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# Pacific Review of --- Ethnomusicology

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## FROM THE EDITORS

We are pleased to introduce the first issue of the Pacific Review of Ethnomusicology (PRE), a publication of the Ethnomusicology Students Association, funded by the Graduate Student Association of the University of California at Los Angeles. The primary objective of the journal is to provide a forum for academic articles pertaining to ethnomusicology written by graduate students both at UCLA and elsewhere, but contributions are welcome from any interested members of the scholarly community. Responses to our initial call for papers were received from students and faculty members at universities in the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom. The contributions included in this first issue cover a wide range of geographic areas, stretching from the Americas to Asia and Africa. They also address a variety of topics, from traditional compositional practices and historical developments in musical style to new musical genres and changes in music and dance traditions within non-traditional settings. Future issues will feature a larger number of reviews and, it is hoped, a still greater diversity of topics. While anticipating that the majority of submissions will come from scholars in ethnomusicology programs, the editorial board wishes especially to encourage contributions from related disciplines such as anthropology, dance ethnology, folklore, psychology, and sociology.

There are always many people to thank in the production of such a journal, but particularly for an inaugural issue. We particularly thank Elizabeth Tolbert for her assistance in the formative stages of the journal. Charlotte Adair, Peter Manuel, and Edwin Seroussi served as readers on individual manuscripts, and Roger Wright offered suggestions on editorial matters. We especially thank our two advisors at the Graduate Student Association, Pat Wright and Cindy Lyle. Lastly, we wish to express our gratitude to the Graduate Student Association of UCLA, not only for its encouragement of our project but also for its financial assistance.

## STANDARDIZATION AND INNOVATION IN MARIACHI MUSIC PERFORMANCE IN LOS ANGELES

Steven Ray Pearlman

Mariachi music is one of the most popular musics in Los Angeles. There is a substantial Mexican population and an almost continual influx of Mexican immigrants, including musicians, into the Los Angeles area. A natural laboratory is thus established in which tendencies both toward standardization in the performance of traditional and popular materials and toward innovation are observable. This is particularly true in the face of competition for work and the need felt by some bands to distinguish themselves from the more common levels of performance.

"Innovation" involves the substitution of non-standard musical elements into otherwise traditional forms. The elements substituted may be small and auxiliary to the main form, or may involve major structural alteration and even the importation or the creation of entirely non-standard forms. The important concept is one of restructuring. The effect of this restructuring is formal change. This approach is consistent with an anthropological view of innovation and cultural change, as originally formulated by Barnett (1953), in which innovation implies process. Understanding innovation in any cultural context then involves searching for those forces and conditions under which it is likely to occur and to have effect, that is, to affect cultural change. In the case of mariachi music in Los Angeles, the primary forces affecting standardization and innovation are more easily understood in terms of social and contextual factors (see Pearlman 1983) rather than in terms of traditional conservatism or musical creativity, although these factors cannot be ignored.

In identifying the factors responsible for particular performance styles in mariachi music, it is first necessary to identify the structures of the most common song forms and the ways standardization or innovation are expressed in them. Once the song structures have been delineated, specific performance contexts can be described and the mechanisms of standardization and innovation can be seen more clearly.

## Forms

Depending on the performance context, mariachis might play any number of song forms, including sones, polcas, boleros, rancheras, huapangos, danzones, vales, popurrís, pasodobles, cumbias, and clasicas, plus a few others. The most common forms in most performance contexts, and hence the most likely to be standardized and therefore most important to this study, are the sones, boleros, and rancheras. These three forms comprise the bulk of the mariachi repertory and represent traditional origins as well as more current popular styles. This view of mariachi music performance in Los Angeles in the 1980's compares favorably with that described nearly ten years ago for mariachi music in general (Fogelquist 1975).

Sones are the fast, lively dance numbers most often associated with traditional mariachis. Traditional sones are most often from the state of Jalisco, although sones from neighboring states such as Colima, Michoacan, and Aguas Calientes are played as well. The son form is used also for modern composition. Sones are usually in 6/8 time with sections in 3/4, allowing the juxtaposition of 2 against 3, which in part provides the distinctive character of the son. In the most common structural form a musical introduction of one or two phrases is played and possibly repeated, followed by a sung verse and a chorus which repeats the melodic figures of the introduction. An instrumental interlude follows, which may or may not repeat the introduction, and separates successive verses, of which there are usually three. After the last verse a final instrumental section restates the melody and the song ends with one of two distinctive endings.

A schematic representation of "Son de mi Tierra" would be as follows: A A'A' BB AA A'A' BB AA A'A' BB A". In this case A is the instrumental statement of the melody; A' is its vocal repetition as a sung verse; B is the vocal chorus; and A" is the truncated final melodic line with a traditional ending. A schematic representation of "Las Abajeñas," a slightly more complex son, might look like this: A A'A' BB CC DD C'C' A'A' BB CC DD C'C' A'A' BB CC DD C'C' A", where A is the instrumental statement; A' is the vocal which is melodically similar; B is the vocal chorus; C is the violin instrumental bridge; D is the trumpet bridge; C' is a variant of the violin bridge; and A" is the variation of the introductory melodic statement which contains a traditional ending signature.

In these two examples, both of which represent fairly standard arrangements, the amount of repetition is striking. Both of these sones are often shortened in particular performance contexts. The shortened version of "Mi Tierra" would be represented as follows: A A'A' BB AA A'A' BB A". Clearly, vital elements have been retained. There is an initial melodic statement, followed by two verses, instead of three, which are separated by the repeated instrumental line, and finally the traditional signature. This also is a standard arrangement. "Las Abajeñas" is often cut even more drastically, with an entire section omitted: A A'A' BB CC C'C' A'A' BB CC C'C' A". Innovation in sones, when it occurs, is usually limited to the melodic embellishments played during sung verses or choruses. The main melodic figures, for either vocal or instrumental lines, are generally not altered.

Boleros, the second important song form played by mariachis, are more a popular form than a traditional one. Most of the "romantic" songs, the ballads, are boleros. The bolero form is not limited to mariachis; it is, in fact, ubiquitous to all Latin performance styles and modern popular Latin music. The bolero is in 4/4 time. In mariachi performances of boleros, the viuela generally plays an eighth-note accompaniment, evenly accenting all four beats.

A common structure for a bolero consists of an instrumental introduction followed by one or two sung verses and a vocal bridge. Then comes an instrumental restatement of either the introductory melodic line or the vocal verse line (which need not be the same), and a final verse with an instrumental line to end the song (which may be a restatement of a previous line). The instrumental interlude or restatement is a phrase usually split between trumpet and violin. The form schematic could be as follows: A BB' C B B" C B' D. A is the initial melodic statement split between the violins and trumpets; however, it is usually not the melody of the sung verse. B is the first sung verse; B' is the second verse with a modified final phrase; B" is the instrumental interlude; C is the vocal bridge or chorus; and D is the vocal and/or instrumental tag to conclude the song. One of the most popular boleros, "Sabór a Mi," follows this form.

