereign, or those invested with sovereign power, in Foucault's estimation, holds power over life and death. He breaks this down into a disciplinary category that included a range of institutions or apparatuses through which the sovereign or sovereign state employed their power over the population to maximize production of economic and military power. He then describes another aspect of biopolitics concerned with population control. These two aspects of biopolitics replaced

older forms of power over life in which the sovereign had the power to take or preserve life and incorporated the fostering of life or disallowing of it. These forms of biopolitics also involved responses to a variety of historical processes that saw an enlargement of the administrative state to deal with population growth, increasing power of a professional middle class, and the emergence of capitalism (Foucault, 1990: 135-141). Eduardo Mendieta has defined Foucault's term *biopower*, at the heart of biopolitics, as the regulation of life, juxtaposed against sovereignty to which he assigns the power over death (Mendieta, 2014: 45). However, these seem instead to constitute two modalities of *biopower* if, as in Foucault's early definition, it was intimately bound up in the nature of sovereign power.

Before further exploring Foucault's theories of power, it might prove useful first to identify the specific form of biopolitics employed beyond the more general term 'confinement'. Here, one can look to Roberto Esposito's work on *immunopolitics*, especially his concept of the *immunization paradigm*. Esposito writes:

> While in the biomedical sphere the term *immunity* refers to a condition of natural or induced refractoriness on the part of a living organism when faced with a given disease, in political-juridical language *immunity* alludes to a temporary or definitive exemption on the part of the subject with regard to concrete obligations or responsibilities that under normal circumstances would bind one to others…Rather than being superimposed or juxtaposed in an external form that would subject one to the other, in the *immunitary paradigm*, *bios* and

> *nomos*, life and politics, emerge as the two constituent elements of a single indivisible whole that takes on meaning from their interrelation. Not simply the relation that joins life to power, immunity is the power to preserve life. Contrary to what is presupposed in the concept of biopolitics – understood as the result of an encounter that arises at a certain moment between two components – in this perspective no power exists outside of life, just as life is never given outside of relations of power. From this angle, politics is nothing other than the possibility or the instrument of keeping life alive.
>
> (Esposito, Campbell, 2006: 24)

Unlike the concept of biopower that one might define as the power to take life, *immunization* does not require death. Instead, Esposito writes:

> Tracing the term back to its etymological roots, *immunitas* is revealed as the negative or lacking [*privative*] form of *communitas*. If *comunitas* is that relation, which is binding its members to an obligation of reciprocal gift-giving, jeopardizes individual identity, *immunitas* is the condition of dispensation from such an obligation and therefore the defense against the expropriating features of *communitas*.
>
> (Esposito, Campbell, 28)

He goes on to say:

> We have already seen how the most incisive meaning of *immunitas* is inscribed in the reverse logic of *communitas*: immune is the 'nonbeing' or the 'not-having' anything in common…Yet it is precisely such a negative implication with its contrary that indicates that the concept of immunization presupposes what it also negates… For its part, the negative of *immunitas* (which is another way of saying *communitas*) doesn't only disappear, but constitutes simultaneously its object and motor. What is immunized, in brief, is the same community in a form that both preserves and negates it, or better preserves it through the negation of its original horizon of sense. From this point of view, one might say that more than the defensive apparatus superimposed on

> the community, immunization is its internal mechanism…: the fold that in some way separates community from itself, sheltering it from an unbearable excess.
>
> (Esposito, Campbell, 28)

The ruling classes thus exercised its biopower by dissolving the bonds of community through confinement. This dis-corporation would make people into things, stripping them of the shared identity that moored them to the society around them. Texts such as Ward's account of the asylum, which turned the mad poor into stock characters, might have erased the unique identities of individual residents were that text concerned with reporting an accurate picture of Bethlem. Instead, the asylum served as much as a literary character in its own right, one composed of both the physical structure and the howling patients inside.

This same dis-corporation was applied to many of the poor, and one could apply the immunization paradigm as much to those criminals residing in Newgate or Bridewell Prisons as to Bethlem. The phenomenon of spectating at Bethlem sets it apart and resists the spectre of the total institution that lingers in Foucault's account of the asylum. Confinement did not entirely erase the identities of the individuals. While many saw them as a disease in the body politic, one with the potential to infect others with their madness, the boundary between the interior world of Bethlem and the outside world of Restoration London remained

permeable well into the eighteenth century through those who passed through the gates. Therefore, though immunopolitics and the *immunization paradigm* form of biopolitics exercised over the residents, it is inaccurate to see the boundary such immunity sets up, the space between those negated from *communitas* and the community immunized by their removal, as absolute and fixed. Perhaps, instead, a more accurate frame for understanding how this form of biopolitics works is through a closer examination of the power involved.

The asylum provides an example for a statement by Foucault later in *History of Sexuality*, where he writes, 'it is not that life has been totally integrated into techniques that govern and administer it; it constantly escapes them' (Foucault, 1990: 143). In the context of Bethlem, the subjects composing 'life' (as opposed to 'power'), the residents of the asylum, resist absolute control by the apparatus through which the sovereign or state employs biopower, the medical intervention meant to subjugate or cure them.

In the case of the asylum, 'power' is enacted over the residents despite the inability of those attempting to govern it to enact complete control. Note that Foucault describes 'power' as emerging through multiple points and that it could not be

acquired, seized, or shared. Thus 'power' exists in a network of intersecting spheres and apparatuses, a network that includes resistance by those who escape the techniques of control. Foucault writes:

> Where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power…[relationships to power depend] on a multiplicity of points of resistance: these play the role of adversary, target, support…in power relations. These points of resistance are present everywhere in the power network. Hence there is no single locus of great Refusal, no soul of revolt, sources of all rebellions, or pure law of the revolutionary.
>
> (Foucault, 1990: 95)

On the nature of this resistance, however:

> …[does] not derive from a few heterogeneous principles…Just as the network of power relations ends by forming a dense web that passes through apparatuses and institutions, without being exactly localized in them, so too the swarm of points of resistance traverses social stratification and individual unities.
>
> (Foucault, 95)

In other words, the enactment of power did not come solely from the governing classes: the bourgeois and aristocrats supporting the asylum and the general practice of confinement. Those in the asylum enacted a power of their own, however unconsciously. Besides any resistance to medical intervention, residents would

have few methods or techniques for enacting any form of resistance.

Instead, one must look to the effects of their madness on those spectating. While other sensory experiences likely contributed to the resistance residents unconsciously enacted, sound seems a particularly important one precisely because of the overwhelming presence of sound in that environment. Visitors might not have seen every individual resident, yet the voices and noise of many residents would have contributed to the soundscape of that place in any given moment and every encounter between spectator and mad person. Just as Daughtry's work shows the impact of sound on the body through psychological trauma, so too would the sensory input of the asylum (especially of the mad people confined to the locked wards) have impacted those outsiders visiting such a *psychophonic* environment. What power would those confined to a cell by chains have over those passing through if not in their voice and the noise they made?

It seems clear, then, that any power of resistance would manifest in the sounds they made and in the overall soundworld they created. We can see traces of that impact in music such as the broadside ballad for Mad Tom. The exercise of biopower through

sound, the resistance to control and the regulating of life enacted by those identified as liminal or 'outside', is not limited to such sites as Bethlem. One might easily point to beggars on the street portrayed in ballads and on the stage, the shanty towns that sprang up in open places after the Great Fire of 1666, or the street markets immortalised by such composers as Thomas Weelkes and Orlando Gibbons in the early-seventeenth century as other examples of sound that disrupted the orderly social life of London. In the case of Bethlem, such disordered sound acted as a form of resistance on the ruling classes visiting the asylum, a form of resistant biopower that emerged from a mad world.

References

Alighieri, Dante and Mark Musa, trans. 1995. *Dante's Inferno: The Indiana Critical Edition*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Andres, J., Briggs, A., Porter, R., Tucker, P., Waddington, K. 1997. *The History of Bethlem*. London and New York: Routledge.

Andrews, Jonathan, et al. 1997. *The History of Bethlem*. New York and London: Routledge.

Anonymous. 1686-93. *New Mad TOM of Bedlam. OR, The Man in the Moon drinks Claret* (1686-1693[?]), British Library Roxbughe 1.2999, EBBA ID 31605.

Aubin, R. A. 1943. *London in Flames, London in Glory: Poems on the Fire and Rebuilding of London 1666-1709*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Brown, T. 1730. *Amusements Serious and Comical, Calculated for the Meridian of London*, 7th edn., published as *The Third Volume of*

the Works of Mr. Thomas Brown. 1st pub. 1700; London: Edward Midwinter.

Chappell, W. 1855. *Popular Music of the Olden Time, Vol. 1.* London: Cramer, Beale, & Chappell.

Chess, S. 2017. 'Woodcuts: Methods and Meanings of Ballad Illustration,' *English Broadside Ballad Archive*, ed. Patricia Fumerton. [available online: http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/page/woodcuts] Accessed April 26, 2017.

Daughtry, J. Martin. 2015. *Listening to War: Sound, Music, Trauma, and Survival in Wartime Iraq*. Oxford: Oxford university Press.

Esposito, R., Campbell, T. (trans.). 2006. 'The Immunization Paradigm,' *Diacritics*, Vol. 36, No. 2, "Bios," Immunity, Life: The Thought of Roberto Esposito.

Field, C. D. S. 2007. 'Coparario, John,' in *Grove Music Online*. [access online: http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezp1.lib.umn.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/06428] Last accessed January 31, 2018.

Foucault, M, Hurley, R. (trans.). 1990. *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: An Introduction*. New York: Vintage Book.

Foucault, M., Howard, R. (trans.). 1988. *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*. 1st pub. 1965; New York: Vintage Books.

Hunter, R., Macalpine, I. 1963. *Three hundred Years of Psychiatry 1535-1860: A History Presented in Selected English Texts*. London: Oxford University Press.

Ingram, Allan, et al. 2005. *Cultural Constructions of Madness in Eighteenth-Century Writing: Representing the Insane*. New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Mendieta, E. 2014. 'Biopower,' in *The Cambridge Foucault Lexicon*, eds. Leonard Lawlor and John Nale, 44-51. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Porter, Roy. 1993. *Disease, medicine and society in England, 1550-1860, Second Edition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Salkeld, Duncan. 1994. *Madness and Drama in the Age of*

Shakespeare. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Scull, Andrew. 1993. *The Most Solitary Affliction: Madness and Society in Britain, 1700-1900*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Smith, Bruce R. 1999. *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Stevenson, Christine. 1996. "Robert Hooke's Bethlem," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 55, No. 3.

Ward, N. 1699. *The London Spy Compleat, In Eighteen Parts.* Reprint ed. 1924; London: The Casanova Society.

