CORA Cork Open Research Archive
Cartlann Taighde Oscailte Chorcaí

Title	Peripheries and interfaces: the Western impact on other music
Authors	Stock, Jonathan P. J.
Publication date	2004-08-01
Original Citation	Stock, J. P. J. (2004) 'Peripheries and interfaces: the Western impact on other music', in Cook, N. and Pople, A. (eds.) Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 18-39.
Type of publication	Book chapter
Link to publisher's version	http://www.cambridge.org/gb/knowledge/isbn/item1161655/?site_locale=en_GB
Rights	© 2004, Cambridge University Press. Reprinted with permission.
Download date	2026-11-17 09:50:15
Item downloaded from	https://hdl.handle.net/10468/3523

UCC
University College Cork, Ireland
Coláiste na hOllscoile Corcaigh

Jonathan Stock

Peripheries and Interface: the Western impact on other music

Introduction

The theme of this chapter is the encounter with Western musics of other peoples during the past one hundred years. Often only occasional and sporadic at the start of the twentieth century, contact with the music of elsewhere was by the end of that century part of the everyday lives of huge numbers of people worldwide (as much within as outside the Western world). The history of this shift might be written in several ways. From a technological perspective we would discuss the invention of sound recording and broadcasting, for instance, and the dissemination of music notation and certain instruments, including the piano, guitar, accordion and microphone. As historians of intercultural politics, we might instead emphasise the widespread creation through cross-cultural interaction of new genres and ensembles based in some form or other on the emulation of people seen as privileged. An ethnographic approach would look at the changing role of music in the lives of certain individuals, drawing on their own accounts of music-related events as well as on observation of and participation in some of that music making. Meanwhile, taking the study of social institutions as a starting point, our review of the century would find common ground in the creation in many nations of music-making bodies, including orchestras of revised folk instruments, ministries of culture, competitions and festivals, bodies that regulate copyright, and colleges where music theory and performance are imparted to generations of would-be professionals; from this perspective, a key characteristic of music history in the twentieth century has been the application of similar processes to the organisation of music around much of the world, providing, in some cases, pressures that result in the transformation of the musics themselves. A more postmodernist account might stress instead the ironies, discontinuities, misunderstandings and co-options just as characteristic of the last hundred years: Allied use of a distinctly German motto (the opening tattoo of Beethoven's 5th Symphony) to represent victory in World War 2, say, or the numerous newly invented and transformed traditions that claim far greater historical or national precedent than the evidence might support; here it is as if music has come to signify more and more during the last hundred years but has also come to mean, in absolute terms, less and less.

Each of these histories has its attractions and its points of irony. In the case of the technological history, for example, we might trace dissemination of the piano and its music outside Europe. This allowed Americans, Asians and others only to enjoy at first hand the music of Bach, Chopin and Liszt; it also led some of them to compose their own pieces in quite different styles. Moreover, the very success of the export of the piano and all it symbolised provided the impetus for American and then Asian factories to drive European piano-making firms out of business. Instrument and gramophone salesmen once stood alongside military bandsmen and missionaries at the forefront of the West's attempts to export its ways of music making. Their position has now been taken by an equally diverse array of recording salesmen (now selling the recording as an end in itself, not simply as a means to sell the technology to play it back on), composers of film music, grade examiners for the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, and jet-setting superstar performers, all based on a musical product that is instantiated directly in the homes of numerous peoples through the intervention of the broadcast media.

The approach taken below is that of a short series of case studies, each of which illustrates a contrasting instance of the encounters between peoples and musics in the twentieth century (though the emphasis is on the influence of the West on other musics, complementing the reverse influences documented at various points in this volume.[i]) Taken together, these instances chart some of the main themes of the history of Western-impacted musics in the twentieth century, though necessarily in an incomplete fashion. First, however, it is necessary to address the issue of Westernisation versus modernisation or change. Change can be quickly dealt with: almost all musical traditions are in a constant state of change, and therefore the historian's job is to explain paths of change, not to contrast change to putative stability. As for Westernisation against modernisation, the basic problem (as

several of the cases that follow will show) is that what appears a clear case of Westernisation to one observer seems to another a straightforward instance of modernisation. Musical nationalists in Turkey, Egypt and China, for instance, adopted staff or cipher notation in the early decades of the twentieth century to reform local traditions into a national style able to withstand incoming Western music: they explained such notations as forms of modernisation which might be deployed against Westernisation. It follows that writing the history of the Western impact on other music requires an understanding of the motives of those involved in cross-cultural interaction: there is often no substitute for detailed, first-hand field study among the community in question.

Case studies

Instrument design in a global context

If, in 1900, we assembled a small ensemble of instrumentalists from different societies—a *charango* lutenist from the Bolivian Andes, perhaps, a *gaida* bagpiper from Bulgaria or a player of the Sardinian *launeddas* double-clarinet, an executant of the *mbira* lamellaphone (thumb piano) from Zimbabwe, a Turkish *bağlama* lutenist and a Chinese *erhu* two-stringed fiddler—there was a good chance that they would not sound very well together. By 2000, matters have changed somewhat; there is now a much greater chance that these musicians would share a tuning system and some explicit music theory also. Of these instruments, only the *charango* (famed for its sometime use of an armadillo-shell soundbox) is commonly described as a hybrid, one acknowledged as resulting from contact between European and native Andean groups in or before the eighteenth century. Yet each of the others has come into sustained encounter with Western music and music theory over the past century. Even where an older instrumental form has been retained, redesign in accordance with Western principles has often occurred, and playing techniques are at least as malleable as the physical forms of these instruments themselves.

The Chinese *erhu* offers one instance of an instrument thoroughly overhauled as a result of Western influence. Lü Wencheng (1898-1981), one of the originators of the urban entertainment style Cantonese music, began the process in the 1920s by replacing the higher-pitched of the two silk strings on his own small-sized instrument with a violin E string. Other *erhu* players gradually followed, finding the steel string both more durable and smoother in sound across the whole register. At first, and since *erhu* strings are longer than those of the violin, violin strings were extended by use of a silk cord. By the late 1950s purpose-built steel *erhu* strings had been adopted by many players in place of both of the original silk strings, and standardised instruments were mass-produced in large factories for sale across the nation as a whole. Variable tuning was largely superseded by the selection of d’ and a’ as standard pitches for the open strings, and larger-sized instruments were invented to act as viola, cello and bass in the bowed string section of the modern Chinese orchestra.[ii] New music, such as the ten influential solos by nationalist music reformer Liu Tianhua (1895-1932), took advantage of the new ease with which shifts of register could occur. These solos, which were set down in uncharacteristically detailed notation, demanded the use of new techniques (fingering with the tips of the fingers, for example, or violin-style vibrato) many of which were subsequently applied in the performance of existing traditional pieces. Reform of the *erhu*, then, led to the rise of new instruments, new repertory and also to the transformation of the instrument’s performance technique.