Another popular bolero, "Cuando Calienta el Sol," is a slightly modified version of the same structure. The introduction is melodically different from the body of the song and includes a vocal component. There is no vocal bridge, but other-



wise the structure remains the same. One feature common to many boleros is that the last verse in the structure repeats the lyric of one of the earlier verses. "Cuando Calienta el Sol" could be represented as follows: A B B' B" C. A is the introduction; B and B' are the sung verses, with the last two phrases of B' and B" being lyrically identical; B" is the bridge, featuring half of the verse played instrumentally, with the second half vocally reiterating the previous verse lyric; and C is the ending figure.

As in the sones, repetition is a component of the bolero. Particularly in "Sabór a Mi," with the doubled sections and repeated vocal bridge and final verse, opportunities exist for a shorter version without the repeated sections. "Cuando Calienta el Sol" is already structurally sparse, but can be trimmed further by eliminating the instrumental bridge and the final (repeated) verse. Truncated versions of boleros are most often found in the same performance contexts as the shortened sones.

Opportunities for innovation in the performance of boleros are somewhat greater than in the performance of sones. The two primary areas of potential innovative input are the introduction and the instrumental bridge. As mentioned above, the introductions to boleros, unlike those in sones, do not necessarily anticipate the vocal melodic line which follows. Rather, the introduction helps establish mood or tonality and may provide a hint of melodic contour without actually stating the melody per se. Thus there is some flexibility in arrangements such that novel introductions theoretically may be used which accomplish the same purpose as more standard versions. These novel introductions are acceptable in most performance contexts in Los Angeles. Similarly, the instrumental bridge, particularly in the trumpet part, may serve as a vehicle for improvisation. There is more adherence to melodic form in the bridge than in the introduction, but the melody is usually more stylized than in the sung verse and often features the abilities of the instrumentalist. Another factor to be noted is that in sones both verse and chorus are sung in harmony, usually two-part parallel thirds in the verse and three-part triads in the chorus. In boleros, however, the main melody is performed by solo voice, allowing for more individual expression than is possible in the son. Yet neither improvisation nor individual expression constitutes innovation in performance unless there is an interjection of novel melodic or rhythmic elements inconsistent with standard performance practice.

The third major form common to mariachi performance is the canción ranchera. There are two main subtypes of rancheras--one in 3/4 time and the other, called polca ranchera, in 2/4. Rancheras comprise the majority of popular music. In a structural sense, rancheras are somewhat intermediary between sones and boleros. The introduction usually states the main melody of the song, either in its entirety or in its final phase, reminiscent of sones. While the main verse may be sung by solo voice, as is common in boleros, the chorus, or at least a choral interjection between phrases of the main verse, is frequently two- or three-part vocal harmony when performed by mariachis, as in the son. One popular ranchera, "Jalisco No te Rajes," may be schematized thus: AA' BB CC' AA' BB CC". Here, A represents the initial statement of the melody; A' is the repetition of the melodic statement leading into the verse; B is the sung verse, four lines long, followed by a second, melodically identical verse; C is the first half of the vocal chorus; C', the second half of the vocal chorus, is the same melody as the instrumental introduction, which is repeated as the bridge. The only difference in the second half of the song is that, at the end of the second half of the chorus, there is a stylized ritard and the instrumental signature characteristic of polca rancheras.

Variations of this form include the omission of all repeated instrumental lines, the deletion of one of the solo vocal verses in the second half, as well as a possible truncation of the ending. The truncated structure follows: A BB CC' A B CC". What had been a nicely symmetrical form is altered in some performance contexts so that, although the characteristic symmetry is absent, all the components of the complete form and of the complete song remain intact. Another ranchera, "El Rey," shows similar features. It begins with a slightly stylized instrumental statement of the vocal line in the chorus, which is played only once. The verse follows, punctuated by an antiphonal choral response. The vocal chorus is also divided into two segments and it is usually only on the second segment that a harmony vocal line is added. The entire structure is then repeated with a different lyric for the verse and a reprise of the previous chorus lyric, closing with the standard ending for rancheras in 3/4. The symmetry is clear as represented in the following structure: A B C A B C.

It is important to keep in mind that the verse (B above) is divided into two parts by the choral interjection, and that the vocal chorus (C above) is divided into two parts by a brief

instrumental interjection. While the symmetry is clear, it is also clear that this represents a fairly minimal structure, one that is not easily truncated without sacrificing an important structural component. In fact, truncation of this particular ranchera is exceedingly rare.

In general, the ranchera form, dominated by symmetry, allows some restricted opportunities for innovation, primarily in arrangements of introductory and closing sections. There may be embellishment as well in the vocal or instrumental supporting lines, as there is in the sones. There also may be some opportunity for solo vocal display, as is more common in boleros. And, as in bolero and son, the selection of long or truncated versions and the appropriateness of innovative arrangements is primarily dependent upon the specific performance context.

### Contexts

The contexts within which mariachi music is performed in Los Angeles run the gamut from small cantinas, where a minimal group of four or five musicians plays at tables for requests, to stage shows or concerts where large groups, with as many as 10 to 12 or more members, play a preselected repertory. In between these two extremes are the weddings, baptisms, quinceañeras, and other parties where groups are contracted for specific periods of time.

The cantina context represents a fundamental base level of mariachi performance reminiscent in many ways of a common performance context in Mexico. Most of the mariachi musicians in Los Angeles play in a cantina context at least part of the time, but for some musicians this is only one context in which they perform. Typically, performance groups include guitarrón, vihuela, trumpet, and violin. When cantina-context groups are larger, a second violin and then a second trumpet are typical, but for the most part these groups are small. Also, cantina-context groups usually are not corporate structures, that is, the association of musicians playing together for the particular occasion is not necessarily an enduring group beyond the immediate performance context. Rather, musicians play on an availability or piece-work basis. Several musicians may decide to get together to play "al talon" to augment their income. There are several locations in Los Angeles, particularly East Los Angeles and Boyle Heights, where mariachi musicians loiter, waiting for someone to come by looking for a particular instrument to fill out a group for an

evening's work. It is this kind of temporary group that commonly plays in the cantina context.