Musicology Research
Issue 4: pp. 553-572

20

Geography and Space: The Music of Giovanni Battista Serini

Federico Furnari

1. Introduction

The Italian composer Giovanni Battista Serini was a member of an important musical family from Northern Italy, but in spite of this, he has suffered almost complete neglect in modern musicology. The only significant discussions about his life and work, in brief studies by Jack Pilgrim (Pilgrim, 1964) and Peter Lynch (Lynch, 2001), present an incomplete account of the documentary evidence on him, some of which is misunderstood. The same issue can be observed for the 'geography' of Giovanni Battista Serini's life, from his place of birth and across all the cities and nations where he worked and lived. The first part of this article will focus specifically on this issue. From geography,

© 2018 Federico Furnari

it will move on to 'space' or, in other words, the places where the music composed by Serini was performed.

2. Geography

The Oxford English dictionary defines the noun 'geography' as 'the scientific study of the earth's surface, physical features, division, products, population, etc.' (Hornby and Deuter, 2015). For our purpose, the meaning of the word is restricted to a few places on earth: nations and cities which witnessed parts of G.B. Serini's life. Giovanni Battista has rarely been the subject of extensive research except on two occasions: a brief article written by Jack Pilgrim and published in *The Musical Times* in 1964 (Pilgrim, 1964) and the entry 'Serini' by Peter Lynch in *New Grove* published by Oxford (Lynch, 2001). Until a few years ago, everything that was known about Serini's biography was based almost exclusively on a few primary sources studied by Pilgrim and Lynch. After a careful re-examination of the documents known to the two English scholars, and by adding several more of which they were unaware, it is now possible to reconstruct the 'geography' of Serini's life. In this first part, based primarily on manuscript music and documents, a map will be drawn which includes all the known places linked to Giovanni Battista Serini.

The first place on the map is the city where the Italian composer was born. In modern scholarship, the city of Cremona is

consistently identified as the family's headquarters and the birthplace of G.B. Serini; however, a crucial but entirely overlooked nineteenth-century source reveals Casalmaggiore and not Cremona to be the family's hometown (Romani, 1829). Casalmaggiore is a small village in the province of Cremona in the region of Lombardy, North of Italy. Here, Giovanni Battista was born c.1710. When he was only four years old, he probably left Casalmaggiore with his father for a bigger and more important city: Venice.[1] In the lagoon city, G.B. Serini grew up and had his musical education as well as staging his first compositions. Giovanni Battista's first music teacher was a person belonging to the Galuppi family. This information is given by Serini himself in the dedication of his most important manuscript; the manuscript is today preserved in the Library of York Minster.[2] The dedication reads: 'Galuppi, my lovely instructor and godfather'.[3] For biographical reasons, Serini was not referring to Baldassarre (1706–1785), who was equal to him in age. Very likely it is Angelo, Baldassarre's father, a violinist and

---

[1] P. Lynch in his article for the New Grove claims that 'his father Pietro Paolo was already in Venice in 1714, when he 'tried unsuccessfully to obtain a post as a violinist at S. Marco, Venice'.

[2] According to the documentation known, Giovanni Battist Serini has never been in York or, more general, in Great Britain. The manuscripts arrived in York via Robert D'Arcy. The item has been belonged to several people (Mason, Charlest Best Norcliffe and, finally, the dean of York) before its arrived in the York Minster Library in 1882. For the previous owner refer to F.Furnari, *The York Symphonies of Giovanni Battista Serini: Study and Edition, vol. 1,* PhD Thesis, (The University of Sheffield, 2018) and David Griffith, *A Catalogue of the Music Manuscripts in York Minster Library,* (York: 1981).

[3] 'Galuppi, mio amorevole istruttore e conpadre'dedication in MS129S. The translation is mine.

barber in Venice, and probably his son's first music tutor.[4] In Venice, it was quite common to place children in their teens under the instruction of a barber-musician who taught both professions (Vio, 1988). This first period was quite productive for Serini: there are at least four symphonies[5] preserved in Paris and three compositions for theatre.[6]

From the dedication in the manuscript, MS 129 S preserved in York, it is possible to learn about Giovanni Battista's first known position as composer and musical director. He worked under the patronage of Robert D'Arcy fourth Earl of Holdernesse (1718–1778), a British ambassador on behalf of King George II of Great Britain in Venice between 1744 and 1746. The source reads:

> La fama pervenuta dall'arrivo della sempre Augusta Maesta' Britannica porto' seco anche il nome conspicuous e celebre dell'E[ccellenza] V[ostra] nel di lui sublime accompagnamento. Io che ebbi l'ividiabile onore di servirla in tutto il tempo della di lei dimora in Venezia, in occasione della sua solenne straordinaria ambasciata per direttore di tutti i suoi musicali trattenimenti.[7]
>
> The fame that has reached here of the happy arrival of His always August Brittanic Majesty also carried with it the prominent and

---

[4] In addition to Giovanni Battista Vivaldi and Angelo Galuppi, other barber/musicians were Salvador Appoloni, Francesco Dominesso and Giovanni Battista Ganasette.

[5] Fondo Banchelet, Paris. According to known sources, Serini has never been in France.

[6] *Le Nozze di Psiche,* Venice 1736*;* the dramma per musica *Ulisse in Itaca,* for the Carnival in the Teatro Boscheriniano (The music is lost, the libretto is manuscript and preserved in Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, Fondo Corniani Algarotti Racc. Dramm. 2700); dramma per musica, *la Fortunata Sventura*, was staged in Bergamo for Carnival in 1740 (The music is lost, the libretto is printed by Fratelli Rossi in 1739 The libretto is preserved in Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense and in Venice, Biblioteca Casa di Goldoni Centro Studi Teatrali, Fondo Correr Citta' Varie 57 F 68).

[7] Dedication MS 129 S, lines: 1 to 5.

> celebrated name of Your Exellency as his exalted companion. I who had the enviable honor of serving you throughout your stay in Venice, on the occasion of your solemn and extraordinary embassy, as director of all your musical entertainments.[8]

The departure of D'Arcy from Venice left the Italian composer without guaranteed work. It is most likely that Serini worked as a self-employed musician in the lively Venetian musical scene. However, this is only a speculation due to the lack of documentation on him for this period. In 1750, Serini obtained a new position[9] in Bückeburg, the capital of the small principality of Schaumburg-Lippe, with some 6,000 inhabitants (Geiringer, 1981). After a trip of 622 miles, the composer arrived in the German village in the middle of summer 1750. Here, Serini spent five years. The German court was modelled on the Berlin one and was Italianate in taste. In spite of this, after a few years Serini asked to leave for Amsterdam. The request was made in a letter addressed to the Count Wilhelm; the missive is undated, but it was probably written in late 1754 or early 1755.[10] The request for permission to move was not granted and Serini remained at his post in the Court. The Italian was able to leave Bückeburg only in early 1756, probably because the Seven Years' War had broken out. Serini undertook a trip of around 314 miles in order to reach

---

[8] Translation by the author.

[9] The first payment receipt signed by Serini for this new position is preserved in the Bücheburg Archive NLA BU F 1 A XXXV 18 Nr. 26.

[10] Although the letter is undated, it refers to four years of service, and thus must have been written in mid-late 1754 or early 1755.

the residence of Prince Fürstenberg in Prague. There is reason to believe that the trip was tiring because, from the capital of the Czech Republic, he wrote a letter to his previous patron saying that he wanted to remain in Prague for some weeks in order to rest and have the opportunity to meet the Prince.

After a period in Prague, Serini moved again. Unfortunately, previous researchers did not manage to discover which cities he visited during this next period of his life. However, thanks to primary sources, his next new position is known; the Italian composer began to work as a music teacher for the daughter of another British Diplomat in Bonn: George Cressener. The diplomat was a very cultured person who was able to speak French and Italian fluently, and who had studied History and Architecture only for personal interest (Schulte, A. 1971: 222). He was also a music lover. In 1772, Cressener met the British musician and historian Charles Burney, who visited Bonn on a stop-over whilst taking a trip across Europe. In his diary, Burney writes (Burney, 1775: 73):

> I had the honour of being very well received by Mr. Cressener, his majesty's minister plenipotentiary at his court, who not only countenanced me during my short stay in Bonn, but kindly furnished me with recommendatory letters to several persons of distinction in my route.

Serini remained in Bonn until his death sometime after 1765, the date of his last known letter.[11]

3. Space

In this section I will investigate the type of location in which the music composed by Giovanni Battista Serini was usually performed. It will be taken under observation especially the symphony form, a sort of idiomatic genre in the 18th Century courts. The Italian musician composed more than 24 symphonies during his professional life.[12] Serini's music was performed in different places over time: churches, theatres, rooms in castles and even in public spaces like squares or public gardens.

> Firstly, the noun 'symphony' or *sinfonia* in Italian has two meanings. The modern meaning of the word refers to an extended work for orchestra. The definition is acceptable for contemporary people but was not the same for people in the early and middle 18th Century.[13] At that time, the meaning was linked to the etymology of the word. It came from the ancient Greek *συμφωνία* (symphonia) compound from *syn* (together) and *phōnē* (sounding)
>
> (Larue, Wolf, Evan Bonds, Wals, and Wilson, 2001)

But, what exactly was a symphony during Serini's lifetime? Plenty of 18th Century theorists wrote on this topic, leading to a large number of definitions. In 1713, a 'German composer, critic,

[11] Buckeburg archive NLA BU F 1 A XXXV 18 Nr. 26.
[12] Even though his historical catalogue counts more than 24 symphonies, I have been able to collect 24 of them in manuscript form (3 of them are preserved in two distinct collections: GB-Y and D-RH). Most of them are autograph.
[13] During the 18th Century the symphony was not an extended piece of music but a rather short in three movements.

music journalist, lexicographer and theorist' (Buelow, 2001) wrote that the symphony was an instrumental piece in which composers had the freedom to do anything, without rules that might have restricted their creativity (Matthenson, 1713: 171-172). Toward the middle of the century, a French diplomat, antiquarian, historian and theorist of the arts, Jean-Baptise Dubos (Wolf, and Vendrix, 2001) gave a definition of symphony which was not based on style but on the concept of mimesis instead. In his work on poetry, painting and music, Dubos wrote:

> Music is not satisfied with imitating in its modulations the inarticulate language of man, and the several sounds which he makes use of by instinct; it has also attempted to form imitations of all the other natural sounds, which are most capable of making an impression upon us. It employs only instruments in imitating inarticulate sounds, and these imitations are called symphonies; yet these symphonies act, in a manner, several parts in our operas with considerable success.
>
> (Dubois , 1748: 363)

A different point of view is given by Rousseau who, in his definition written in 1768 for the *Dictionnaire*, (Rousseau, 1768) pointed out the importance of sonority:

> At the present, the word symphony is applied to all instrumental music, as well for pieces which are destined only for instruments, as Sonata's and Concerto's, as for those, where the instruments are found mixed with the voices, as in our Opera's, and in several sorts of music. We distinguish vocal music into music without symphony, [when it has no other accompaniment than the basso continuo, and music with symphony], which has at least a treble instruments, violins, flutes, or hautboys. We say of a piece, that it is in grand symphony, when, besides the bass and treble it has also two other instrumental parts, viz. tenor and 5th of the violin.