These transformations are not reserved to the continents outside Europe. Timothy Rice has described the transformation of the bagpipe *gaida* when it became part of the Bulgarian folk orchestra in the 1950s. Again, the reshaping of the *gaida* that allowed it to play in the same keys as other redesigned instruments led to alteration of musicians’ attitudes and technique as well as changes in the sound of the instrument itself. Pipers had to learn to play without the drone, which clashed with the constantly changing harmonies of the folk orchestra. On lower-pitched, equal-tempered bagpipes, with a less shrill sound than the original instrument, they learnt also new ornamentational styles and acquired notation-based ways of imagining musical form.[iii]

Nor are such musical revisions reserved to Communist nations. Turkish musicians reformed the *bağlama* extensively in the twentieth century, aiming to systematise its construction and technique, and an electronic version, named an *elektrosaz*, is now widely used in the entertainment music market, where an amplified sound was more audible. Of course, the electronic version favoured

some techniques less effective on the acoustic *bağlama*, leading to further adaptations in the instrument's performance technique.[iv] Meanwhile, Bernard Lortat-Jacob's research in southern Sardinia led him to Attilio Cannargiu, a maker of the *launeddas*, a cane double-clarinet with two melody pipes and one drone. Conventionally, each of the melody pipes of the *launeddas* covers a different set of pitches but there is some flexibility in the exact combination of melody pipes combined, or, to put it another way, there are differently pitched forms of the instrument. Having learnt something of formal Western music theory, Cannargiu's aim at the time of Lortat-Jacob's arrival was to systematise the design of the instrument until he could produce a *launeddas* in every single tonality.[v] Cannargiu is more interested in the acoustics of the instrument than its public performance, but the potential for transformation of a tradition through the agency of an externally influenced instrument designer is clear.

Performing musicians and instrument designers are not the only sources of potential influence on instrumental style. UK-based *mbira* performer Chartwell Dutiro recalls being instructed by a record producer in a London studio to tape down the buzzers on his instrument as they were making too much sound, an instruction that assumes timbre to be an aspect of sound secondary to and quite separable from pitch.[vi] This sudden demand for the instrument's sound to be repackaged closer to conventional, 'purer-toned' Western norms runs exactly opposite to the comment of another UK-based overseas musician, Japanese *shakuhachi* end-blown flute expert Yoshikazu Iwamoto. Iwamoto, who has carried out numerous collaborations with European art music composers, commented that some of them become so fascinated by what he considers the special effects of his instrument that they write using only those breathing techniques not found in Western flute music. As a result, newly written *shakuhachi* music sometimes sounds much more exotic to the typical Western listener than that written in the past.[vii]

As these several instances show, the topic of Western influence groups quite distinct transformations: some push directly toward the norms of particular kinds of Western music; others seem to push diametrically away from them (although the exoticisation of music for *shakuhachi* might also be seen as an instance of a Western tendency to concentrate on difference in its coming to terms with the products of other peoples); some lead directly to the creation of new repertories; and yet more again open out technological possibilities that themselves lead to the revision and renewal of playing technique and performance practice.

Radios Shanghai and Cairo: Disembodied voices, embodied stars

New technology introduced from the West is central to the second case study. An American entrepreneur who hoped to sell wireless receivers in the city established Shanghai (and China's) first radio station in 1923. Expansion was rapid: by the mid-1930s, approximately half of China's eighty-nine radio stations were competing for listeners in Shanghai. Programming was heterogeneous. Other than traffic and city government stations, there were two religious channels; all the rest were commercial channels combining news, entertainment and advertising. Other than Chinese music of numerous kinds, stations broadcast Japanese music and much Western dance music.[viii] Most popular of all these musics was *tanci*, balladry from the nearby city of Suzhou; its sparse textures—voice and either *pipa* or *sanxian* (respectively four- and three-stringed lute)—lent themselves well to the early broadcast microphones, not to mention the small budgets and studios of most channels. Second in popularity to *tanci* were pared-down versions of *shenqu*, local Shanghai opera. *Shenqu* singer Kong Jiabing (1910s- 1998) reminisced on the contrast between acting in the theatre and on the radio in this period:

> On the stage not only do you have to sing and act, but you must do so above the hubbub of the background noise in the theatre. Using your voice and acting, which are influenced by your technique and physical condition, you have to put across your movements, gestures, songs and speech for an audience to see and understand. Radio didn't have these same limitations. You could freely and comfortably elaborate. But there were still certain basic constraints: you had to know many old dramas; you had to have a bright voice; your singing style had to be rich with colour and lively; you had to pay attention to the breath so that the audience didn't notice you breathing in or out; enunciation had to be clear; and since there was no audience in front of you, you had to think of the thousands of listeners sitting in their own places.[ix]

Kong contends that radio both made demands and offered opportunities. Zhu Jiesheng and Xu Yinping propose this explanation in a historical outline of *shenqu*: the competitive role of singers, who also acted as commercial radio advertisers, they write, led them to increase the expressivity of their singing as compared with the plainer style characteristic of ballad-style performance in public teashops. The slowing down of tempo was one such change, allowing the building up of melodic expressivity through the insertion of ornaments; other singers used the slower tempo to develop a weeping style the better to move their listeners. At the other end of the spectrum, some singers pushed tempo forward, finding a means thereby to depict more heroic or anxious situations.[x]

Shenqu performers are just one class of musicians whose work was transformed by the impact of new technologies during the twentieth century. Indian classical singers found the microphone lent carrying power to their lower registers; this allowed them to exploit that vocal range far more than previously. American crooners employed the radio microphone to sigh directly into the ear of the individual listener. (Amplification, in this latter case, had the interesting effect of making the music softer, not louder.) Even as it stimulated change in musical style, broadcasting changed the way people heard music and thought of its star performers: *shenqu* singers, Indian vocalists and crooners alike reached through the broadcast airwaves into the homes of listeners, and into public spaces such as dance halls, hotel lobbies, restaurants and shops. As such, they came to stand, temporarily at least, in front of a far wider range of listeners than they could ever have reached personally. There is a curious irony in that just as radio disembodies musical performance by attenuating direct contact between performer and listener (one and the same person in many traditional settings), so too its expansion of the reach of performance and its reliance on the professional specialist, created in many places a whole new system of musicians as public figures whose achievements were followed by mass, non-participatory audiences.[xi]

Few individuals exemplify this better than the prime Egyptian vocalist of the twentieth century, Umm Kulthūm (1904?-75).[xii] Beginning in 1937, Umm Kulthūm's monthly first-Thursday live broadcasts became a musical institution across the Arabic-speaking world that endured almost four decades. Through these concerts and other activities, she became a kind of cultural ambassador for her nation and an inescapable part of the fabric of Egyptian cultural life; in her selection and development of music for these broadcasts, she explored processes of modernisation and Westernisation. And while her pathway was personal and specific to mid-century Egypt, the pressures she faced were experienced by many elsewhere. Too much reliance on traditional materials left her exposed to the charge of not moving with the times, and fans might desert to more progressive singers; too much input of European style, on the other hand, alienated existing fans and jarred with her own nationalist sentiment. As a result, the singer regularly had to renegotiate her own image by finding new means of combining her established strengths with incipient new fashions. Her success in doing exactly this over such a long period, in being not just a fine singer but Umm Kulthūm, explains why she became such a striking persona in twentieth-century Egyptian public life, a role unthinkable for a female musician in previous centuries.