In the cantina performance situation, all songs played are by request. Clientele in the cantina will pay for each song requested, usually \$1.00 to \$1.25 per musician per song. Some specialty songs, which are longer than usual and not easily shortened, may carry a higher charge. The two major motivations in this context are to satisfy the customer so that more songs are requested and to play as many songs as possible within the available time period in order to maximize income. Given the need to discuss selections and negotiate charges with the clients, the maximum number of selections which can be played in an hour may range between 15 and 25 songs. The impetus clearly is to play songs which are melodically and lyrically complete in order to satisfy the client, but also those which are structurally truncated in order to generate more income. In this context, songs rarely last more than two and a half minutes.

General structural truncation, which at one time was an important innovation, has now become standard performance practice dictated by performance context. In addition, since the performing groups in the cantina context are usually not corporate entities, and do not endure beyond the immediate composition of musicians, there is a need to play not only truncated versions but standardized truncated versions of songs. Fogelquist (1975) implies that the temporary nature of cantina performance is the main cause of repertory standardization. However, since performances of the same standardized song versions, as well as other kinds of standardization, are not unique to the cantina context, his explanation is incomplete. It is nonetheless clear that most levels of potential innovation are limited by the social and contextual factors inherent in cantina performance.

At the opposite end of the continuum from the cantina context is the show context. Within the show context, performing groups are often large, with as many as six or eight violins, two or three trumpets, plus guitarrón, vihuela, and guitar. There are only two or three mariachis in Los Angeles which regularly perform with large groups such as this in a stage or concert context. Several smaller groups are good enough to play occasional stage/concert performances as part of their ordinary cycle of work throughout the year.

Unlike the cantina context, in a concert or stage performance requests are ordinarily not solicited and usually not played. Rather, a variety of song forms are played, ranging from sones through boleros and popurrís. Song forms which are specifically dance forms, such as polcas, cumbias, and danzones, are generally not played as part of a performance in a show context.

The performance motivations in concert and dance situations are quite different. Since individuals do not pay for particular songs, there is no need to immediately satisfy particular individuals and, since income is not dependent on the number of pieces performed within a set time period, there is no pressing impetus to truncate forms. Consequently, it is the longer versions of songs which are played; the longer forms, in general and especially popurrís, are more heavily used than in any other context.

Within the show context there is a tendency to feature a number of different solo singers, a number of different featured instrumentalists, and the technical and musical ability and versatility of the group as a whole. A major implication is that in order to successfully perform songs in this context, given the number of musicians involved and the greater complexity of material, rehearsal is necessary. When rehearsal is necessary, musicians play together on a regular basis and the musical ensembles exist as corporate entities. When groups exist as corporate entities, the existence of the group transcends the presence of particular individuals. One musician may leave the group; he is replaced by another who is expected to learn the repertory and the arrangements. Over a period of several years it is not unlikely that 50 percent or more of a group may change. In a group that plays the majority of its performances in a show context, it is the nature of that particular performance context that allows selection of the repertory. The social context of the performing group allows for the development of arrangements which may differ substantially from the universally known arrangements, whether standard or truncated.

Between the cantina context and the show context is a series of sub-contexts where the dynamics of repertory selection, dependent upon performing context and social environment, can be seen most readily. There are a large number of mariachi ensembles in Los Angeles which have most of the characteristics of corporate groups and which perform in a number of contexts ranging from

cantina to show. They focus on regular paying engagements in restaurants, as well as performances for private parties, often celebrating life events such as baptisms and marriages. These groups usually consist of six to nine members, including two to four violins, two trumpets, quitarrón, viuela, and usually guitar. They try to achieve corporate status by soliciting regular places of performance for a fixed rate. When a group can concretize a sufficient number of regular weekly engagements to provide the basis for a steady income, group membership will stabilize, group repertory will begin to change (depending of course on the specific performance context), and the group will begin to develop an existence which transcends its members at any particular time. There is some impermanence to these groups, however, as some are unable to maintain their restaurant jobs or to solicit a regular number of private parties, and thus are no longer able to attract and support musicians of suitable caliber.

Within this central area of performance context and group structure, the transitional stage between cantina- and show-context performances can be seen. In both restaurant and private party sub-contexts, performers are ordinarily paid at fixed hourly rates. Income is not dependent on the ability to perform a particular number of songs per hour, nor are requests necessarily the only songs played. Yet audience satisfaction is ultimately important.

In restaurants it is satisfied customers who return regularly and who make a successful business for the restaurateur. And it is through customer satisfaction at private parties that mariachis are able to build a reputation for themselves, generate new business through word-of-mouth recommendations, and eventually capture repeat business. Consequently, even though requests are not the sole mechanism of repertory selection and even though clients in restaurants are not usually charged for requests (although tips are accepted), requests do form a major portion of the selected repertory. More or less standard arrangements have to be played in order to satisfy clients who are interacting on a very personal basis with the band. In response to requests in a paid restaurant context, bands will play, for the most part, full-length standardized versions of the sones, boleros, and rancheras. There are occasions, however, when time is at a premium due to a large number of requests. In these cases the mariachis may play truncated versions.

In the restaurant context, which is by nature at least superficially similar to the cantina context, the predominant forms played are the rancheras, and then boleros and sones. However, the percentages of these forms out of the total repertory are somewhat lower than in the cantina context, since other less common forms are used to highlight a group's ability and versatility in periods where there are no requests. Popurrís, clasicas, and international popular arrangements are introduced into the performing context. Similarly, the private party context (and the dance/concert context) in some ways approaches the more involved show context. At many private parties, groups are asked to perform on a stage with microphones, usually for dancing. Even so, rancheras remain the predominant form, although, depending on the number of requests, there may be a fairly even distribution among sones, rancheras, and boleros, dance numbers such as cumbias, polcas, and danzones, and show pieces such as the popurrís and clasicas.

### Process

It is within this context of paid restaurant engagements and paid private parties that the nature of standardization and innovation in mariachi music performance becomes important. In the cantina context, innovation is not an important issue. Repertory and song forms are determined by context. The occasional innovative elements are transient, may exist as "musical jokes" between musicians, and have no lasting cultural effect.

In the show context, performance is much more in line with an Anglo-European concept of a concert or stage show. There is an emphasis on technical ability, even instrumental virtuosity at times, with much of the performed material dominated by new arrangements. The opportunities for individual innovation may be more limited in performances within the show context because of the level of rehearsal and the need to maintain consistent performances from show to show. Some of the innovations in arrangements originally developed within the show context percolate down to other musicians performing in other contexts and become, over time, new local standards.