(Morrow and Churgin, 2012: 47-48).

We have seen only a few examples of the definition of the word 'symphony'. Despite the fact that the three authors have different points of view, everyone agrees on one important factor – that the symphony is for instruments only or, in other words, for a group of instruments: an orchestra. However, the orchestra has not always been defined as 'a large group of musicians who play many different instruments together and are led by a conductor' (Cambridge English Dictionary, 2018). For at least two centuries, the orchestra was considered a space rather than a group of people. The noun 'orchestra' has its etymology in the Greek word ὀρχήστρα (orchestra), in the root of which is the verb ὀρχέομαι (to dance). Its original meaning was 'semi-circular space where the chorus of dancers performed' (Weekley, 1921: 1012). Moreover, 'among the Romans this [orchestra] was the place where the senators sat' (Richelet, 1679: 95).

Over time, the meaning began to change. During the Renaissance the term was used to 'designate the area in the theatre between the stage and the audience' (Spitzer and Zaslav, 2004: 15). Obviously, theatres did not always allocate the same space to the instrumental ensemble: during the 15th Century musicians would sit on a balcony on stage or behind the scenes. An

example of this layout is the Opera *Euridice* by Peri staged in the last part of the 1600s. Even for Italians the word 'orchestra' meant a place rather than a group of instrumentalists. Buttigli in his *Descrizione dell'apparato fatto per honorare la prima e solenne entrata in Parma della Serenissima Principessa Margherita di Toscana* wrote (Buttigli, 1629; Lavin, 1990: 554):

> a platform extended out from the foundation. It was about a yard above the ground and about ten yards wide, and it formed a half-ellipse, raised up on little pedestals and surrounded by a balustrade. This provided a place for musicians where they could sing and play at the appropriate times, and where they could see everything that was happening on the stage without being seen themselves. And this place is what Vitruvius calls the Orchestra.

Another description of the orchestra is given in the fairy tale 'The white cat' written by the French Marie-Catherine Le Jumel de Barneville, Baroness d'Aulnoy, known as Countess d'Aulnoy (1650/1-1705) (Zipes, 2011). She describes those (Aulnoy, 1782: 67-68):

> […] who took their places in a small orchestra erected for the occasion. One held a part-book whit the cleverest little notes in the world; another beat time with a roll of paper; others had little guitar. On the downbeat they all began to miaow on different pitches and pluck the strings of the guitars with their claws […].

It is apparent from this that, at the end of the 17th Century, the orchestra was still considered a place and not an ensemble. It is only at the beginning of the 18th Century that the noun 'orchestra' begins to designate a group of musicians rather than

the space that they occupied in the theatre or church. In a note dated 1702 written by a composer at the church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Bergamo, we read: 'tutti li virtuosi della Sacra Orchestra'. Thus, the orchestra here is a group of 'virtuosi' or, in other words, a group formed by several instrumentalists (Spitzer and Zaslaw, 2004: 16). Along the same lines, it is possible to observe in the literature on German music theory, Johann Mattheson gives an early statement on the use of the word orchestra (Mattheson, 1713: 34):

> I have chosen to use the word *Orchestre* or *Orquestre* as a not yet very common and thus galant expression, instead of *Concert, Capelle, Chor,* or similar terms […]. The word Orquestre may be applied not only to the instrumental ensemble at the Opera but equally and without exception to whatever place the leadership and direction of the music is found, whether it be sacred or secular music.

As late as 1750, in France, the new meaning of the term was not universally accepted. Rousseau wrote in the *Encyclopédie* (Rousseau, 1750: 301-2):

> At the present this word […] means sometimes the place where those sit who play on the instruments, as the orchestra of the opera-house; and sometimes the place where the whole band in general are fixed, as the orchestra of the spiritual concert at the Château des Tuilleries; and again, the collection of all symphonists. It is in this last sense, that we say of the execution of music, that the orchestra was good or bad, to express that the instruments were well or ill played.

Spitzer and Zaslaw's (2004) interpretation of the word orchestra, as a 'collection of all symphonists', reflects the community's view of the meaning of the word 'not only in French but also in English, German, and Italian'.

We have seen that the term orchestra was linked to the space where a group of instrumentalists (symphonists) sit during a performance. In the same way, the symphony as a genre employs an additional word depending on the place where the music was performed. Thus, it is possible to name three different categories of symphony: theatre, chamber, and church. For our purposes, we will consider only chamber symphonies and their spaces. The chamber symphony had different characteristics from overture or theatre music, it cannot be linked to the text and melody of an opera. This kind of composition was in three movements according to the scheme: fast – slow – fast. To get an idea about the features that a chamber symphony should have had, the account written by Johann Abraham Peter Schulz published between 1771 and 1774 in *Allgemeine Theorie der Scönen Künste* is informative:

> The Allegro of the best chamber symphonies have grand and bold ideas; free composition; apparent disorder in the melody and harmony; a variety of strongly marked rhythms; powerful bass melodies and unisons; *concertante* middle voices; free imitation, often a theme treated fugally; sudden transitions and shifts from one key to another (which are all the more striking the more distant they are);

> strong shadings of *forte* and *piano*, and especially crescendo that – when accompanying a rising, increasingly expressive melody – can create the most powerful effect
>
> (Koch, 1983: 183)

Thus, the chamber symphony requires a different style from other kinds of symphony (church and theatre).

All 24 of the symphonies composed by Giovanni Battista Serini can be defined as chamber symphonies. This music was, in fact, written for the court of Count Wilhelm Schaumburg-Lippe in Bückeburg. In the court, music had been performed since the 16th Century, and the counts were patrons of the arts (not only music), employing composers, and instrumentalists for the court's orchestra. The castle where the aristocrat family of Schauburg-Lippe was located is a large building with plenty of rooms, halls and a big park all around. Obviously, some parts were private, such as the count and countess's bedroom and other private spaces. According to Hildegard Tiggermann (2012), who has studied the music of Bückeburg between the 16th and 20th Centuries, among the places chosen to perform chamber music there was the antechamber of the Princess Charlotte Friederike Amalia (Tiggermann, 2012: 150).

In order to go beyond the specifics of the room used in the castle, it is important to analyse the layout of the orchestra or, in other

words, the space that the ensemble occupied for a performance. In order to investigate this specific topic, Johann Joachim Quantz's book, published in Berlin in 1752, is useful. Quantz was a Royal Prussian chamber musician. The musical life in Bückeburg was modelled on that in Berlin, and musical taste was dominated by Italian influence; in the middle of the 18th Century, the favourite composers performing at court were Tartini, Alessandro Scarlatti, Pergolesi, Porpora, Jommelli and Hasse (Young, 1970: 226), in addition to the music composed specifically for the court.

Quantz not only gives suggestions about the layout of the orchestra but even on the choice of tempo. 'In a large place, where there is much resonance, and where the accompanying body is very numerous, great speed produces more confusion than pleasure'. In contrast, he states that a fast tempo is possible 'in a small room, where few instruments are at hand for the accompaniment' (Quantz, 1752: 200). As stated above, Serini's music was composed and performed in the Bückeburg castle but, unfortunately, no primary sources about the orchestra's size have yet come to light. It is possible to speculate about the size of the orchestra employed at the court of Schauburg-Lippe by cross-referencing information given by Quantz in his method and an

analysis of how the symphonies by Serini have been scored. In chapter XVII, paragraph 16 of his book, Quantz writes:

> Who wishes to perform a composition well must see to it that he supplies each instrument in the poor proportion, and does not to use too many of one kind, too few of another. I shall propose a ratio which, to my thinking, will satisfy all requirements in this regard. I assume that the *harpsichord* will be included in all ensembles, whether large or small.
>
> With *four violins* use *one viola, one violoncello,* and *double bass* of medium size.
>
> With *six violins,* the same complement and *one bassoon.*
>
> *Eight violins* require *two violas, two violoncellos,* an *additional double bass,* larger, however, than the first, *two oboes, two flutes,* and *two bassoons.*
>
> With *ten violins,* the same complement, but with an *additional violoncello.*
>
> With *twelve violins* use *three violas, four violoncellos, two double basses, three bassoons, four oboes, four flutes,* and in a pit *another keyboard* and *one theorbo.*
>
> *Hunting horns* may be necessary in both small and large ensembles, depending upon the nature of the piece and the inclination of the composer.
>
> (Quantz, 1752: 214).

The symphonies composed by Serini are, with some exceptions, scored for violins (firsts and seconds), violas, violoncello, bass (double bass), continuo (harpsichord), two horns and, in some works, flutes and bassoons. After having analysed the nine symphonies preserved in part-book in the Regensburg library,[14] it is possible to claim that Serini composed for small ensembles; thus, it is realistic enough to think about an ensemble with four

[14] Fürst Thurn und Taxis Hofbibliothek und Zentralbibliothek (D-Rtt).

or six violins according to Quantz's description. In order to understand and figure out the layout of the orchestra in the space, we can return to Quantz who published a very detailed description on this topic:

> In a small chamber ensemble, the harpsichord may be placed by the wall on the left of its player, but far enough removed from it so that all the accompanying instruments except the basses have room between him and the wall. If only four violins are present, they and the violists may all stand in one row behind the harpsichord. If, however, there are six or eight violinists, it would be better to place the second violins behind the first, and the violas behind the second violins, so that the middle part do not stand out above the principal part, for this produces a poor effect.
>
> (Quantz, 1752: 213).

In his description of the space occupied by the ensemble, Quantz did not mention woodwind and brass instruments. According to Adam Carse, the space reserved for those instruments was not generally accepted, 'except in so much that they are not usually placed together in a compact group' (Carse, 1950: 40). Even on this issue, Quantz is useful. In his description of the large ensemble, he places the oboes in the same row as the violas; behind them, he allocates space for the hunting horns. The best place for the flutes is 'at the tip of the harpsichord, in front of the first violins' (Quantz, 1752: 212-13).