The increased access to certain kinds of music permitted by Western-derived broadcasting technology, with all that implies, is then a key change which has transformed both musics and ways of conceiving them in many parts of the world. It may be that this particular shift, which presents music as disembodied product (what in nineteenth-century Europe was termed 'pure music') and star performers as outstanding public figures, represents the greatest instance of Western impact on other traditions in the twentieth century.

New soundscapes 1: Diaspora and culture-contact

Radio offers just one instance of the rise of new soundscapes. Music's function in creating, informing and transforming space relates in a host of ways to a history of Western-impacted musics in the twentieth century. Numerous music-related research themes and concepts interconnect here, including: utopia, heterotopia and distopia; technoscape, soundscape and ethnoscape; home, migrancy, diaspora, colonialism and transculturalism; centres, thresholds and peripheries; places of work, study and leisure; ritual sites; architecture; antiphony; locality; belonging, displacement and identity; the seen versus the heard; music as a venue for memory and imagination; public and private

domains; male and female space; the body as a special space; and bodily movement across, between and through spaces.[xiii] This and the following two case studies each select one instance from this list. First, we look at musical outcomes of the movement of peoples characteristic of the twentieth century; then we examine the impact of Western means of organising musical performance as affects touring groups from other parts of the world and the associated rise of performances at home for incoming tourist groups. Finally, we consider the special space of the music conservatory as a place of work and study that generates particular kinds of music.

The twentieth century was a period of continued human mobility, the displacements and migrations of earlier centuries often accelerated by mechanised transport. Culture-contact intensified as colonial officers, travelling salesmen, missionaries, troops, migrants, tourists and refugees crossed paths and as populations increased. One strand among many, or more properly a set of multiple strands in itself, is the Jewish movement to the New World. Typically, a community's identity is marked out through their becoming minority residents in another place. It is also multiplied: American Jews are exactly that, both American and Jewish, and they are members of particular subcommunities along each vector as well. Music is a primary means of expressing and experiencing group identity, and becomes a highly significant tool in forming the character of a subcommunity. Ethnomusicologist-cum-Rabbi Jeffrey Summit has made a comparative study of religious music among five American Jewish communities in Boston, and argues that the challenges for the uninitiated offered by the richly multileveled Hebrew-language prayers lead to an emphasis being placed on music as a key factor in defining a style of worship: 'Style makes people either feel at home or uncomfortable and alienated from communal prayer: Ultimately, it can affect whether or not they attend and affiliate with synagogues.'[xiv] We return to multilevel Hebrew texts in a moment. First, let us note that in situations of this sort music is subject to two pressures, each of which reflects a contrasting form of authenticity. The first propels it toward difference, to the maintenance (or retrospective establishment[xv]) of that group's distinct heritage; the second thrusts it toward similarity, toward assimilation of traits that signal not the past but the heterogeneous realities of the here and now.

Two contrasting Jewish musical practices illustrate the transformation of musics under these forces. One is the *pizmon*, a paraliturgical hymn sung by a group of men outside the context of the formal religious service, a practice particularly associated with Syrian Jews in New York and other major North American cities.[xvi] Songs in this form set new Hebrew texts to existing (or adapted) melodies. In the early decades of the twentieth century, *pizmon* composers in Aleppo drew melodies from popular Arabic song, including the tunes of Egyptian singer Umm Kulthūm. These songs are now sustained as memories of a time and place now long departed, and of the people who lived there, and references to individuals are layered within the song text. Their performance brings this society temporarily back to life for those who were there, and, through its emotional qualities, teaches those not there of the experience and value of this body of memories. Subsequent to the move to America, songmakers adopted other tunes from the society in which they now live, including popular songs, classical themes and, occasionally, melodies such as 'O Tannenbaum' that carry a non-Jewish religious symbolism. The change in musical language these recent adoptions reveal is a direct consequence of the Syrian Jews' migration to a new home in the New World. But, alongside this shift, the use of music in this community as a means of encoding personal and collective memories has endured unchanged.[xvii]

The second musical instance to be examined here is that of the klezmer revival. Primarily a secular, professional and instrumental form, klezmer provides an immediate contrast with the sung *pizmon*. Moreover, its late-nineteenth-century repertory was not entirely shared by the 'co-territorial' communities in East Europe, where the music arose: once-distinct genres merged together as the repertory was renewed in New York from the 1880s onward. The music, however, retained an air of notoriety. In the Jewish community in Eastern Europe, many characterised the hereditary *klezmorim* as disreputable men: violent, low-class seducers. Many of their American-born offspring took the opportunity their parents' migration offered to find other professions, even if remaining within music, and by 1950 klezmer was performed by only a few.[xviii]

By the late 1970s, however, a klezmer revival had begun. The revival was multifaceted from the beginning, as Mark Slobin points out, combining the transformation of the tradition into a Jewish heritage music and its reinvention as an innovative and exciting American concert music by performers, many of them not of Jewish descent.[xix] Slobin (citing Kirschenblatt-Gimblett) defines a heritage music as one that looks old, and has recourse to the past, but is actually new. It is a music that has been 'singled out for preservation, protection, enshrinement, and revival'.[xx] In emphasising its Americaness, Slobin meanwhile draws attention to the constructedness of the revival, both as largely rediscovered from early American-made recordings (themselves tailored to the American market) and as a part of a larger American musical superculture. As well as attitudes, sometimes mixed, to the music as a whole and a body of recorded materials, this superculture provided many ingredients to contemporary klezmer. Two contrasting instances illustrate the impact of the superculture: on the one hand, the klezmer revival occurred within a particular economic system with pre-existing structures, opportunities, demands; on the other, klezmer violinists could draw from a heterogeneous repertory of violin techniques from styles as diverse as European folk, classical and bluegrass.

The histories of *pizmon* and klezmer in New York suggest several ways in which music changes as it is maintained or revived in new locations. In each case, remembrance of an earlier home provides some musical materials, values and means. The new host culture offers others, and a setting that generally leads to new understandings of the original cultural materials, a process to which secondary revival adds further layers. Those involved have to choose between sometimes perplexing and loaded options as they revisit their musical performances not simply as music but as one style among many. It is little wonder that the soundscapes their music calls up often reflect a transnational stamp.