In restaurants and at private parties, however, there is enough contextual ambivalence that there is a tension between standardization and innovation in performance. In the competition for lucrative restaurant jobs and a substantial business in

private parties, emerging corporate mariachi ensembles are balanced between performing a recognizable standard repertory and distinguishing themselves from other equally competent groups. They do this by playing non-standard repertory and modifying standard arrangements. The restaurant/party context often involves performing for a more varied audience than is ordinarily encountered in the cantina context. Cantina-context audiences are almost exclusively Mexican immigrants. The restaurant/party-context audiences may range from Mexican immigrants, to second and third generation Mexican-Americans, to non-Latin locals, to tourists. Show-context groups will perform for the same diverse audiences, but there is usually a more direct interaction between audience and mariachi in the restaurant/party context than in the show context.

As noted above, when there is direct client/ensemble interaction more effort is made to satisfy individuals. When there is a varied audience, musical tastes and experiences of the audience will vary as well and a mariachi group can include in its repertory non-standard forms. That is, they can use songs suitable for these audiences, or they can use non-standard melodic elements to affect a restructuring of a standard form. The varied audience will react positively to the successful juxtaposition of otherwise disparate structural components. Further, as a result of the contextual ambivalence, the tension between standardization and innovation, and the varied audience background and interpersonal interaction, a level of spontaneity may be engendered in restaurant/party-context performances that is lacking in cantina- or show-context performances. That spontaneity is engaging, and ensembles which can react to it will find themselves successfully received and in demand for other engagements.

### Summary

A number of song forms in mariachi music performance, ranging from traditional to popular, have varying frequencies of performance depending upon performance context. There is a continuum of contexts in Los Angeles for mariachi music performance which extends from the cantina context to a show or concert context. Ensemble structure varies across performance contexts, with general instability of membership encountered in cantina-context performances evolving to the enduring corporate level of



group structure in the show context. Standardization in mariachi music performance in Los Angeles exists as a response to contextual and social pressures, including not only the transient nature of cantina-context ensembles, but also the interaction between group and client. Standardization is also found in other contexts, partially as a result of the same forces, but also as a function of rehearsal and the reduced repertory found in concert performance. Innovation, in the form of restructuring standard elements, is most likely to occur in a context which is intermediary or ambivalent, in which there is a tension between standardization and innovation resulting from the varied musical expectations of a varied audience, and in which there is still sufficiently direct audience-ensemble interaction to engender a level of spontaneity. Tradition is a factor in innovation, as innovation is more likely to occur in popular song forms than in traditional forms. A moderate level of musical proficiency may also be required to innovate successfully, but the major forces which shape how and when standardization and innovation occur are social and contextual.

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# THE VOCAL-MUSIC COMPOSER IN A NIGERIAN TRADITIONAL SOCIETY AND HIS COMPOSITIONAL TECHNIQUES<sup>1</sup>

Daniel C. C. Agu

Among the Igbo, songs are regarded as meditated thoughts on specific topics, issues, situations, events, and activities; designed for specific uses in the society. It is believed that they are developed within the mind under the influence of creative forces. Songs are tailored by the sociocultural and religious demands and requirements of the society, sung out when words alone are found unsuitable for effective expression. Merriam (1964:165) contends that

Composition is part of the same learning process...shaped by public acceptance or rejection, learned by the individuals who practice it, and contributing to music change and stability.

However, in many societies, as among the Igbo of Nigeria, composition of music is classified under three main areas: vocal, instrumental, and dance. This paper looks into the creative techniques of the Igbo vocal-music composer and how he arrives at an acceptable art form.

The Igbo are one of the three largest ethnic groups in Nigeria, with a population of well over ten million. They are located in the southeastern part of the country, mainly to the east of the lower Niger. The eastern Igbo are bounded in the south by the Ijaw and Ogoni tribes, and in the north by the Igala and Tiv. On their eastern boundary, the Yako and the Ibibio are neighbors. In the west there is a natural boundary created by the river Niger and across it are the western Igbo, with a population of about 250,000 people. This paper focuses attention on the Igbo east of the Niger.<sup>2</sup>

## Musical Background and Training

It is believed that the musical training of the vocal-music composer starts from the womb, passing through infancy to adolescence, and down to the initiation schools and social groups. The pregnant mother who participates in musical

activities is believed to introduce the unborn baby to rhythmical movements of all categories of music. After the baby is born, he gradually becomes acquainted with musical sound through the lullabies sung to him, and through his mother's continuous musical involvement while he is firmly strapped to her back.

In Igbo society, folk tales and songs serve as relaxation, as entertainment, and as a medium through which noble ideals are acknowledged and encouraged and vices are condemned and discouraged. Children gather together, usually after supper, to listen to and to participate in the telling of folk tales and the singing of folk songs. Here, music education begins by participation through listening, observing, and imitating. By the time they have attained the age of six years, Igbo children have already learned many songs through active participation in children's singing games. During the play which forms most of their pastime at this age, children also improvise on their own miniature instruments. They play, dance, and sing their own songs, for at this stage they also start experimenting with simple compositions.

These general musical stages are undergone by the average child in traditional society. A child born into a musical family usually has special training. He has the advantage of being in the company of a blood relation who is a professional. Additionally, the direct training he receives from his family gives him an edge over other children of his age who are not born into musician families.

In spite of the musical training and advantages of children born into musician families, their musical ability is assessed by the Igbo in varying degrees. Contrary to Nettl's views on professionalization, or specialization and proficiency in music (Nettl 1956:10), there is no absolute equality in music creation and performance among the Igbo. There are specialists who have shown remarkable proficiency in their various musical areas. Right from childhood, the talented child is easily identified. He tends to assume leadership roles in his group, and he performs outstandingly well. In adult organizations such as social groups or age grades, talented musicians naturally take places of leadership. When such individuals with outstanding skills are not readily available, they are substituted for by those known to be hard-working, and possessing organizational abilities.

In Igbo traditional society, the master drummer is known as ōtí-ìgbà. The lead soloist, who could also be the composer of the songs, is known as ōgú-ègwū. The lead dancer is known as ōgbá-ègwū. These categories of talented experts have distinguished themselves from their different groups during performances. As a result, they are regarded as specialists by the society. Merriam (1964:124) strengthens this argument further by pointing out that

in all societies individuals exist whose skill at making music is recognized in some way as being superior to that of other individuals so that they are called upon, or simply take their "rightful" place, in musical situations.

This is why an expert dancer stands out among a group of performers; why a master drummer is easily identified by the audience in an instrumental ensemble; and why the presence of the outstanding singer or master soloist affects the mood of a performance, spurring both dancers and instrumentalists into a frenzy of actions. The mere fact that these experts are accepted and acknowledged by the society to which they belong makes them professionals whether they earn a living from their performances or not.