To conclude, we are now able to draft a map of all the cities visited by Giovanni Battista Serini. From his native land (Lombardy region) and home city (Casalmaggiore) he moved to Venice (Veneto region). From there, he obtained work in Germany where he arrived in the second part of 1750. After only four years, probably because of the Seven Years' War, he left Bückeburg for Prague and then went to Bonn where he remained until his death. During his life, Serini composed more than 24 symphonies and many other pieces (arias, cantatas, concertos, trios, and sacred music). Unfortunately, his catalogue is still not complete, indicating that there is need for more research in this field.

References

Aulnoy M. C. (1782). *Les Countes des fees.* London.

Cambridge English Dictionary, T. (2018). *Cambridge Dictionary | English Dictionary, Translations & Thesaurus*. [online] Dictionary.cambridge.org. Available at: https://dictionary.cambridge.org/ [Accessed 31 Jan. 2018].

Barney, C. (1775) The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces. Reprint (2014). Cambridge University Press.

Buttigli M. (1629). *Descrizione dell'apparato fatto per honorare la prima e solenne entrata in Parma della Serenissima Principessa Margherita di Toscana*… 1629, quoted in Lavin I. (1990), 'On the Unity of the Arts and the Early Baroque Opera House', in Wish B. and Munshower S. (eds.), *Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque.* State College, Pa.

Buelow, G. (2001). Mattheson, Johann. *Oxford Music Online.* Retrieved 31 Jan. 2018, from http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000018097

Dubois J.B. (1748). *On Poetry, Painting and Music.* London: John Nourse.

Geiringer, K. and Geiringer, I. (1981). *The Bach family*. London: Allen & Unwin.

Koch, H. (1983). *Introductory essay on composition: The Mechanical Rules of Melody, Sections 3 and 4.* Translate by Nancy Kovaleff Barker. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Larue, J., Wolf, E., Bonds, M., Walsh, S., & Wilson, C. (2001). Symphony. *Oxford Music Online.* Retrieved 31 Jan. 2018, from http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000027254

Lynch, C. P. (2001) "Serini, Giovanni Battista." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press. Web. 20 Nov. 2017. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.sheffield.idm.oclc.org/subscriber/article/grove/music/25463 The entry has been updated by the writer on 2017 and will be soon online.

Matthenson, J. (1713). *Das Neu-Eröffnete Orchestre.* Hamburg: Auf Unkosten des Autoris, modern edition. (2004), Laaber: Laaber Verlag.

Pilgrim, J. (1964). A Note on G. B. Serini. *The Musical Times*, 105(1458), p.581.

Quantz J.J. (1752) *Essay of a Method for Playing the Transverse Flute.* Berlin: Johann Friedrich Voss. Translate by Edward Reilly. (2001) London: Faber and Faber.

Richelet P. (1679). *Dictionnaire François.* Geneva : Petrequin.

Romani, G. (1829). *Memorie Storico-Ecclesiastiche di Casalmaggiore.* Fratelli Bizarri.

Rousseau J.J. (1768). *Dictionnaire de Musique,* Paris: La veuve Duchesne. Cited in Brown, A., Morrow, M. and Churgin,

B. (2012). *The eighteenth-century symphony*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Rousseau J.J. (1779). *A Complete Dictionary of Music.* London trans. William Waring.

SCHULTE, A. (1971). *Ein englischer Gesandter am Rhein: George Cressener als Bevollmächtigter Gesandter an den Höfen der geistlichen Kurfürsten und beim Niderrheinisch-Westfälischen Kreis 1763-1781*. Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid Verlag.

Spitzer J., Zaslaw N. (2004). *The Birth of the Orchestra.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tiggermann H. (2012). *Studien zur Musikgeschichte Bücheburgs vom 16. Bis zum 20. Jahrhundert.* Hannover: Hansche Buchhandlung Hannover.

Vio, G. (1988). Musici Veneziani nella cerchia di Giovanni Battista Vivaldi. In Fanna, A. and Morelli, G., ed., *Nuovi Studi Vivaldiani,* Firenze: Leo S. Olski Editore.

Weekley E. (1921). "An Etymological Dictionary of Modern English". London: John Murray.

Wolf, R., & Vendrix, P. (2001). Dubos, Abbé Jean-Baptiste. *Oxford Music Online.* Retrieved 31 Jan. 2018, from http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000008233

Young P.M. (1970) *The Bachs.* London: J.M. Dent & Sons LTD

Zipes J. (2011). *The Great Fairy Tale Tradition: From Straparola and Basile to the Brothers Grimm*. London: Norton.

This page is left intentionally blank

Musicology Research
Issue 4: pp. 573-604

21

‘O Monstrous! O Strange!’: Culture, Nature, and the Places of Music in the Mexican Leeward

Diego Astorga de Ita

1. Leeward Sounds

Son Jarocho is the music of the Mexican Sotavento (Leeward) region, a region south of the Atlantic port of Veracruz comprised by the southern part of the state of the same name and reaching the neighbouring states of Oaxaca and Tabasco (García de León, 2009; Kohl, 2010; Barahona-Londoño, 2013). It encompasses the basins of the Papaloapan, Coatzacoalcos, and Tonalá rivers, which are a central part of the Leeward landscapes, and were

© 2018 Diego Astorga de Ita

historically important means of transportation in the region (Velasco Toro, 2003; Thiébaut, 2013).

The Leeward was heavily influenced by the Port-City of Veracruz, which was the only transatlantic port of colonial Mexico during the three hundred years of Spanish rule. Through Veracruz, merchandise from Asia, North America, and Europe moved in and out of New Spain; consequently, it became a place of encounter between sailors, soldiers, merchants, workers, and slaves from across the 'first world system' (Chaunu, 1960; Wallerstein, 1999). It is not surprising then that it was in the Port and its hinterland that *son Jarocho* originated from the mixture of numerous cultures: predominantly Spanish popular music—its baroque chordophones and Andalusian dances—; African and Afro-Caribbean rhythms, dance, and song patterns; and indigenous languages, spaces, and themes (García de León, 2009). The resulting Leeward sounds are played in *fandangos*[1], that is, parties that revolve around Leeward music and dance.

2. Fandango: festive charm and Fescennine dance.

Fandangos have been contested spaces ever since their origin, as we can see in the 18th century Spanish '*Diccionario de Autoridades*' that defines fandango as a 'very joyful and festive' dance with

[1] Also known as *huapangos*.

origins in the new world. It also gives a Latin name for it: *Tripudium fescenninum*, that is, 'Fescennine dance'. A second definition given by this dictionary is that of a banquet or celebration with the Latin terms *Festiva oblectatio* (festive charm) and *Jucunditas* (delight) (Real Academia Española, 1732). Because of their obscene connotations, fandangos and *son Jarocho* were persecuted by the Inquisition and the State during the colonial period (16-19th century); they were frowned upon and considered indecent and sinful spaces often associated to racialised Others (Ortiz, 2005; Camacho, 2007; García de León, 2009). After the Mexican independence, and throughout the 19th century, *son Jarocho* was used to develop a sense of regional identity and to protest unpopular governments; however, the negative connotations related to fandangos continued, although rooted more strongly in classism and racism than in religious conservatism (Pérez Montfort, 1991).

After the Mexican revolution, in the first half of the 20th century, the perception of *son Jarocho* changed as it went through a process of folklorisation resulting from an increased media exposure, heightened migration from rural to urban areas, and the commoditisation of the music (Gottfried Hesketh and Pérez Montfort, 2009). This folklorisation led to a diminishing repertoire and to the abandonment of fandangos (Stigberg, 1978).

And while the fandango lost—up to a certain extent—the connotations of licentiousness and sin, it was still considered a dangerous space in which political squabbles and personal vendettas often flourished violently (Kohl, 2010; Pérez Montfort, 2010; Báxin, 2017). All this furthered the loss of fandangos throughout the mid-twentieth century.

In the late 1970s some young musicians started going back to older styles of *son Jarocho* still played in some rural communities, prompting a revival that became known as the *jaranero* movement [2] (Pascoe, 2003; Cardona, 2009). This movement started promoting fandangos, stressing their pedagogical and communitarian aspects, and reinterpreting the space as an indispensable practice for the survival of *son* (Pérez Montfort, 2002).

Thus, the space and the practice of fandango, or rather, the spatial practice of fandango has survived up to this day, though not without transformations. Nowadays we have modern fandangos, not only in Leeward towns, but also in cities across the globe where the *tripudium* and the *jucunditas* survive, and where the histories and stories woven through centuries of music can still be heard. We have a performative palimpsest, a living

[2] Named after the *jarana*, the main chordophone played across different variants of *son Jarocho*.

memory that is still changing. But the palimpsest does not only reach across times—past, present, and future—it also stretches across worlds as the 'festive charm' is often quite literal, as we can see in musicians' memories and past experiences, and in old stories of *son*.

Figure 1. Fandango in a bar in Mexico City, November 2017.

3. Prey of enchantment.

Fandangos often happen in open, public places—streets, gardens, or plazas—sometimes under the cover of a marquee, and always around the *tarima*—the wooden idiophone that also functions as dance floor. The openness of the space means that people are welcome to join the party if they can sing, dance or play an

instrument, or if they just want to watch, eat, and drink. The fandango starts off with the *son* of *El Siquisirí,* and goes on for as long as there is someone playing and someone dancing. The intensity of the fandango changes with the night and with the spirits of dancers and musicians. The openness of fandangos acquires a new meaning when we look at Leeward lore, for fandangos are often visited not only by musicians from neighbouring communities but also by non-human beings with exceptional characteristics: a smiling man with a glowing red stone in the headstock of his guitar who impairs Mr. Quino Baxin's ability to play and move; a foreigner who plays an unusually loud *jarana* and arrives riding a black horse, dressed in black, wearing silver spurs; a strange singer with a vibrant voice, an unbearable breath and twisted, backwards feet—they turn out to be the devil, *Yobaltabant*[3], and a *chaneque*[4]. Moreno-Nájera (2009) magnificently captures these and other stories of otherworldly encounters in his book *Presas del encanto* ('Prey of enchantment'), where he gathers testimonies of old Leeward musicians from the region of Los Tuxtlas who have interacted with these otherworldly beings. The inhabitants of the Leeward Otherworld join in the music and dance, especially when

[3] *Yobaltabant* is a character from the Leeward Otherworld, some say it is the devil by another name (Báxin, 2017), others say they are old deities from the area of Los Tuxtlas that trick adults (Moreno-Nájera, 2009: 122).
[4] Another being of the Leeward Otherworld, associated with the wilderness, particularly with forests and waterways.

musicians happen to be in particular spaces (near rivers or ceiba trees[5]), or when they stray from the straight and narrow (literally or figuratively). The Others come and terrorise or enchant musicians. They punish misbehaviour, trick musicians, lure them into the forest, and leave a lasting mark on instruments and bodies, which are sometimes one and the same (Ibid.: 68, 104).