New soundscapes 2: Tourist shows and touring musicians

By the last three decades of the twentieth century it had become commonplace for those from the wealthier parts of the world to travel overseas for leisure, and for musicians from all over the world to journey to Western cities in search of new audiences. Performances for tourists and those by touring musicians are not entirely the same thing, of course, although they intersect at international music festivals and competitions,[xxi] but each can have an impact on musical practice in societies far from the West. At issue in this case study is not the quality or otherwise of the event, for all instances of intercultural musical contact can set change in train.

I myself attended a tourist show in Malaysia in the mid-1980s. Ten-minute extracts represented each of the major ethnic groups of peninsular Malaysia. (Somewhat unaccountably, the pre-Malay indigenous population was not represented.) Music was pre-recorded and piped into the auditorium while a troupe of young performers took their turns: first a Malay theatre item glorifying village life; then an Indian performance of the snake-charming type; and finally a Chinese lion dance. While performance standards were in themselves high, village life was cloyingly over-romanticised in the first piece, and the Indian item felt a poor choice as a single item to represent Malaysia's Indian community (most of whom weren't snake charmers). Moreover, the announcer's claims that the performance demonstrated Malaysia's happy present as a united, multiracial nation jarred not only with the reality of day-to-day life but specifically that public performances of lion dances, like many non-Malay cultural genres, were actually banned or tightly restricted outside the special environment of the tourist show. In short, the experience was tokenistic. In a relatively wealthy, large-scale urban society little harm is done by an unconvincing show. Elsewhere, however, effort placed into tourist shows replaces effort put into other cultural activity; here the tourist show may bring in much-needed cash but it also leads to an impoverishment of musical life, as full-scale indigenous forms are gradually replaced by simplified versions. Further changes encouraged by staged tourist shows (at their worst) include: the secularisation of religious forms, with rituals, sacrifices and possession simulated; the revision of classical styles such that longer pieces are abridged, improvisatory forms replaced by memorised compositions in fixed form and older forms modernised, for instance through the addition of harmonised accompaniments or Western-style vocal techniques; the attribution of a false antiquity to newly created styles; the presentation of short excerpts from multiple genres one after another in a superficial and incongruous manner; the exoticising of costumes; the exaggerated dramaticising of dance movements for the better amusement of the first-time viewer; and the

overlaying by the organising authority of a bogus social symbolism quite foreign to the music and people on show.

At their best, however, tourist shows lend new life to genres that might otherwise disappear under the impact of imported or Westernised forms, allowing performers to find new confidence in indigenous forms of expression perhaps now disregarded by many in the host community itself. The establishment of a sense of cultural authority in an effective tourist show invokes in visitors the impression that they temporarily share in a genuinely foreign soundscape, that they really have journeyed elsewhere. Nonetheless, and even when all participants feel that effective intercultural communication has been achieved, it will be clear that the concert-style performance format typical of these shows will tend to favour the selection of some local genres over others; for instance, those that are display-oriented may prove more effective than those that involve much verbal exchange in a language the tourists may not understand. Moreover, the assumptions tourists bring to the event can still have a gradual impact on the performers, as can the assumptions performers make about the needs and preferences of their audiences.[xxii]

These same issues are activated also when musicians perform overseas. Black Sea Turkish musicians touring in Ireland in the early 1990s found audience attention drawn not to the singer or *bağlama* lute player but to the accompanying *kemençe* box fiddle, perhaps because of its perceived affinity with the violin, a leading instrument in the Irish context; in Istanbul, on the other hand, the *kemençe* was treated as the least significant part of the trio. By the end of the tour, the *kemençe* player was taking a more authoritative role in the performances, providing prominent polyphonic lines in place of the simple background accompaniments with which he had begun.[xxiii] A second case in point is offered by a group of Peruvian musicians who visited Britain and the Netherlands in 1984. The group, Ayllu Sulca, were initially surprised to find that their European audiences preferred to hear them perform old items and Quechua songs rather than the more contemporaneous, Spanish-oriented music then in vogue among urban audiences in Peru. (Indeed, at home the singing of Quechua songs was sometimes interpreted as an expression of support for the Shining Path guerrillas, and performance was a risky matter.) Moreover, the musicians gradually learnt to declare authorship and claim copyright on items that were actually well-established traditional tunes in their homeplace; impetus for this came from their growing understanding of the Western music industry, which would otherwise not pay them authorship fees for any such tracks.[xxiv] A single tour will not be enough to reshape a whole tradition but a series of these may have an appreciable impact, particularly when performance overseas is seen as a high-status opportunity. Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, for instance, took the esoteric Sufi devotional style *qawwālī* from the shrines of saints in Pakistan to the concert stages and recording studios of several continents. During this transformation, he introduced a number of innovations, including the practice of virtuosic singing to solmisation symbols (*sargam*). Solmisation is a well-established part of the art music traditions in Pakistan, but was formerly rejected by many performers of *qawwālī* because its display-oriented character ran contrary to the generation of an air of spirituality. Now, however, younger singers who wish to tour overseas have to do so in an environment where Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan's innovations, themselves partly tailored to his new audiences, have become part of the norm and speak to the secularisation that follows the transformation of traditional ritual into concert music for overseas audiences. [xxv]

Professionalisation, of several kinds, is one of the regularly encountered results of culture contact in the new soundscapes of tourist and touring performances, and groups a number of assumptions about musical performance, including virtuosity, individual authorship and music's commercial role. Westernisation, here as elsewhere, takes several forms: some of these involve the direct adoption of Western musical ingredients; others reveal a reconsideration of the tenets of the tradition itself. From this point of view, Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan's use of Indian *sargam* syllables or the Black Sea fiddle-player's gradual departure from Istanbuli accompanimental norms is as Western-impacted as would be their respective adoption of *bel canto* vocal technique or the electronic keyboard.

New soundscapes 3: Conservatories

If many twentieth-century musics have been transformed through their recreation in new places, one privileged set of sites in this process are the specialist institutions of music conservatories. Specialist institutions are an ancient phenomenon, and musical specialisation far predates the twentieth century. Nonetheless, in many parts of the world the previous century saw the establishment of new institutions that have had a major influence on the official music culture of those nations. Radio and television stations are one obvious instance, and national ensembles of reformed instruments playing scored folk arrangements have at times become ubiquitous on the airwaves of much of the world.