It may not be completely right to argue that musicians who were born into musician families perform better than their counterparts. They have, no doubt, had better opportunities right from childhood, but their inherent qualities may not have been superior. This point has been confirmed by the outstanding performances of a few individuals who did not inherit the art of music creation and performance from birth. Nonhereditary musicians have, in some instances, shown better skills. Inspiration and encouragement from both the society and individuals contribute in no small measure to the determination and self-confidence which carry such people through (see Blacking 1957:46). Basden (1921:190) observes that in Igbo society "talent is recognised and many artists become very popular....The leader of a chorus is accorded much the same honour among the Ibos as that granted to the minstrel in ancient days in England." This situation arouses an individual's competitive instinct and effort, and correlates with Nadel's (1961:303) remarks that "free competition of talent and individuality rather than family tradition determines professional success."

Composition is an oral tradition among the Igbo and, consequently, all music is learnt by rote. As a result of this learning method, informed and accurate listening, observation, imitation, and active participation are very important as the only means of ensuring good knowledge and perfection. The method ultimately sharpens aural perception and, in the case of vocal music, develops tonal memory too. Having been brought up to learn and perform every music by rote, the vocal-music composer in Igbo society therefore memorizes his work during composition. This practice does not imply that his compositional systems have no logic, structure, or typical modes of expression; however, most of these composers cannot fully explain the processes they use in composing their songs. Their inability to explain fully their processes of composition does not imply that their materials are made up simply at random, or that they have no basic theory behind their musical creativity and practice. We shall soon find out that there are rules and guidelines with which these composers conform. The truth is that the system of musical training prevalent in the society where the composers were brought up does not involve much theory. This puts the composer in a situation of great difficulty when explaining his procedures theoretically. He not only lacks the appropriate vocabularies with which to do so, but also lacks the order of verbal presentation of his facts. Nevertheless, "the absence of an articulated musical theory does not imply the absence of rules which a composer must follow" (Nettl 1973:18).

The outstanding skill of composing on the spur of the moment is very popular in Igbo society. Such compositions are more or less emotional. In such circumstances, the composer allows his personal emotion to override his normal self, thereby placing himself in a mood in which new musical material is generated. As the new musical idea takes shape, it gradually develops in the process of extemporization and improvisation. This is highly acclaimed and valued in the society. The skilled composer/soloist quite often deliberately commits himself to new creations, rearrangements, and embellishments during performance, to the admiration of all. Master soloists are rated in the traditional society by their skills and abilities in this art. As Nzewi (1977:198) aptly remarks:

Igbo musical composition is a situational variable because the performers, although using componential

constants, are creative variables unlike the situation in Western classical tradition where the composition and performers are both defined constants. Igbo music is therefore, judged not by its quality as an interpretative reproduction of a fixed composition, rather by its interest as a fresh composition, i.e., as a contextual re-composition of a model format.

The extent to which this is done greatly depends on the skill, mood, performance situation, and responsiveness of the audience at a particular time. It must be done in conformity with the conceptualized variational scope in the society's musical thought and appreciation.

### The Composer and the Society

The music composer in Igbo society does not compose to serve his personal purpose, rather he does so for the use and services of the masses. This is a generally accepted belief emanating from Igbo musical thought. This firmly rooted belief is assumed to be responsible for directing every composer in the society towards operating within the socially acceptable boundaries of a specific musical system. The ultimate aim of the composer, therefore, is to satisfy the audience, which has the power to judge a piece of music in terms of its cultural, social, and religious qualities as compared to accepted models. In an attempt to achieve this ideal, the vocal-music composer appears to work toward the following goals in his composition:

- (1) To design songs matching accepted standards as regards aesthetic and functional values and performance norms.
- (2) To compose a coherent and balanced music conforming to established musical forms.
- (3) To build up simple melodies matching his texts.
- (4) To enrich his work with proverbs, similes, metaphors, and stories where applicable.
- (5) To come up with a final product consonant with the speech-tone and melody-tone relationship. This factor figures in the classification of songs as ukwe-oma (a good song) or ukwe-ojoo (a bad song).

The desire to achieve these established standards compels the composer to work within the framework of the tradition for the maintenance of both cultural and religious identity.

The concept of music as a universal property in this society makes it possible for all compositions to be regarded and accepted as social, cultural, and religious entities. Songs are originally composed by individuals but, thereafter, are subjected to other people's re-creation as a result of the principle of communal ownership and Igbo methods of transmission and performance. The society is more interested in a music as an accepted form than in the composer as an individual.

### Some Guidelines and Rules for the Composer

Each vocal-music composer attempts to adhere to the established models of choral music in his society when composing a new work. These established models have therefore always been used, consciously or unconsciously, as guidelines by which all vocal-music composers operate. The basic rules are applied in the creation of both the melody and harmony, and in the proper placement of words to achieve intelligibility.

A melody conceived by the composer must be based on the melodic framework of the given text. The intervallic range of notes and the ambitus of the melody should agree with the tonal sense of the text, just as the harmonic framework must be based on the notes of the scale. These rules do not, however, inhibit the creation of many different melodies for a given text, provided they adhere to the tonal inflection of the words. In examples 1a through 1f, all the melodies conform to the tonal inflection of the words in the statement "ò dí òmā" ("it is good"). When this statement is joined to another in continuation, the composer has to consider the coherence of the melodic patterns he is going to design for each segment. They must blend to be musically and textually intelligible and acceptable. If, for instance, the text of 1a through 1f is to be followed by the phrase "biàkēnē bíkō," as sung in 1g, then only 1d and 1f are tonally and melodically appropriate. This does not mean that the other melodies in 1a through 1f are wrong. It only means that melodic phrases have to agree with textual phrases to create acceptable music. We now see that merging either 1d and 1g or 1f and 1g, as shown in examples 1h and 1i, gives us complete musical statements that fully adhere to both Igbo tonal sense and the

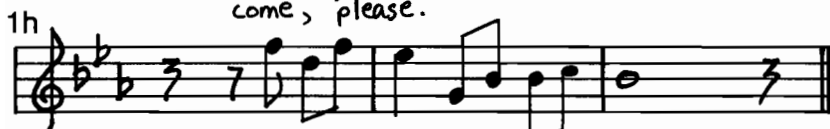




Example 1 (continued).



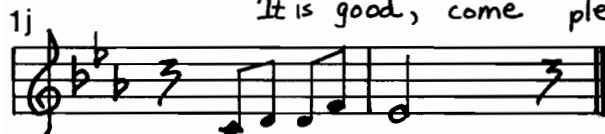
bià-kē-nē, bi'-kō.  
come, please.



Ó dì ní-mā, bià-kē-ne bi'-kō.  
It is good, come please.