Figure 2. A woman dances upon the tarima, Tlacotalpan, February 2018.

Throughout these stories the Others respond to misbehaviour that goes against the grain of fandangos and Leeward music, repaying evil with evil. Musicians who keep re-tuning so other players cannot join in the music, dancers who will not let other

[5] There are two species of ceiba trees in Mexico: *Ceiba pentandra* and *Ceiba aesculifolia.*

party-goers dance, people who are obsessed with fandangos and *son* to an unhealthy extent, or musicians who disrespect the effigies of Catholic virgins and saints; they all fall prey to enchantment as a consequence of their actions. In contrast, jaraneros that take music and fandangos with moderation, respect the communitarian logic of the party, revere virgins and saints, and 'cleanse' themselves with flowers from their altars are able to avert a bitter end. In some cases enchantment is a punishment, in others it is a trick played on an unaware musician, not necessarily worthy of a reprimand. Whether punished or pranked, Leeward musicians are prey of enchantment time and again (Moreno-Nájera, 2009). Given these testimonies, Leeward fandangos seem to be places where the disenchantment of the world has not yet taken its toll or where it is temporarily arrested as the inhabitants of the Otherworld interact with our own society.

4. Enchantment and 'the topsy-turvydoms of faery glamour'.

The Otherworld of Leeward enchantment and its inhabitants are not unlike the people of Faery, of the British Isles. In Irish lore, the Sidhe are often in contact with musicians, and are themselves the makers of the most beautiful music; they play fiddles and pipes, and interactions with them and their music can have

beneficial or catastrophic consequences. They too enchant humans through their music and they too are found at particular places 'associated with the other world' (Uí Ógáin, 1993).

Some study of fairy music has been undertaken by Ríonach Uí Ógáin (1993) but we can find accounts of faeries and their musical ways in older texts. In one of Chaucer's tales (written between 1387-1400) we are told that 'Al was this land fulfild of fayerye' (Cited in Holland, 2008: 22). In Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (published in 1600) part of the cast belongs to the otherworld, and, while his tale is set in ancient Greece, the otherworldly beings are clearly the people of Faery. And Yeats' *The Celtic Twilight* (first edited in 1893) brings together stories of the Sidhe in 19th century Ireland, letting 'men and women, dhouls and faeries, go their way unoffended or defended by any argument' (Yeats, 2012: 3).

While 'the topsy-turvydoms of faery glamour' are 'now beautiful, now quaintly grotesque' (Yeats, 2012: 9, 56); the enchantment of the Leeward seems to be dominated by fear: one falls prey to it and there is little beauty to be found in the stories of enchantment. In this sense, the Leeward world's enchantment is different from the idea of Enchantment in Bennet, for it is not 'a state of wonder' or 'a condition of exhilaration' (Bennett, 2001: 5).

Although it is similar in that it resists (or survives) the rational disenchantment of Modernity—and it certainly is an 'uncanny feeling experienced through the senses' (Ibid.)—; here enchantment is, as in Shakespeare's play, monstrous and strange for those who experience it. So, while the Leeward is—at least in memory—a land not yet disenchanted, the enchantment of this world doesn't correspond to the textbook definition of 'Enchantment'. The term '*encanto*' (enchantment) corresponds rather to the spell-like effect of interactions with the inhabitants of the Otherworld, or to the thing with which they interact, the Other itself. Here I must stress the fact that *el encanto* (or enchantment with a lower case 'e') emanates from Nature, or from the chaneques (who some consider to be synonymous with enchantment) and is the protector of natural environments. Often, as is the case with the stories gathered by Moreno-Nájera, these charming interactions happen through music, (or) in the fandango.[6]

Bennet's Enchantment might be better suited to understand the country of Faery and its people, for the Sidhe are often wonderful and exhilarating. They know 'the cure to all the evils

[6] These interactions are not exclusive to music. Mr. Arcadio Báxin, when talking about enchantment, mentioned that he was enchanted once, as a child, when cutting wood for building a fence, and that enchantment would seek retribution against hunters when animals were not killed properly. Enchantment then, has to do with man's relationship with Nature (almost as if it were the forest's immune system responding to a disturbance) but it is not in Báxin's examples mediated through music.

in the world' and make 'the most beautiful music that ever was heard' (Yeats, 2012: 36, 88), while also inflicting fascinating fear in us mortals. Even in the Shakespearean drama, where actors flee from the faeries, in the end, the Sidhe are benevolent (Holland, 2008) as we see in Titania's declaration that 'Hand in hand with fairy grace / We will sing and bless this place' (Shakespeare, 2008, 5.1, ll. 390-91).

Perhaps a better way to understand Leeward enchantment and its whereabouts would be Octavio Paz' concept of *la fiesta* (the party)[7], which he explores in *The Labyrinth of Solitude*. He writes that 'above all it [—la fiesta—] is the advent of the unusual. It is governed by its own special rules that set it apart from other days, and it has a logic, an ethic and even an economy that are often in conflict with everyday norms' (Paz, 1967: 42-43). The fiesta 'occurs in an enchanted world [where] time is transformed' and 'space, the scene of the fiesta, is turned into a ... world of its own'. In the fiesta 'everything takes place as if it were not so, as if it were a dream' (Ibid.). Paz' idea of fiesta is an oneiric utopia of lived poetry, in Paz' poetics, poetry is a lived act (Wilson, 1979). As in Paz' fiesta, in the fandango poetics and music are lived and embodied and the world is enchanted, even if just briefly.

---

[7] The fandango is, after all, a party.

The time and space of la fiesta and the impermanence of fandangos push us further into theory and remind us of Bakhtin’s idea of 'the chronotope': a position or a place in space and time (Folch-Serra, 1990). In fandangos, space is transformed through performance: music, dance, and food make the garden, street or plaza into another place, an elsewhere embedded in the time of music. Thus, a fandango is both place and performance: it transforms the abstract, Cartesian space into a phenomenological, lived place that exists while it is performed and dies out when the last song ends. Fandangos are like Tschumi’s event-cities: 'conceived, erected, and burned in vain'; like fireworks that show the 'gratuitous consumption of pleasure' (Tschumi, 2000). Although not precisely 'gratuitous' or 'vain', the fandango is an ephemeral chronotope built for enjoyment: it only exists as long as the music lasts. Once it stops it's no longer a fandango. The place has ceased to exist.

Music has an important role in the Otherworlds of Faerie and of Leeward enchantment. Faeries are keen on music and can play and dance nonstop. Their musical madness often comes in contact with humanity, as in the case of a woman who was stolen by faeries: 'after seven years she was brought home again ... but she had no toes left. She had danced them off' (Yeats, 2012: 106). In spite of the faeries' musicality, there is a fundamental

difference between the two Otherworlds, and that is the fandango. While the Sidhe do not seem to have a particular place or time for their musical endeavours, in the Leeward both human and non-human musicians come together in the chronotope of the fandango. Hence, it is important to understand the fandango and to understand that what makes the fandango is the praxis of music, the praxis of la fiesta. The important thing is that the chronotope is performed, regardless of where and when.

But all these theoretical considerations might be much ado about nothing, for 'theories are poor things at best' (Yeats, 2012: 79) and Leeward enchantment and faery glamour are things whose 'meaning no man has discovered nor any angel revealed' (Ibid.: 18).

5. 'Para curarme de espanto...'

When it comes to the performance of enchantment in fandangos, there are two groups of actors: the enchanters and the enchanted. Of the first we have already talked: they play, they dance, they punish and prank. In order to prevent their monstrous mischief there is a number of ways—both material and immaterial—in which the would-be preys protect themselves.

Some luthiers and jaraneros put amulets in their instruments. It

is not uncommon to see *boconas*[8] (bass guitars) with a mirror embedded in their headstocks, or to keep images of virgins and saints in the headstocks of instruments or inside them. The violin is in itself an amulet as it makes 'the sign of the cross' when played. A red string can also protect musicians, and according to the dancer Rubí Oseguera, people used to put rattlesnakes' rattles in each corner of the tarima to protect dancers against perilous enchantments; similarly, in one of Moreno-Nájera's stories, a plectrum carved like a rattle saves a guitar player from the devil (2009: 23-25).

Figure 3. From left to right: the guitar and the *bocona* have round mirrors in their headstocks. Fandango in Tlacotalpan, February 2018.

[8] Literally translates as 'big mouthed', this type of guitar is more commonly known as *leona* (lit. 'lioness'), however according to Joel Cruz Castellanos, this is a misnomer and the correct term is *bumburona*, *vozarrona* or *bocona* (Cruz Castellanos, pers. com., 2018).

The singing of verses invoking the divine—Catholic saints, virgins, or God—is another method used by musicians (Moreno-Nájera, 2009; Báxin, 2017). In this instance, as for Henri Bosco[9], words are the amulets of musicians: when someone realises that the singer has backwards, twisted, furry feet (a chaneque!), or that there is something wrong with the foreign virtuoso dancer (the devil), people start singing verses to the divine, which prompts the visitors to vanish or flee. Often these disappearances come when lightning strikes, in whirlwinds, or in puffs of sulphured smoke, or they lead to the transformation of the stranger into some sort of animal that runs promptly into the safety of the forest (Moreno-Nájera, 2009).

Some *sones* are particularly prone to draw attention from certain Others and so require the performance of amulet-verses. *El Buscapiés* ('The Firecracker') is a *son* that attracts the devil to the tarima when played, hence one must call upon God or saints in verse (Hidalgo, 1978). This has led to the formation of a large corpus of verses 'to the divine' that act as protection, for example:

'Afligido un poco canto	'I sing my song with affliction
E invoco a Santo Tomás	To Thomas the saint I pray
Para curarme de espanto	To cure myself from this fright
Hermano de Barrabás	Barabbas' brother I say:

[9] Bosco writes: *'J'ai mes amulettes: les mots'* (I have my amulets: words) (Cited in Bachelard, 2014: 49).

¡Por el Espíritu Santo	By the power of the Spirit
Retírate Satanás!	Satan, be gone! Go away!
Con todas las oraciones	With the help of all the prayers
De los santos milagrosos	Of the miraculous saints
Vencí las tribulaciones	I beat all the tribulations,
Los malos, los venenosos,	Evil, and venom, and pains;
La envidia, las tentaciones	The envies, and the temptations,
Para salir victorioso'	Victorious I overcame.'

On the other hand, there are verses that show certain sympathy for the devil and that mock traditional religiousness:

'¡Ave María, Dios te salve!	'Oh hail Mary! May God save you!
¡Dios te salve, ave María,!	Hail Mary! God save you dear!
Así gritaban las viejas	That's what old ladies would shout
Cuando el diablo aparecía.	When the devil did appear.
Salió a bailar Lucifer	Lucifer came out to dance
No canten a lo divino	Don't call on the divine fleet,
mejor toquemos pa' ver	Let's play and look at him prance,
que demuestre a lo que vino'	Let's see if he can move his feet.'