Often associated with each of these is the special place for music represented by the conservatory, another Western export to other parts of the world that favours particular kinds of change. In Bali, among other places,[xxvi] the establishment of government-sponsored conservatories had several results, including, first, the growth of a sense of unique, individual creativity as signalled by the separation of composing from other musical skills and the marking out for special attention of composers as the primary figures of music history. Second, conservatories encouraged the rise of a group of musicians interested in the preservation or reconstruction of historical genres; in combination with the first observation, this further separates the increasingly one-off act of creating new repertory from the day-to-day continuance of the old. Third, the conservatories produced musicians trained across a range of genres, often through an explicit attention to formalised music theory. These musicians were often able to use notation, for instance, and familiar with the abstraction of fragments for dedicated practice; as such they began to think of their music and their techniques in ways distinct from those of preceding generations. Fourth, musicians in the conservatories created a body of music intended for Western-style concert performance. While much of this music and its performance style was based on that of traditions outside the conservatory, the original models were often seen as inferior (out of tune, irrational, crude, parochial) as compared to the modern new repertory, or as raw material at best. Nonetheless, and despite these pejorative views, the new repertory may standardise certain elements such that its musical language is actually more limited in certain aspects than the folk original. Finally, the establishment of music conservatories was accompanied by the growth of elite audiences who favour this reformed repertory and its performers, for instance through political patronage, and graduates of the conservatories often become a musical elite who come to dominate educational and sometimes media institutions in the nation as a whole.

The kinds of musical spaces created in these conservatories overlap with those of the national and international supercultures in several ways, as may be inferred from the above list. Here, let us note two characteristics of the privileged space of the music conservatory: preservation and cultural hegemony. Preservation in the conservatory and the shift to an art music performance tradition abstracts even very faithfully rendered local musics from their former cultural emplacements, offering new ways of hearing and recreating those sounds; there is something of a parallel here with the prominence of ‘world beat’ in Western record shops as against older styles of world music (see below). In each case, music is lifted out from other, older traditions, whether by the globalised music industry or by the staff of Western-inspired educational institutions. In each case, the reformed music is performed by a new class of highly trained urban musicians familiar with other Westernised musical forms.

Conservatory-mediated performance traditions can come, despite their minority status in demographic terms, to dominate the official culture of a nation. One might view this hegemony as a sign of civilisation. According to this view it is appropriate that society as a whole, through its appointed experts, channels funding and prominence to those who sustain the higher art forms. (Funding popular traditions would be absurd—if they are genuinely popular, they hardly require subsidy, and can be delivered by the music industry without governmental interference.) Or one might see it as cause for concern, as fascinating, diverse indigenous traditions are obscured by the media dominance and smoother access to cultural funding of a more uniform, official culture on the one hand and the commercial power of the mainstream music industry on the other; despite a license subsidy, educational mission, diversity statement and numerous channels, for instance, BBC Radio attempts no coherent or sustained coverage of the many folk music traditions currently found in Britain, concentrating its resources almost exclusively on the classical and popular styles. Whatever one’s preferences for or against change in particular cases, there is little denying the impact of these

official styles in their respective homes across much of the world today, including, as mention of the BBC suggests, the Western continents. Musical preservation and hegemony sound like forces for continuity, as repertories born in one here-and-now are refashioned and validated in another. In historical terms, of course, the selection and development of such musics for careful preservation often represents a significant change.

Out of Africa: Tuku beat and world music

At first glance, the designers of Oliver 'Tuku' Mtukudzi's initial CD with German company Shava were unsure what they were selling: 'Modern Traditional African Soulmusic,' states one line around the liner's border; 'The Grand Master of Zimbabwe Traditional Pop,' proclaims another; 'African Township-Jive Trance Dance Music,' offers a third. Further large text tells us that this is 'Rhythm for Life' and 'Roots World Music,' while an equation points out that 'Mbira + Mbaqanga = Tuku Beat.'[xxvii] As it turns out, the designers have precisely identified the disc's content, for Mtukudzi's recording thrives on the interwoven musical interchanges of the late-twentieth century. Recorded in Copenhagen in June 1993 for issue primarily to Mtukudzi's (potential) European fans, but featuring songs composed since the 1970s for his home audiences, the songs alternate in Shona and English. Lyrics range from appeals for heavenly support to words of farewell to a beloved grandmother and veiled calls for Zimbabwean independence, all of these apposite subjects for a traditional singer from this nation, if not stock themes of the international pop star. Tuku (b. 1952), however, was never a traditional singer. His early vocal training was in a township school choir. Like many a teenager, he bought a teach-yourself tutor book and made himself a guitar on which to learn rock music from the radio. His subsequent adoption of traditional elements, then, is exactly an adoption, a deployment of an additional musicality.

Looking at the musical mix itself in a little more detail, we find further traditional content in the intricate, multi-layered, melodic idioms, as played at all-night spirit festivals on *mbira* lamellaphones and *hosho* rattle. Yet these are rendered on a conventional international pop band instrumentation of three electric guitars, keyboard, drum kit, percussion and two backing voices.[xxviii] And the mix is not only one of Shona and Western musical traditions. Mtukudzi draws in the *mbaqanga* township jive style of neighbouring Ndebele South Africa as well as Zimbabwe's own *jit* style, a fusion that allows him to propose at once two diverging trajectories for his listeners: one, marked by Shona lyrics and *mbira* style, signals national, even native, tradition, rural roots, the wisdom of the singer as ritual interlocutor with the ancestral spirits; the other, made manifest by use of English, electric instruments and the *mbaqanga* rhythmic drive of the Ndebele people, points at modern life, urbanisation, Pan-African cosmopolitanism, world beat. And the songs activate other dualisms too: thus, even as the music primes the listener for dance, it is also heavily laden with stimulus for thought—there is the moral message of the lyrics, the temporary emergence of melodic lines from the kaleidoscopic cycle of *mbira*-style sound, and the deliberate juxtaposition of so many symbols of modernity and tradition.

The twentieth century saw in many places a decline in musical performance as an inextricable part of some broader traditional way of life—singing a rice husking song, for instance, was part of the daily task of preparing food among the Li people in Hainan Island, southern China before the introduction of electric husking mills.[xxix] The disappearance of such forms, and the rise of new, commercialised genres, led some in the middle years of the twentieth century to despair. Fearing the impending 'cultural grey-out' of global Westernisation, American folklorist Alan Lomax grimly forecasted: 'Soon there will be nowhere to go and nothing worth staying home for.'[xxx] Mtukudzi's output, at once pointing at the new and richly indexing tradition, shows exactly how the twentieth century's new genres generate and disseminate new layers of meaning. Syncretism, here, is not an uneasy jumble of irreconcilable stylistic traits, but a compositional-cum-production strategy reflecting the point that one can be African and modern, be rooted in tradition and forward-looking.