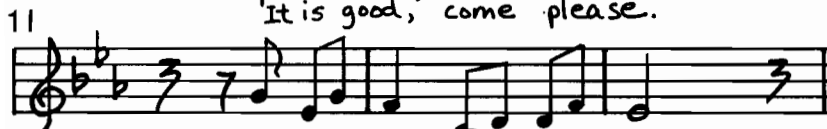
Ó dì ní-mā bià-kē-nē bi'-kō.  
It is good, come please.



bià-kē-nē, bi'-kō  
come please



Ó dì ní-mā, bià-kē-ne bi'-kō.  
It is good, come please.



Ó dì ní-mā, bià-kē-nē bi'-kō.  
It is good, come please.

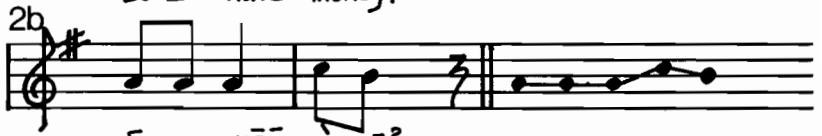
Example 2.

2a



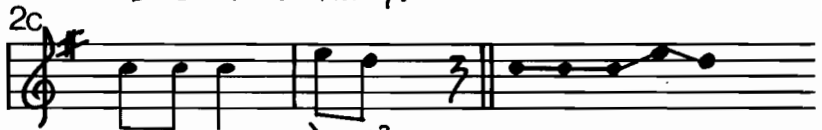
E-nwe-rēm è-gō?  
Do I have money?

2b



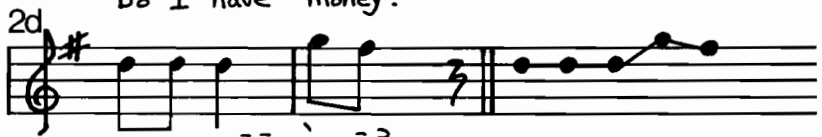
E-nwe-rēm è-gō?  
Do I have money?

2c



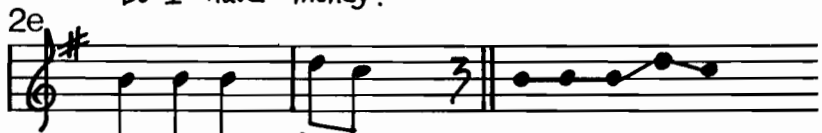
E-nwe-rēm è-gō?  
Do I have money?

2d



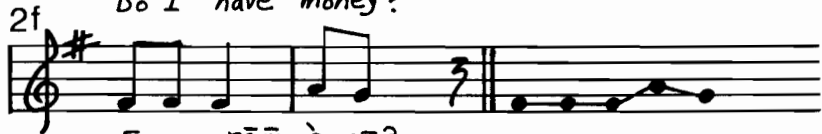
E-nwe-rēm è-gō?  
Do I have money?

2e




E-nwe-rēm è-gō?  
Do I have money?

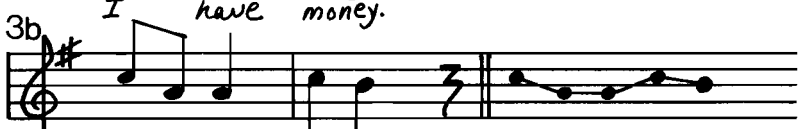
2f

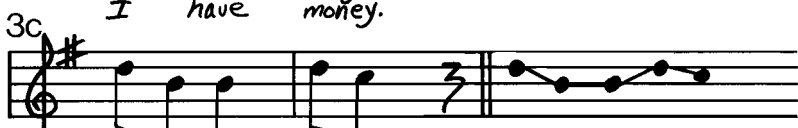


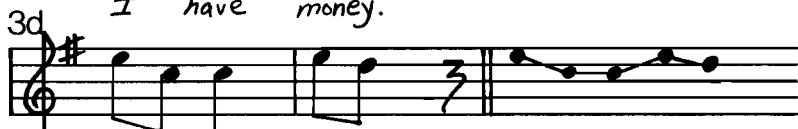
E-nwe-rēm è-gō?  
Do I have money?

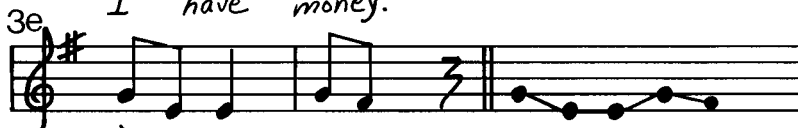
Example 3.

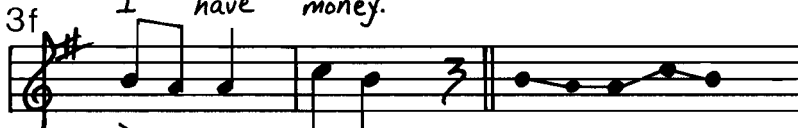
3a  
  
È-nwé-rém è-gō.  
I have money.

3b  
  
È-nwé-rém è-gō.  
I have money.

3c  
  
È-nwé-rém è-gō.  
I have money.

3d  
  
È-nwé-rém è-gō.  
I have money.

3e  
  
È-nwé-rém è-gō.  
I have money.

3f  
  
È-nwé-rém e-gō.  
I have money.

tonal inflection of the words, while rendering the actual meaning of the complete sentence. If, on the other hand, the text biàkēnē bíkō is sung to melody 1j, the most suitable melodies that will combine with it are 1b and 1c. Such combinations yield 1k and 1l respectively.

The following rules should be observed in order to achieve satisfactory results from appropriate combinations:

- (1) The tones in each combination must be within a given scale or mode.
- (2) The melody must fit within a given melodic and harmonic framework. Which is to say, in a given context the intervallic range of notes should conform to the tonal framework of the text.

To further illustrate, let us look at the following statements:

"Enwerē m èqō?" ("Do I have money?") and  
"Enwéré m èqō." ("I have money.")

These two statements have different tonal frameworks and appear in different contexts. As a rule, therefore, their melodies should have different melodic and harmonic frameworks. For the first sentence, a question, the melodies in 2a through 2f would all be appropriate. They not only fall within the mode and have an acceptable melodic framework, but they also adhere strictly to the tonal inflection of the words. Conversely, because it has a different mode of expression, the second statement requires a different melodic framework, as seen in 3a through 3f.

In Igbo vocal music there is a tendency for the musical phrase to descend shortly after it begins. The melody may then ascend with another statement or phrase; with a continuation of the first statement which serves as a completion of it; or with a repetition of the same statement for melodic development or variation, or for textual emphasis.