In *El Buscapiés*—among salutes, love letters, and self-references[10]—there is often a poetic standoff between the divine

[10] As in many other *sones*, there are several verses in *El Buscapiés* that talk of *El Buscapiés.* in *La Bamba* we find perhaps a clarer example of this, as instructions for singing *La Bamba* are sung:
'Para bailar la bamba / se necesita...' ('To dance *la bamba* / you are going to need...').

and the profane. The presence and strangeness of these otherworldly and/or demonic beings—the backwards, twisted feet of chaneques (Moreno-Nájera, 2009); the devil's feet, one human and one chicken-like, or his disappearance in a sulphurous fart (Hidalgo, 1978)—speak of the fiestaness of the fandango. There is an encounter between us and the Others at the fandango, which leads to a dialogic construction of both chronotope and sound. While the Shakespearean actors scream and flee when they come across the faerie Otherworld, the leeward musicians sing and face the music when the Others come into the fandango.

6. Of dancers and *nahuales*.

Another way in which enchantment is present, and in which the lines between Culture and Nature are blurred, is through the performance of *sones* that speak of animals. In *La Guacamaya* (The Macaw), *La Iguana* (The Iguana), *El Toro Zacamandú* (The Zacamadú Bull), *El Palomo* (The Pigeon), and *El Pájaro Carpintero* (The Woodpecker), performers take the mantle of animals by enacting their behaviours in dance and verse: women 'fly and fly away' like the macaw, men become iguanas or brave bulls, singers declare their love to doves or declare themselves to be woodpeckers, and dancers peck at the tarima with their feet imitating the woodpecker's sounds. The relationship with Nature

is embodied in these *sones*: a dialogue is established through song, and animality is enacted through dance. While this might seem to be an overtly naive or literal analysis of the song's texts (too 'representational'), when we consider the Mesoamerican cosmovisions, in which animals and humans talk and interact, or transform from one to the other (Estrada Ochoa, 2008; Martínez González, 2010), we can see that *Jarocho* poetics and performance fit well into these visions of the world. These transformations are also a form of enchantment: Leeward stories speak of fandangos in the thick of the jungle in which men literally become bulls and women macaws when they step into the tarima; or of a cheating, shape-shifting enchantress who, when confronted quite violently by her cuckolded husband, becomes an otherworldly cow and flees (Hidalgo Belli, 2016). Furthermore, many of Moreno-Nájera's stories end with the otherworldly intruder turning into an animal and running away. These stories are similar to the stories of '*nahuales*', that is, sorcerers who can turn into animals (Brinton, 1894: 13-14) and that are also present in Leeward verse:

'No te asomes vida mía,	'Don't come out my dear, my lover,
no te vayan a espantar,	lest you be frightened to tears,
dicen que por esta esquina	I have heard that near this corner
se te aparece el nahual.'	sometimes the *nahual* appears.'

Considering the dancers' performance of animality, we can think of them as *nahuales* of sorts, who cross the boundaries of

humanity through music and dance. These frontiers are further transgressed in Leeward poetics through interactions with the non-human Others that go from small talk, to marriage proposals, to messenger services.

The *son* of the woodpecker[11] is a good example of the presence of these narratives in *son Jarocho* lyricism. The bird is in a sense a totem of Leeward peoples, particularly of woodworkers, and this song refers to woodpeckers and woodworkers almost interchangeably; this is not entirely surprising given the above, and that the woodpecker is the original woodworker according to Leeward poetics. The woodpecker of the song helps carpenters and luthiers in their endeavours and has magical powers that allow those who know 'the woodpecker's prayer' to open locked doors at will. The bird is connected to the divine, as verses attest to its relationship with Noah's ark, and Christ's cross; and the woodpecker's body is a source of magic that can be used to show true love or 'to find a cure for the enchantment / of a love that was not true'[12] (Mono Blanco, 2013).

Like the woodpecker, many other *sones*—both in performance and in text—explore and establish relationships between humans and non-humans, questioning the modern borders between Culture and Nature.

[11] The Spanish for woodpecker literally translates as 'carpenter bird'.
[12] '*Para curar el encanto / de algún amor traicionero...*'

7. 'I have got a cedar heart'.

The performance of Nature in *son Jarocho* speaks volumes of the place of Nature in the Leeward. In the fandango, Nature is not ontologically separate from us, for it takes part of what we might consider a cultural practice: music. The Others play the same instruments and the same tunes, even if they are not of our world. This is similar to what Descola points out in his critique of modernity's division between Culture and Nature (Descola, 2013: 61–63). Consequently, we can think of fandangos as a place in-between the social and the natural in spite of them happening in a place some theorists would consider a part of the 'social sphere' (Toledo, 2008). And not only that, the fact that Nature plays music ought to make us question whether music is a purely social phenomenon.

The question of the natural origins of music is further developed when we look at the material culture of Leeward music—particularly jaranas and guitars—, and their botanic origins. Traditionally these instruments are built from a single piece of cedar that has been carved into shape with axes, gouges, and machetes (Bearns Esteva, 2011). The instruments are clearly the result of human labour, but they are not merely cultural artefacts. The instruments are described as having 'a voice' and 'a cedar heart' in Nájera's accounts, in Leeward poetics, and by current

musicians (Segovia, 1981: 612; Moreno-Nájera, 2009: 61; Báxin, 2017); and they must be fretted properly or they would not 'say things right', according to several luthiers. Furthermore, their connection with Nature has not been severed by our work or our Culture, as musicians still sing of them as '...a cedar [that] cries', and claim that to their 'fine melodies /the forest finds rest' (Gutiérrez Hernández and Son de Madera, 2014). We should also consider that trees are considered by some musicians as similar to us, as having a soul and an ability to speak and listen: old trees can help heal diseases if asked, and before cutting a tree one must ask for permission from God (Báxin, 2017). Like the trees (and like us), instruments are alive.

Additionally, the work of the luthier is confounded with the work of Nature, of the trees and the woodpecker, as we can see (or rather hear and imagine) in Hidalgo's verse:

'...y los carpinteros	'...and the carpenters
sueñan tercerolas	dream of long jaranas
por el monte viejo	through the old forest of
de cedro y caoba	mahogany and cedar
para que la vida	so life might be filled
se cuaje de aromas.'	with pleasant aromas.'

(Hidalgo Belli and Son de Madera, 2009).

In the original Spanish, it is ambiguous whether 'the carpenters' are human luthiers or the woodpeckers that fly through and

inhabit the forest. This is not all that strange considering the nature of the woodpecker in the Leeward tradition, of which we have already spoken.

Ultimately, Leeward instruments are hybrid things (or rather, hybrid beings), akin to Latours' proposal of hybrids (Latour, 1993) or to Haraway's cyborgs (Haraway, 2006). Instruments, however, are not the children of modernity or of science—as is the case with the Latourian narrative, or with Haraway's cyborgs—but the survivors of an enchanted world.

8. Fandangos in the forest and Leeward acousmatics.

A man walks home alone at night after going to a fandango, he starts hearing music coming from the thick of the jungle, decides to leave the road and gets lost in a phantasmagoria of musical oddities in which people turn to animals when they dance (Hidalgo Belli, 2016). Not all the stories of Leeward musical enchantment happen in the space of the fandango: many happen on the road, when musicians are making their way to or back from a fandango. Moreno-Nájera tells the story of a man who has to cross a river on his way home from a fandango; near the river he runs into a child who asks him to play the *son* of *Los Enanos* ('the little people'). When he plays it, a thick mist rises from the river and he loses sight of the child, he tries to find him but

cannot see because of the fog; when the haze rises the child is gone and the man realises it was a chaneque in disguise (2009: 35).

Sometimes the Others manifest themselves immaterially and disembodied, only through sound. Some stories speak of men obsessed with fandangos who start hearing music coming from the neighbouring ranches; they make their way there and when they are about to arrive the music stops and starts again in a different location. They never can reach the origin of the music, for its origin is enchantment, and they start losing themselves in the forest trying to reach the acousmatic music (Ibid.: 83-84, 89-90; Hidalgo Belli, 2016).

Revill writes that 'acousmatism is associated with the difficulties intrinsic to locating the specific source or point of production for sound' (2016: 249) bringing into question the sound's origins and authority. In the Leeward world, acousmatics are less a function of politics or authority and more a function of enchantment. Leeward music is ubiquitous, and permeates the charmed listener like the sounds of Nature that Revill describes (Ibid.). This brings again into question the idea of music as a product of Culture, for the sounds of *son* are like the sounds of Nature: Leeward sounds' origins cannot be located; they change or stop

when musicians cross a river, and they make musicians lose track of time or draw them into the forests.

Leeward acousmatism is a tool of enchantment that makes us question the fandango as the predominant locus of music: in these acousmatic tales, paths and rivers are central. Here it is not in the place of human music that the story develops, but in the spaces of the Otherworld. And yet, the sounds are those of a fandango: jaranas, voices, and shoes striking the tarima are heard; this adds a phantasmatic dimension to the fandango, plunging us further into the strange dimension of la fiesta where everything seems to be but a dream.

9. Discussions and disenchantment.

What happens with enchantment in Modernity? Arcadio Báxin says that enchantment is driven away by us. When people build houses and dwell near rivers or where there were fields, the chaneques go away (Báxin, 2017). 'In the great cities we see so little of the world' says Yeats (2012: 19). On the other hand, enchantment plays its tricks even in high tech situations: 'Those chaneques are messing with us!' says, half-jokingly, Tereso Vega—jaranero from the group *Son de Madera*—in a concert in Mexico City when they cannot get the sound equipment to work. There are no people with twisted feet in sight though.

Figure 4. *Son de Madera* play in Mexico City. From left to right, Oscar Terán, Ramón Gutiérrez, and Tereso Vega. November 2017.

If we are to believe Arcadio Báxin, it seems that there is indeed a disenchantment of the world with the advent of Modernity. In this case, the stories and experiences of enchantment are but remnants of a waning past.

Figure 5. Arcadio Báxin resting, El Nopal, February 2018.

Alternatively, we can think of the belief in enchantment as a form of resisting some of the consequences of Modernity. The Modern's clean-cut divide between Culture and Nature described by Latour (1993: 10-11) has no place in the world of Leeward music. And, although *son* is a human endeavour, it is coproduced by Nature's Otherworld and its inhabitants. Musical Leeward enchantment shows us a social Nature that interacts with human society, and in which the bodies of instruments, of trees, and of monstrous beings come together in the fiesta-chronotope of the fandango. The fiestaness of the space allows for these entanglements to happen. In that sense, the 18th century definitions of 'fandango' strike a chord: *Festiva*

oblectatio—festive charm. In this chronotope of fiesta and charm, the boundaries between Culture and Nature, and the earthly and otherworldly, vanish as we encounter the Others.