World beat is not normally painted as a kind of champion instance of positive musical semantics. There are hard questions too little asked about the economic structures that underpin the international music industry.[xxxi] It is increasingly evident that the copyright system brings benefit and profit to the owner of certain kinds of musical product while placing legal restriction in the way of

others (though the music industry is hardly alone in this). The same recording technology that brings attention to Tuku beat outside Zimbabwe also brings all manner of external competitors into the Zimbabwean market. The weight of distributive muscle behind these external competitors means that it is easier, as Timothy Taylor notes, 'to buy, say, Madonna in China than Cui Jian, the leading Chinese rock musician, in the U.S.'[xxxii] It is certainly easier to buy Madonna in Britain than Mtukudzi, or even Mapfumo. Moreover, it is currently true that top Zimbabwean musicians can make more money in a single Western concert than in a year of performing at home.[xxxiii] As a result, many now live and perform primarily overseas (Mtukudzi remains a rare exception to this), a tendency that some interpret as a further expression of colonial exploitation: where we once deployed military might to gain preferential markets and natural resources, now we use economic power and international legislation to do the same, enticing away the best musicians to provide for our own entertainment in a framework that encourages their voices to be contrasting from our own (which we like to take as culturally and spiritually 'authentic') but not entirely distinct (Mtukudzi's discs sell better than what are sometimes called ethnographic CDs). Whatever the accuracy of these criticisms in particular instances, a striking feature of the last several decades of the twentieth century is that insofar as Western-based music industries and institutions have co-opted non-Western musicians as exotic others for display, it has also given them a platform from which to project their own voices. The global commercialisation of world music has not reduced the ability of musicians to wed together potent and affective social symbols that demand decoding by the listener. The eloquent syncretism of the most effective world beat tracks, then, suggests one of the key characteristics of twentieth-century musical change: music's widespread uncoupling from traditional social roles worldwide has hardly divested it of social meaning. Rather, the syncretism itself points at the ongoing search for new meanings, new roles in a world increasingly joined-up but resolutely not averaged out.[xxxiv]

Change, continuities and conclusions

The changes brought by Western music to the traditions of elsewhere during the twentieth century have been profound and numerous. Western instruments and music have been widely adopted around the world. Where indigenous instruments and repertories have been retained, these instruments and their performance techniques have been subjected to major revision in many locations; while standardisation toward Western norms is most usual there has also been a less commonly encountered trend toward exoticisation. The new technology of sound recording and broadcasting, centred throughout much of the century on the radio, brought new musical experiences to listeners in many parts of the world; it also led many of them to key transformations of musical concepts, as music became a disembodied product and its top performers larger-than-life media stars. Meanwhile, while accelerated human movement during the last one hundred years underlined the continuing contribution of musical performance to migrants' collective experiencing of identity, new transnational complexities appear in the soundscapes summoned up in song and instrumental performance as musicians adapt to the realities of a new cultural system. Intercultural musical contact occurs at other venues also, and can feed back from these to musicians' home communities. Tourist and touring performances, for instance, are contexts susceptible to several kinds of musical change, including the secularisation and the professionalisation of folk traditions. These same changes are typically reinforced with the rise of Western-derived music conservatories, and the rethinking of traditions that conservatories, state ensembles or the multinational music industry set in train runs parallel to several of the other shifts already mentioned.

Yet, and despite a widespread decline under Western impact of musical performance as inherent part of a traditional way of life in many locations, music's social role can hardly be said to have diminished in the twentieth century. Instead, new meanings have been pushed forward by the many new contexts within which music is seen, heard or discussed. Neither has pervasive change and the rise of so many new and transformed musics necessarily led to a breakdown in musical continuity. On the contrary, several of the case studies above suggest that many of the changes in twentieth-century music making can be explained as tending toward the ensuring of musical continuity. Technological means, such as broadcasting and the cassette recorder, play a crucial role: learners worldwide not only get to hear the music of another time and place but, potentially, to hear it repeatedly until they can imitate it minutely, and the stars of the past live on through their recorded

backlist. Those who have moved elsewhere permanently often retain a deep attachment to the music of their former homes, while many journey temporarily (if only to the nearest concert hall or CD shop) in order specifically to hear the music of elsewhere. Specialist institutions further act to preserve musics, even if this preservation itself equates a transformation of a kind.

Not all is change, then. A few yards from a street stall selling pirated CDs of Taiwanese aboriginal pop star A-Mei, with their Westernised instrumentation and song structures, Mr Chen Shiwen takes up his *suona* (shawm) and, like his father before him (whose ensemble place he now fills), adds its strident sound to the swirling melange of rhythm and virile melody that fills the upper courtyard of the Chenghuang Miao Temple, Jilong, Northern Taiwan; dedicated to Xiqin Wangye, in front of whose image wavers a stream of incense, the performance is a commemoration of ancestors distant and close. Again, every year since 1848, celebrants in Glen Rock, Pennsylvania, have stepped out from midnight until dawn on Christmas Day to make the rounds of the community, singing carols originally imported from northern England. And it is not only religious traditions that exhibit continuity: as English music researcher and violinist Paul Davenport commented, 'You know, we came to this music with ideas of preserving the national tradition, and there is that, but really we keep doing it because we like it, because we like playing music together.'[xxxv]

The Western impact on other musics is clearly a major strand of a history of music in the twentieth century. This impact has been felt in terms of musical language (equal-tempered tuning, for instance, and fixed song forms in popular music) and in technology (the many musical roles of the saxophone, for example). Many genres have been lifted out previous contexts and roles by the forces of musical globalisation, generating new patterns of power, value and emotion in the process. Perhaps most notable of all, however, has been the widespread Westernisation of ideas about music, and about the kinds of institutions set up to mediate it. But, in the end, a history of music in the twentieth century is not only a story of change, Western-induced or otherwise. It may be that the key musical occurrence in the twentieth century was not a high-profile, one-off event or stream like the invention of the synthesizer, the development of serialism, the rise of music video or the excavation of the Bronze-Age ritual bells of Marquis Yi.[xxxvi] Instead, it may be the much repeated, often unassuming, realisation that each of us makes in some form: that music is something we take recourse to for rewards including personal and collective expression, intellectual and emotional stimulation, and interpersonal fellowship. In that, at least, music at the end of the twentieth century is exactly what it was at the end of the nineteenth, Western impact or not.

Bibliography

Aubert, Laurent, *La musique de l'autre: Les nouveaux défis de l'ethnomusicologie*, Geneva, Georg, 2001.

Bakan, Michael B., *Music of Death and New Creation: Experiences in the World of Balinese Gamelan Beleganjur*, University of Chicago Press, 1999.

Benson, Carlton, 'The Manipulation of *Tanci* in Radio Shanghai During the 1930s,' *Republican China* 20, no. 2 (April 1995), 117-46.

Berliner, Paul F., *The Soul of Mbira: Music and Traditions of the Shona People of Zimbabwe*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1978. [Repr., University of Chicago Press, 1993.]

Blacking, John, 'Some Problems of Theory and Method in the Study of Musical Change,' *Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council* 9 (1977), 1-26. [Repr. in Reginald Byron (ed.), *Music, Culture, and Experience: Selected Papers of John Blacking*, University of Chicago Press, 1995, 148-73.]

Bohlman, Philip V., *The Study of Folk Music in the Modern World*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1988.

Brinner, Benjamin, *Knowing Music, Making Music: Javanese Gamelan and the Theory of Musical Competence and Interaction*, University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Timothy J. Cooley, 'Folk Festival as Modern Ritual in the Polish Tatra Mountains,' *World of Music* 41, no. 3 (1999), 31-55.