It is fair to say that there are no strict rules guiding the intervallic range of musical notes so long as they adhere to the inflection of the text and the melodic framework of the song and so long as the melody exists within a given mode (see 4a and 4b). When this freedom is abused in such a way that the tonal sense of the language or the intended meaning of the statement is lost, the melody becomes unacceptable (see 5a through 5b).



bring to our notice that the methodical thought, which is influenced by the folk and by the musical thoughts of a society, appears to have some remarkable control over the nature of inspiration and fantasy. Hence the possibility of establishing and maintaining basic structures and styles. Through the observation of certain rules, the composer becomes subjected to the accepted, laid down musical norms of the society. I believe that these are what Nettl (1973:18) refers to as the "musical limitations, to which he [the composer] feels it necessary to adhere."

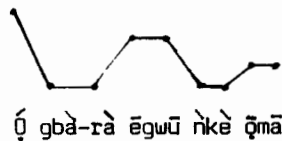
The composition of Igbo vocal music involves the following techniques:

- (1) Creating new songs out of social and traditional, historical, and religious events. Many of the compositions are designed for solo singers or a small number of people singing the response or chorus part for a minstrel. A greater number are designed for a chorus with a soloist leading.
- (2) Creating out of a particularly intense emotional experience.
- (3) Reworking old material, that is, creating new texts for old melodies.
- (4) Improvising, which offers the composer/soloist an opportunity to generate his innate creative flair during performance.

In all of these creative processes, speech-melody patterns serve as the foundation for the compositions. Sentences and words are used as the basis for musical motifs. In other words, musical phrases end with sentences or statements and rarely go beyond, or end before them. The establishment of songs on speech melody does not in any way imply that all Igbo melodies are built and developed on speech-melody patterns. Rather, such patterns are used mainly as the foundation for composition and, after this is established, the composer may build the rest of the composition on melody.

In most cases, the texts of songs are usually compiled first, before the melody, though in many cases both are conceived at the same time. These two styles make it possible for the composer to abide by the basic rules guiding composition. In the process of creating new melodies, for instance, texts are repeated several times to establish the correct intonation of words and the general shapes of the sentences or statements

involved. By so doing, the melody of the text gradually takes shape. After getting the correct intonation of the words, the composer chooses a note for the first word of the text. If the first syllable of the first word is intoned high, the composer is compelled to choose a high-pitched note as the first note of the melody. After this is established, the direction of the subsequent notes, most of the time, corresponds to the tonal movement of the words down the line. To illustrate, the statement "O qbara egwu nke oma" ("He danced very well") produces the melodic movement:



Because the first syllable is pitched high, it implicitly has the highest pitch in the melody. Importantly, not all syllables intoned on the same pitch level must have the same musical note. In the above illustration, the words "egwū" and "òmā" both have a "mid-intonation", but on different musical notes.

Some composers admit that, on a few occasions, beautiful melodies come to their minds. Because such melodies are so good, serious efforts are usually made to compose texts for them. This approach is rather difficult since it is contrary to the established system of conforming the melody to the speech-melody pattern. However, with experience, a good composer can compose a suitable text for an established melody without violating the Igbo sense of tonality and the intelligibility of the words.

In Igbo traditional society, the most successful and popular composers are those who take cognizance of the fact that the taste of the audience and its conceptualization of musical sound are of vital importance. This supports the notion that musical sound is culturally bound. According to Nash (1961:81), the "most valued form of music in some societies is that which follows tradition perfectly." Among the Igbo, this is not far from the truth. Judging by what we know of the Igbo composer and his compositional techniques, his music does not exist in isolation from the sociocultural and religious set-up of his society. This is why a people can be identified with their music, why music has basic structures and forms, and why there are established rules and regulations by which composers are bound.

## NOTES

1. The author conducted field research on Igbo vocal composition between October 1977 and August 1982, between December 1982 and January 1983, and between May and August 1983.

2. The published disputed Federal Census of 1963 put the population of Eastern Nigeria at 12.5 million. The population of the Igbo of this region was put at 7.8 million in 1966 at the Constitutional Conference. The Igbo of the western bank of the Niger were put at only two-hundred and fifty thousand.

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# THE BORROWING AND ADAPTING OF SONGS AMONG THE PUEBLO INDIANS OF THE SOUTHWEST UNITED STATES<sup>1</sup>

Paul W. Humphreys

## Introduction

Every year thousands of visitors come to the Pueblos of the Northern Rio Grande Basin and of the high deserts of New Mexico and Arizona to witness (and in some measure to participate in) the ceremonial dances of this ancient people.<sup>2</sup> Several of the Pueblos have become known for the artistry and complexity of their performances, though the dances, together with the songs that are made and sung to accompany them, are primarily of ritual significance. This significance originates in the world-view tenet of man as a co-actor with nature in the work of maintaining universal balance (see Dozier 1970:200). Surprisingly, ritual function does not rule out innovation; to the contrary, it often requires it. The renewal of crops, of game, and of life itself is more or less directly associated with the renewal of ceremonies, particularly of songs. Thus each year in most of the nineteen Pueblos, singers and songmakers invest considerable effort in the devising and learning of new songs. One aspect of this activity that has helped to sustain the vitality of Pueblo ceremonialism, and further, to include visitors within that ceremonialism, is the borrowing and adapting of songs.<sup>3</sup>

## Survey

Accounts of borrowing dot the literature of Southwest song practice much as sites of former inhabitation dot the Southwest landscape itself. Bunzel (1932:901) relates the incident of San Felipe and Hopi men, in the course of a visit to Zuni, "comparing ceremonies and swapping Katsina songs." Lange (1959:311) reports that, in addition to songs of their own, "the Cochiti also use Hopi, Navajo, Zuni, Santo Domingo, and other tribal songs for their dances." He continues, "This is not considered plagiarism and the song is equal in value to one of the Cochiti." Calling Pueblo musical life in some respects "quite distinctively cosmopolitan," McAllester (1962:219) goes on to speak of "Plains Indian melodies made over in a Pueblo mold" (Comanche Dance

songs) and of Forty-nine songs that are "picked up from recordings or are learned at Indian shows or Indian schools where members of different tribes come together." Tedlock (1980:24) speaks of the borrowing of melodies from American popular music at Zuni. The extent of this latter type of borrowing is limited, however, since "these borrowed tunes appear only within the Coming and Going Songs of the Comanche and Apache Dances."

What McAllester notes for songs borrowed from the Plains holds true for Pueblo borrowing in general: songs are usually modified to suit the dance requirements and aesthetic preferences of an individual village. One of my co-workers (see Glossary) at Zuni remarked that Hopi songs "are OK, but you need to shorten them some" (Humphreys 1981:3). Commenting upon a song he had borrowed from San Ildefonso, my co-worker at Jemez said he had made it "faster and fancier" (ibid.:55-56). "If we hear a song in some other Pueblo," recounted one man at Cochiti, "we might change it just a little and use it that way" (ibid.:19). Before changing a song, however, a singer must first learn it all the way through, "just the way it is" (ibid.:77).