Thus, Leeward enchantment—its performance and beliefs, as well as its ontological results—acts as a political tool against a Modernity that has little to no place for the otherworldly or for Otherness. Leeward enchantment—however monstrous or strange it may be—offers a different path to the absolute domestication of Nature, it questions the privileged position that humankind holds in the world according to Modern reason, and offers alternative behaviours and attitudes towards our environment and towards human and non-human Others. All this mediated through the performance of *son Jarocho* and of the fandango. Still, the wider question of enchantment vs. disenchantment remains, and should be further discussed and pondered, though scholars better suited than I have already done so widely and beautifully (Bennett, 2001; Yeats, 2012; Ingold, 2013). I will end this paper with one last episode pertaining *El Buscapiés*. I leave it to you to decide whether it was a strange coincidence, or a trace of enchantment that made its way to northeastern England:

> I was playing *El Buscapiés* at a friend's house in Durham County. We were sat in a small table by candlelight with a few friends after having eaten dinner. The candles were nearly burnt out and, while I played, the wooden candlestick on the table caught fire; my friend grabbed it

and ran to the kitchen tap to put it out. It was over quickly. There was no brimstone, but there was fire.

Acknowledgements

This research has been made possible by a scholarship from the Mexican National Council for Science and Technology (*Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología,* CONACYT). Moreover, I would like to thank the Leeward musicians who have taught me and talked to me throughout my research, especially Arcadio Báxin and his family.

References

Bachelard, G. (2014) *La Poética de la Ensoñación*. 7th edn. México D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Barahona-Londoño, A. (2013) *Las músicas jarochas ¿De dónde son? Un acercamiento etnomusicológico a la historia del son jarocho*. México: México: Testimonios Jarochos A.C./Consejo Nacional Para la Cultura y las Artes.

Bearns Esteva, S. (2011) *A la trova más bonita de estos nobles cantadores: The social and spatiotemporal changes of son jarocho music and the fandango jarocho*. University of California.

Bennett, J. (2001) *The Enchantment of Modern Life*. Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Brinton, D. G. (1894) 'Nagualism. A study in Native American Folk-Lore and History.', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 33(144), pp. 11–73.

Camacho, E. D. (2007) '"El chuchumbé te he de soplar:" sobre obscenidad, censura y memoria oral en el primer "son de la tierra" novohispano', *Mester*, 36(1), pp. 54–71.

Cardona, I. (2009) 'Los fandangos, la música de escenario y los festivales: la reactivación del son jarocho en Veracruz', in Juárez Hernández, Y. and Bobadilla González, L. (eds) *Veracruz: sociedad y cultura popular en la región Golfo Caribe*. 1st edn. México D.F.: Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo, Universidad Veracruzana, Instituto Veracruzano de Cultura, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, pp. 47–68.

Chaunu, P. (1960) 'Veracruz en la segunda mitad del siglo xvi y primera del xvii', *Historia Mexicana*. El Colegio De Mexico, 9(4), pp. 521–557. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/25135022.

Descola, P. (2013) *Beyond nature and culture*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press. doi: 10.1073/chicago/9780226145006.001.0001.

Estrada Ochoa, A. C. (2008) 'Naturaleza, cultura e identidad. Reflexiones desde la tradición oral maya contemporánea.', *Estudios de Cultura Maya*, 34, pp. 181–201.

Folch-Serra, M. (1990) 'Place, voice, space: Mikhail Bakhtin's dialogical landscape', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, pp. 255–274. doi: 10.1068/d080255.

García de León, A. (2009) *Fandango. El ritual del mundo jarocho a través de los siglos.* 2nd edn. México D.F.: Consejo Nacional Para la Cultura y las Artes/Programa de Desarrollo Cultural del Sotavento.

Gottfried Hesketh, J. and Pérez Montfort, R. (2009) 'Fandango y son entre el campo y la ciudad, Veracruz-México, 1930-1990', in Juárez Hernández, Y. and Bobadilla González, L. (eds) *Veracruz: sociedad y cultura popular en la región Golfo Caribe*. 1st edn. México D.F.: Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo, Universidad Veracruzana, Instituto Veracruzano de Cultura, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, pp. 69–94.

Gutiérrez Hernández, R. and Son de Madera (2014) 'El Coco', in *Caribe Mar Sincopado*. Mexico City.

Haraway, D. (2006) 'A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology,

and Socialist-Feminism in the Late 20th Century', in Weiss, J. and et al. (eds) *The International Handbook of Virtual Learning Environments*. Netherlands: Springer, pp. 117–158. doi: 10.1007/978-1-4020-3803-7_4.

Holland, P. (ed.) (2008) 'Introduction', in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. 4th edn. New York: Oxford University Press Inc., p. I-118.

Ingold, T. (2013) 'Dreaming of dragons : on the imagination of real life', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.*, pp. 734–752. doi: 10.1111/1467-9655.12062.

Kohl, R. (2010) *Escritos de un náufrago habitual: Ensayos sobre el son jarocho y otros temas etnomusicológicos.* Xalapa, Veracruz: Universidad Veracruzana.

Latour, B. (1993) 'Crisis', in (translator), C. porter (ed.) *We Have Never Been Modern*. Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, pp. 1–13.

Martínez González, R. (2010) 'La animalidad compartida : el nahualismo a la luz del animismo', *Revista Española de Antropología Americana*, 40(2), pp. 256–263.

Moreno-Nájera, A. B. (2009) *Presas del Encanto*. 1st edn. CONACULTA.

Ortiz, M. A. (2005) 'Villancicos de Negrilla', *Calíope*, 11(2), pp. 125–137.

Pascoe, J. (2003) *La Mona*. 2nd edn. Xalapa, Veracruz: Universidad Veracruzana.

Paz, O. (1967) *The Labyrinth of Solitude. Life and thought in Mexico*. London: The Penguin Press.

Pérez Montfort, R. (1991) 'La fruta madura (el fandango sotaventino del XIX a la revolución).', *Secuencia*, 19, pp. 43–60.

Pérez Montfort, R. (2002) 'Testimonios del son jarocho y del fandango: apuntes y reflexiones sobre el resurgimiento de una tradición regional hacia finales del siglo XX', *Antropología. Boletín Oficial del INAH*, (66), pp. 81–95. Available at: https://revistas.inah.gob.mx/index.php/antropologia/articl

e/view/4993.

Pérez Montfort, R. (2010) 'Desde Santiago a la Trocha: La crónica local sotaventina, el fandango y el son jarocho', *Revista de literaturas populares*, X(1 & 2), pp. 211–237.

Real Academia Española (1732) 'Fandango', *Diccionario de Autoridades. Tomo III*.

Revill, G. (2016) 'How is space made in sound? Spatial mediation , critical phenomenology and the political agency of sound', *Progress in Human Geography*, 40(2), pp. 240–256. doi: 10.1177/0309132515572271.

Segovia, F. (1981) 'La versada de Arcadio Hidalgo', *Acta Poética*, 26, pp. 605–613.

Shakespeare, W. (2008) *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. 4th edn. Edited by P. Holland. New York: Oxford University Press Inc.

Stigberg, D. K. (1978) 'Jarocho, Tropical, and "pop": aspects of musical life in Veracruz, 1971–72', in Nettl, B. (ed.) *Eight urban musical cultures: Tradition and change.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, pp. 260–95.

Thiébaut, V. (2013) 'Paisaje e identidad. El río Papaloapan, elemento funcional y simbólico de los paisajes del Sotavento.', *LiminaR. Estudios sociales y humanísticos.*, XI(2), pp. 82–99.

Toledo, V. M. (2008) 'Metabolismos rurales : hacia una teoría económico-ecológica de la apropiación de la naturaleza', *Revista Iberoamericana de Economía Ecológica*, 7, pp. 1–26.

Tschumi, B. (2000) *Event-cities: Praxis*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Uí Ógáin, R. (1993) 'Music Learned from the Fairies', *Béaloideas,* (60/61), pp. 197–214.

Velasco Toro, J. (2003) 'Cosmovisión y deidades prehispánicas de la tierra y el agua en los pueblos del Papaloapan veracruzano.', *Boletín del Archivo Histórico del Agua*, 25, pp. 5–17.

Wallerstein, I. (1999) *El moderno sistema mundial I. La agricultura capitalista y el origen de la economía-mundo europea en el siglo*

XVI. México D.F.: Siglo Veintiuno.

Wilson, J. (1979) 'Mentalist poetics, thhe quest, fiesta and other motifs', in *Octavio Paz: A study of his poetics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 44–80.

Yeats, W. B. (2012) *The Celtic Twilight*. Kindle edi. Amazon media EU S. à. r.l.

Interviews and Records

Báxin, A. (2017) *Interview with Arcadio Báxin*. Interviewed by Diego Astorga de Ita, El Nopal, Veracruz, Mexico.

Gutiérrez Hernández, R. and Son de Madera (2014) 'El Coco', in *Caribe Mar Sincopado [CD]*. Mexico City.

Hidalgo, A. (1978) 'El Buscapiés'. Mexico: Radio Educación. (Radio broadcast, *Radio Educación*) Available at: http://www.fonotecanacional.gob.mx/index.php/escucha/secciones-especiales/semblanzas/arcadio-hidalgo.

Hidalgo Belli, P. (2016) *Interview with Patricio Hidalgo at a Jarana Worksop*. Interviewed by Diego Astorga de Ita, Mexico City, Mexico.

Hidalgo Belli, P. and Son de Madera (2009) 'Jarabe Loco (Crazy Dance)', in *Son de Mi Tierra [CD]*. Smthsonian Folkways Recordings.

Mono Blanco (2013) 'El Pájaro Carpintero', in *Orquesta Jarocha [CD]*.

Biographies

Diego Astorga de Ita

Diego Astorga de Ita has come and gone between Mexico and northern England during the past 27 years, spending most of his life in the warmer of the two. Diego studied Environmental Science and did a Master's in Biology in the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), where he researched how bees, honey, people, and place come together in traditional Maya management systems in the Yucatán Peninsula. He is currently a doctoral student in the Geography Department of Durham University researching the ecomusicology of Mexican Leeward music. Diego is not a musician but he plays several things with strings; namely *jaranas* and *guitarras de son*, though he is known to play fiddle and harmonica. He sometimes dances in fandangos. He is interested in traditional luthiery (as a research topic and otherwise), the poetics of space, and how we think of Culture and Nature through music.