Danielson, Virginia, *The Voice of Egypt: Umm Kulthūm, Arabic Song, and Egyptian Society in the Twentieth Century*, University of Chicago Press, 1997.

Fairley, Jan, '"The Blind Leading the Blind": Changing Perceptions of Traditional Music. The Case of the Peruvian Ayllu Sulca,' in Max Peter Baumann (ed.), *Music in the Dialogue of Cultures: Traditional Music and Cultural Policy*, Wilhelmshaven, Florian Noetzel Verlag, 1991, 272-89.

Feintuch, Burt, 'Musical Revival as Musical Transformation,' in Neil Rosenberg (ed.), *Transforming Tradition: Folk Music Revivals Examined*, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1993, 203-19.

Feldman, Walter Z., '*Bulgărească/Bulgarish/Bulgar:* The Transformation of a Klezmer Dance Genre,' *Ethnomusicology* 38 (1994), 1-35.

Kendall, Judy and Banning Eyre, 'Zimbabwe,' in Simon Broughton, Mark Ellingham and Richard Trillo (eds.), *World Music: The Rough Guide*, London, Rough Guides, 1999, 1: 706-16.

Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara, 'Sounds of Sensibility,' *Judaism* 47 (1998), 49-79.

Kong Jiabing, 'Wo zai diantai shang chang tanhuang' [How I Sang Tanhuang on Radio], *Shanghai xiqu shi liao huicui* 2 (1986), 103-6.

de Lannoy, Michel, 'De l'universelle intimité des espaces musicaux,' in *La musique et le monde*, Paris, Babel / Maison des cultures du monde, 1995, 59-74.

Leyshon, Andrew, David Matless and George Revill (eds.), *The Place of Music*, New York, Guilford, 1998.

Liu Guangqing (ed.), *Jiu Zhongguo de Shanghai guangbo shiye* [The Shanghai Broadcast Industry of Old China], Beijing, Dang'an and Zhongguo guangbo dianshi chubanshe, 1985.

Lomax, Alan, *Folk Song Style and Culture*, Washington, American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1968.

Mutukudzi [Mtukudzi], Oliver Tuku, *Ziwere MuKøbenhavn*, Shava CD001-2, 1994.

Neuenfeldt, Karl, 'Good Vibrations? The "Curious" Case of the Didjeridu in Spectacle and Therapy in Australia,' *World of Music* 40, no. 2 (1998), 29-51.

Rees, Helen, *Echoes of History: Naxi Music in Modern China*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2000.

Slobin, Mark, *Fiddler on the Move: Exploring the Klezmer World*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2000.

_____ (ed.), *Retuning Culture: Musical Changes in Central and Eastern Europe*, Durham NC, Duke University Press, 1996.

Shelemay, Kay Kaufman, *Let Jasmine Rain Down: Song and Remembrance among Syrian Jews*, University of Chicago Press, 1998.

So, Jenny F. (ed.), *Music in the Age of Confucius*, Washington, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 2000.

Stillman, Amy Ku'uleialoha, 'Hawaiian Hula Competitions: Event, Repertoire, Performance, Tradition,' *Journal of American Folklore* 109 (1996), 357-80.

Stock, Jonathan P. J., 'A Historical Account of the Chinese Two-Stringed Fiddle *Erhu*,' *Galpin Society Journal* 46 (1993), 83-113.

_____ , *Huju: Traditional Opera in Modern Shanghai*, Oxford University Press, forthcoming.

_____, *Musical Creativity in Twentieth-Century China: Abing, His Music, and Its Changing Meanings*, University of Rochester Press, 1996.

Stokes, Martin (ed.), *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place*. Oxford, Berg, 1994.

_____, 'Place, Exchange and Meaning: Black Sea Musicians in the West of Ireland,' in Martin Stokes (ed.), *Ethnicity, Identity and Music*, 97-115.

Summit, Jeffrey A., *The Lord's Song in a Strange Land: Music and Identity in Contemporary Jewish Worship*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2000.

Taylor, Timothy D., *Global Pop: World Music, World Markets*, London, Routledge, 1997.

Turino, Thomas, *Nationalists, Cosmopolitans, and Popular Music in Zimbabwe*, University of Chicago Press, 1999.

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

Yang Mu, 'Music Loss Among Ethnic Minorities in China: A Comparison of the Li and Hui Peoples.' *Asian Music* 27, no. 1 (Fall/Winter 1995/96), 103-31.

Zhu Jiesheng and Xu Yinping (eds.), *Huju yinyue jian shu* [An Introduction to Huju Music], Shanghai yinyue chubanshe, 1988.

Notes

[i] See in particular Martin Scherzinger's chapter *(others?)*.

[ii] Jonathan P. J. Stock, 'A Historical Account of the Chinese Two-Stringed Fiddle *Erhu*,' *Galpin Society Journal* 46 (1993), 83-113, p. 103.

[iii] Timothy Rice, *May It Fill Your Soul: Experiencing Bulgarian Music*, University of Chicago Press, 1994, 188-95.

[iv] Martin Stokes, *The Arabesk Debate: Music and Musicians in Modern Turkey*, Oxford University Press, 1992, pp. 70-88.

[v] Bernard Lortat-Jacob, trans. Teresa Lavender Fagan, *Sardinian Chronicles*, University of Chicago Press, 1995, 39-49.

[vi] Chartwell Dutiro, personal communication, Sheffield, March 2000.

[vii] Yoshikazu Iwamoto, workshop, Sheffield, November 1999.

[viii] Liu Guangqing (ed.), *Jiu Zhongguo de Shanghai guangbo shiye* [The Shanghai Broadcast Industry of Old China], Beijing: Dang'an and Zhongguo guangbo dianshi chubanshe, 1985, pp. 807, 809. See further Carlton Benson, 'The Manipulation of *Tanci* in Radio Shanghai During the 1930s,' *Republican China* 20, no. 2, (April 1995), 117-46.

[ix] Kong Jiabing, 'Wo zai diantai shang chang tanhuang' [How I Sang Tanhuang on Radio], *Shanghai xiqu shi liao huicui* 2 (1986), 103-6, p. 104. *Tanhuang* is an alternate term for *shenqu*; the tradition is today named *huju*. For further on this genre, see Jonathan P. J. Stock, *Huju: Traditional Opera in Modern Shanghai*, Oxford University Press, forthcoming.

[x] Zhu Jiesheng and Xu Yinping (eds.), *Huju yinyue jian shu* [An Introduction to Huju Music], Shanghai yinyue chubanshe, 1988, pp. 2-3.

[xi] Specialists and professional musicians have long been found in many folk and traditional cultures; the difference is that radio sees some of them taken up as stars observed by a mass public, not functionaries to be hired by a specific group for a specific role or occasion.