Federico Furnari

Federico's background is in musicology and music performance. He studied classical guitar for his Undergraduate degree at the Italian Conservatory 'L. Refice', with a thesis on vocal music by the 19th-century composer Mauro Giuliani. His Masters degree in Musicology was awarded with honour by Sapienza, University of Rome, where he also worked as a Research Assistant and Honorary Fellow. Federico's thesis focused on the important 19th-century manuscript sources known as the Fondo Mario, preserved at the Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia in Rome.

Federico began his transition to the UK academic environment with a Graduate Diploma in Music from the University of Leeds. His final work was on 18th- and 19th-century music sources preserved in York Minster Library. His doctoral work at Sheffield, co-supervised by Tim Shephard and Simon Keefe, concerns the neglected Italian composer Giovanni Battista Serini (around 1709-1765), his music, and his life. As part of his research, Federico has collected all available documents relating to his life and work in order to update and, in some respects, rewrite Serini's biography, and also to reassess his musical output and its significance.

Jelena Gligorijević

Jelena Gligorijević completed her MA in Popular Music Studies at Liverpool's Institute of Popular Music (IPM), after which she continued with her studies at Turku University's (UTU) Musicology Department. She is about to defend her doctoral thesis, which is concerned with issues of national identity articulation in two major Serbian music festivals, Exit and Guča, in the post-Milošević era. She has published in the fields of classical music theory, music education, popular music studies, gender and queer studies.

Thomas Graves

Thomas Graves holds a bachelors degree in Popular Music from the University of Kent and a master's degree in Ethnomusicology from SOAS, University of London and is currently working as an English teacher at Phoenix City International School in Guangzhou, China. His primary research interests lie in musical emotion, particularly in relation to lyrics, social context, and religion. His approach is multidisciplinary, with the aim of using ethnographic knowledge to inform psychological research in musical emotion. His area interests lie in South Asia, particularly qawwali. He is also interested in the expression of political ideology in music, English Folk Music, and applied ethnomusicology. His fieldwork so far has involved political and social research on different forms of community 'folk' music in England, as well as brief fieldwork with Chishti Sufis in Pakistan.

Sarah Hall (Co-editor)

Sarah recently completed her PhD at the University of Leeds, having previously studied music at Durham University and the University of Edinburgh. Her doctoral research was part of a wider AHRC-funded project investigating the film, television, and video-game music of Trevor Jones. Jones donated a unique archive of working materials accumulated over his career to the University of Leeds, comprising thousands of audio-visual, musical, and textual materials. Sarah's thesis focuses on Jones's television music, exploring how his musical and industrial scoring practices differ across multiple industries, broadcasters, genres, and television programme forms. She is particularly interested in how different forms of television programmes (such as mini-series, series and telefilms) affect the compositional process.

Artemis Ignatidou

Artemis Ignatidou is a cultural historian working on 19th century European history, with a special interest in the social afterlife of western art music, musical exchange in the continent, and the construction of reciprocal musical and national identities through the arts. She holds a PhD in modern European history [2018], and she is also an active musician and performer. For 2018– 2019, she will be Visiting Fellow at the Ernst Bloch Centre for German Thought (School of Advanced Study, University of London), where she will be working on musical ideology and transnational musical exchange.

Daithí Kearney

Ethnomusicologist, geographer and performer Daithí Kearney is a lecturer in Music at Dundalk Institute of Technology and co-director of the Creative Arts Research Centre. His research is primarily focused on Irish traditional music but extends to include performance studies, community music and music education. Daithí performs regularly as a musician, singer and dancer. Albums include *Midleton Rare* (2012) with John Cronin, which is related to a wider research project on the music and musicians of the Sliabh Luachra region. Most recently he released an album of new compositions with collaborator Adèle Commins entitled *A Louth Lilt* (2017). A former Chair of ICTM Ireland, Kearney was awarded the DkIT President's Prize for Early Career Researcher 2015. His publications include contributions to the *Companion to Irish Traditional Music* (ed. Vallely, 2012), the *Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland* (ed. White and Boydell, 2013) and *New Crops, Old Fields* (ed. Caldwell and Byers, 2016).

Brendan Kibbee

Brendan Kibbee is currently finishing his PhD in Ethnomusicology at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. In his dissertation project, "Counterpublics and Street Assemblies in Postcolonial Dakar," he rethinks ways that music is integrated with economic life in a postcolonial urban setting, generating forms of solidarity, community service, patronage, and political action. His fieldwork has been supported by a Fulbright-Hays fellowship and the Society for

Ethnomusicology's 21st Century Dissertation Fellowship, and he has been a fellow CUNY's Center for Place, Culture, and Politics. He has taught at Rutgers University, City College (CUNY) and John Jay College (CUNY). He also holds a Bachelor of Music from Rutgers University, where he studied jazz piano with Stanley Cowell.

Anne Macgregor

Anne Macgregor studied piano performance at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland, where she won numerous prizes and developed a specialism in vocal accompaniment. Having first encountered Nordic art-song repertoire as a pianist, she went on to research this rarely-heard repertoire in an AHRC-funded PhD at the University of Nottingham, where she also taught Western music history. She currently teaches at the University of Sheffield and performs as a freelance pianist. Her research explores the ways in which various aspects of identity can be constructed and expressed through music and its reception.

Joanne Mills

Joanne Mills is a PhD student at the University of Wolverhampton, undertaking a practice-based investigation into the American 'minimalist' music of the 1960s and 1970s, specifically that of La Monte Young, Terry Riley, Steve Reich and Philip Glass, to explore the potential influence of their work on

contemporary immersive creative practice. As a practicing artist, her works have engaged the spectator to differing extents; from reflective photographic works mounted at both eye level and horizontally; to projected, interactive installations where the audience is invited to 'step into' and trigger changes within the work; and immersive installations in the online virtual environment Second Life.

Joseph Nelson

Joe Nelson is a Ph.D. candidate in Musicology with a Cultural Studies doctoral minor at the University of Minnesota. He received his B.A. with a dual major in Music and Gender Studies from Lawrence University, a M.M. in Vocal Performance from the Chicago College of the Performing Arts, and a M.A. in Musicology from the University of Minnesota. In 2018, he has presented at the conferences of the Association Répertoire International d'Iconographie Musicale (RIdIM), the North American British Music Studies Association, and the American Musicological Society. He has also presented papers at the Newberry Library's Multidisciplinary Graduate Student Conference, and at the Midwest Chapter of the Society of Ethnomusicology and in February 2019 will present at the Early Modern Songscapes conference hosted by the University of Toronto. His dissertation explores the relationship between sound in the environment of madhouses in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century London, and musical representations of madness, focusing on madmen as symbols of political and social disorder.

Kiara Wickremasinghe

Kiara Wickremasinghe recently obtained an MA in Music in Development from SOAS, University of London and previously completed a BA in Geography at the University of Cambridge. Following her interdisciplinary interest, Kiara combines concepts from Music and Geography in many of her research projects. Her MA dissertation examined musical responses to disaster, focusing on the role of music in facing memories, fostering unity and rebuilding Sri Lanka following the 2004 Boxing Day Tsunami. During her BA, Kiara designed a fieldwork project which drew on spatial and soundscape theories to create a narrative via sound, which involved embarking on soundwalks in Rethymno, Crete. Other research interests include postcolonial theory, development geography, ethnography, mental health and music therapy. During her MA, Kiara collaborated with a mental health service to design and conduct a series of music workshops for young people recovering from mental illness in North London, following the premise that music promotes wellness in mind and body. Alongside academia, Kiara studies classical singing and enjoys composing. She has composed the soundtrack for a play titled 'And the horse you rode in on' staged in Cambridge and at the Edinburgh Festival Fringe, and a solo violin piece for an event in 2015 which marked 35 years of admitting women into Jesus College, University of Cambridge. Kiara's future aspirations lie in academia, with her next step being a PhD.

James Williams (Co-editor)

James is a Senior Lecturer in Music at the University of Derby, where he also Programme Leader for BA (Hons) Creative Expressive Therapies in Music, Dance, Art and Drama. Previously he was a lecturer in Music Composition at the University of Hertfordshire from 2012 to 2015. James's research interests focus on an anthropology of music, investigating the behavioural, social, creative and collaborative processes behind music. His research rests on ethnomusicological methodologies and socio-cultural modes of music analysis, exploring notational, improvisational, and electronic/electroacoustic technological practices in music. Recent post-doctoral research includes the study of music online and digital anthropology, music and politics, and music in therapeutic practice. James is the founding editor of *Musicology Research Journal* (MRJ).

This page is left intentionally blank.

Contributor's Review

Artemis Ignatidou

As seasoned academics already know, collaborating with a quality journal can remove a significant amount of the pressure involved in creating a satisfactory piece of work and seeing it all the way through peer–review, corrections, and production. It is rare luck, then, for early–career scholars to learn this vital aspect of academic service with the knowledge and security that their work will be received and reviewed by experienced, efficient and, most importantly, compassionate editors. I also loved the theme of this particular issue, but this is a personal thing. It was a real pleasure working with the editorial team of *Musicology Research*, I am glad to see my words published under their title, and I wish for this platform to grow, expand, and continue inspiring young scholars to create free from the intellectual constrains of mass-production academic publishing.

Contributor's Review

Daithí Kearney

My experience of *Musicology Research* has been entirely positive, with helpful guidance and positively framed feedback that enabled me to critically develop my work. I was initially attracted by an engaging Call for Papers that motivated me to focus some of my research towards a publication in which I knew my work would find resonances across the other papers. The theme also opened up the potential for interdisciplinary discourse and encourages researchers to explore new paths in their research, making the work of emerging scholars more accessible in the process.

Contributor's Review

Brendan Kibbee

The *Musicology Research* team has done a great job at assembling two volumes of articles on the theme of Geography, Music, and Space. The thematic organization creates excellent opportunities for navigating the possibilities that bringing these concepts together can present. The editorial staff has been great at communicating throughout the process, and the reviewers' comments were considerate, thought provoking, and helpful. I am also pleased to find that the journal is a place that is open to a degree of experimentation and non-traditional academic formats. Finally, the open-access format of the journal is commendable for promoting scholarship as a truly public endeavor.

Contributor's Review

Anne Macgregor

I have thoroughly appreciated both the principles of *Musicology Research* and its publication process. Timelines, feedback and formatting requirements were always clearly communicated and the entire journey from abstract to publication was made as hassle-free as possible. The combination of peer-review process, open-access format, supportive editorial team and themed volumes makes *Musicology Research* a forward-looking journal that is ideal for early-career academics.

Musicology Research Journal

Issue 5

Autumn 2018

This page is left intentionally blank.