[xii] See Virginia Danielson, *The Voice of Egypt: Umm Kulthūm, Arabic Song, and Egyptian Society in the Twentieth Century*, University of Chicago Press, 1997.

[xiii] A key reference in this area is Martin Stokes (ed.), *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place*, Oxford, Berg, 1994. See also: Michel de Lannoy, 'De l'universelle intimité des espaces musicaux,' in *La musique et le monde*, Paris, Babel / Maison des cultures du monde, 1995, 59-74; Andrew Leyshon, David Matless and George Revill (eds.), *The Place of Music*, New York, Guilford, 1998.

[xiv] Jeffrey A. Summit, *The Lord's Song in a Strange Land: Music and Identity in Contemporary Jewish Worship*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 20. Communal prayer is a central aspect of the Jewish practice of belief.

[xv] There are now numerous studies of invented musical traditions, and American folklorists have made effective use of the notions of reformed and transformed traditions; see, for instance, Burt Feintuch, 'Musical Revival as Musical Transformation,' in Neil Rosenberg (ed.), *Transforming Tradition: Folk Music Revivals Examined*, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1993, 203-19. An African instance of the creation of a pan-Yoruba identity in Nigeria by means of music is investigated in Christopher A. Waterman, *Jùjú: A Social History and Ethnography of an African Popular Music*, University of Chicago Press, 1990. Several East European transformations are considered in Mark

Slobin (ed.), *Retuning Culture: Musical Changes in Central and Eastern Europe*, Durham NC, Duke University Press, 1996.

[xvi] See Kay Kaufman Shelemay, *Let Jasmine Rain Down: Song and Remembrance among Syrian Jews*, University of Chicago Press, 1998.

[xvii] John Blacking makes a useful distinction between surface-level alteration in musical resources and deeper-seated changes of heart among those who represent the tradition itself; see his 'Some Problems of Theory and Method in the Study of Musical Change,' *Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council* 9 (1977), 1-26. [Repr. in Reginald Byron (ed.), *Music, Culture, and Experience: Selected Papers of John Blacking*, University of Chicago Press, 1995, 148-73.]

[xviii] Walter Z. Feldman, '*Bulgărească/Bulgarish/Bulgar:* The Transformation of a Klezmer Dance Genre,' *Ethnomusicology* 38 (1994), 1-35, pp. 1-5.

[xix] Mark Slobin, *Fiddler on the Move: Exploring the Klezmer World*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 4.

[xx] Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, 'Sounds of Sensibility,' *Judaism* 47 (1998), 49-79, p. 52; cited in Slobin, *Fiddler*, pp. 12-13.

[xxi] On festivals, see, for instance, Karl Neuenfeldt, 'Good Vibrations? The "Curious" Case of the Didjeridu in Spectacle and Therapy in Australia,' *World of Music* 40, no. 2 (1998), 29-51. On competitions, see Amy Ku'uleialoha Stillman, 'Hawaiian Hula Competitions: Event, Repertoire, Performance, Tradition,' *Journal of American Folklore* 109 (1996), 357-80.

[xxii] See further: Timothy J. Cooley, 'Folk Festival as Modern Ritual in the Polish Tatra Mountains,' *World of Music* 41, no. 3 (1999), 31-55; Helen Rees, *Echoes of History: Naxi Music in Modern China*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 147-57.

[xxiii] Martin Stokes, 'Place, Exchange and Meaning: Black Sea Musicians in the West of Ireland,' in Martin Stokes (ed.), *Ethnicity, Identity and Music*, 97-115.

[xxiv] Jan Fairley, '"The Blind Leading the Blind": Changing Perceptions of Traditional Music. The Case of the Peruvian Ayllu Sulca,' in Max Peter Baumann (ed.), *Music in the Dialogue of Cultures: Traditional Music and Cultural Policy*, Wilhelmshaven, Florian Noetzel Verlag, 1991, 272-89, pp. 279, 281.

[xxv] Laurent Aubert, *La musique de l'autre: Les nouveaux défis de l'ethnomusicologie*, Geneva, Georg, 2001, 52-4.

[xxvi] See further, Michael B. Bakan, *Music of Death and New Creation: Experiences in the World of Balinese Gamelan Beleganjur*, University of Chicago Press, 1999, pp. 200-3. On Java, see Benjamin Brinner, *Knowing Music, Making Music: Javanese Gamelan and the Theory of Musical Competence and Interaction*, University of Chicago Press, 1995, pp. 157-9. On China, see Jonathan P. J. Stock, *Musical Creativity in Twentieth-Century China: Abing, His Music, and Its Changing Meanings*, University of Rochester Press, 1996, 142-67.

[xxvii] Oliver Tuku Mutukudzi, *Ziwere MuKøbenhavn*, Shava CD001-2, 1994. Mtukudzi's name appears in several variants on his discs and in the literature.

[xxviii] In this Mtukudzi follows the internationally better-known Zimbabwean musician Thomas Mapfumo. For further on music for *mbira*, see Paul F. Berliner, *The Soul of Mbira: Music and Traditions of the Shona People of Zimbabwe*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1978. [Repr. University of Chicago Press, 1993.] Zimbabwean popular music is the subject of study in Thomas Turino, *Nationalists, Cosmopolitans, and Popular Music in Zimbabwe*, University of Chicago Press, 1999, see particularly pp. 294-300. Analysis of the broader genre of world music is provided by Timothy D. Taylor, *Global Pop: World Music, World Markets*, London, Routledge, 1997 and Aubert, *La musique de l'autre*.

[xxix] Yang Mu, 'Music Loss Among Ethnic Minorities in China: A Comparison of the Li and Hui Peoples,' *Asian Music* 27, no. 1 (Fall/Winter 1995/96), 103-31, pp. 108-9.

[xxx] Alan Lomax, *Folk Song Style and Culture*, Washington, American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1968, p. 4.

[xxxi] See also Martin Scherzinger's contribution to the present volume (pp. 000-000).

[xxxii] Taylor, *Global Pop*, p. 201. Not incidentally, my own observations during several trips to China suggest that it has for some time also been easier to buy Madonna there than Cui Jian. Cui's dubious reputation among political circles contributes to this.

[xxxiii] Judy Kendall and Banning Eyre, 'Zimbabwe,' in Simon Broughton, Mark Ellingham and Richard Trillo (eds.), *World Music: The Rough Guide*, London, Rough Guides, 1999, vol. 1, 706-16, p. 706.

[xxxiv] See also, Philip V. Bohlman, *The Study of Folk Music in the Modern World*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1988, pp. 121-40.

[xxxv] These observations were made during the author's fieldwork on 2 August 2000. Little is published in English on the Taiwanese genre of *beiguan*. Information on the Glen Rock carollers may be found at <http://www.glenrockcarolers.org>. Paul Davenport, personal communication: Sheffield, 5 July 2000.

[xxxvi] Jenny F. So (ed.), *Music in the Age of Confucius*, Washington, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 2000.