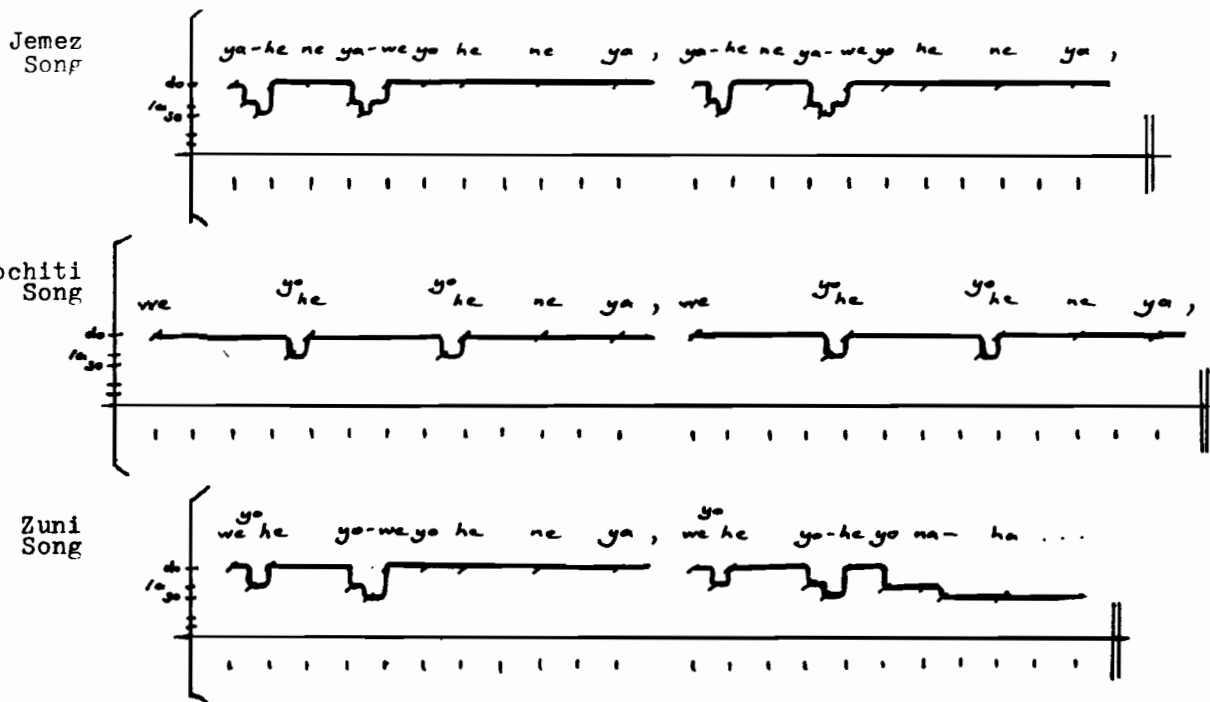
The examples that follow have been chosen to illustrate three modes of borrowing and, where possible, adapting of songs: (1) borrowing between Pueblos, (2) borrowing of Indian non-Pueblo songs, and (3) borrowing from non-Indians. These modes reflect to some degree the categories of Pueblo singers themselves. The most significant Pueblo distinction, however, appears to be that drawn between Indian and non-Indian songs.

### Borrowing between Pueblos

At Jemez Pueblo, my co-worker there once remarked: "I can go from one village to another and tell if they've used our songs...I can hear it" (ibid.:37). In addition to accounts already mentioned, Lange (1957:70), Heth (1976:16), and Littlebird (1979:17) describe instances of borrowing that suggest a great many intersections of repertoire--whole songs or parts of songs--between Pueblos.

Figure 1 represents opening motives from three different songs in parallel transcription.<sup>4</sup> The songs are, respectively, from Jemez (although my co-worker there said he had learned this song at San Ildefonso Pueblo), from Cochiti, and from Zuni Pueblos. The first is an Arrow Dance song, the second and third are Buffalo Dance songs. The most striking characteristic of all

Figure 1. Opening Motives of a Jemez Arrow Dance Song, Cochiti Buffalo Dance Song, and Zuni Buffalo Dance Song in Parallel Transcription.



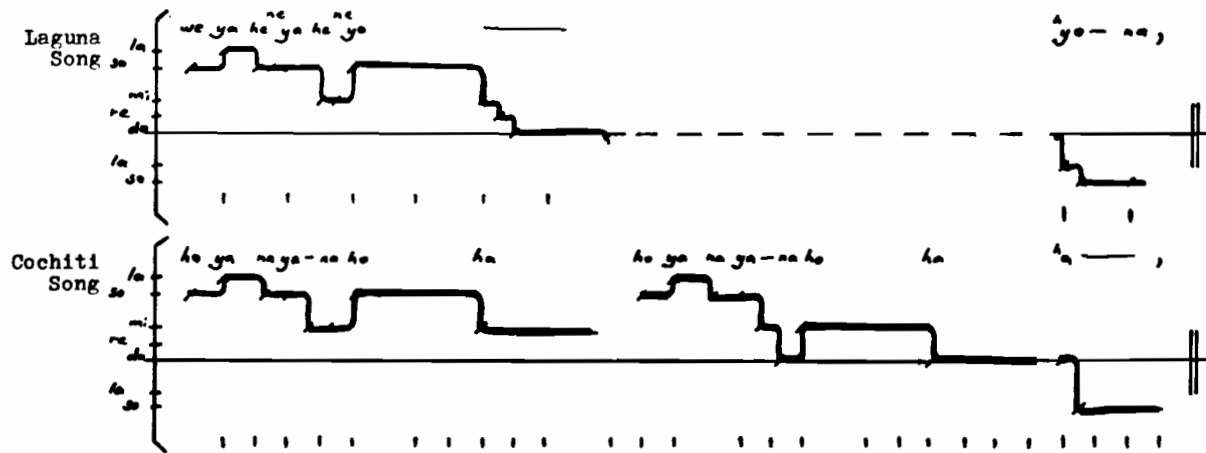
three examples is the long tone held out an octave above the ground tone (see Glossary). In the first phrase of each example, the melody twice turns briefly away from and then back to a long sustained voicing of the tone "do." The Jemez and Zuni examples, beginning with this downward inflection, contrast with that from Cochiti, which begins with the held-out or sustained tone. In the first phrase of all three, however, these respective sequences are repeated once and then capped with an uninflected voicing of the vocables "he ne ya," again on the sustained tone. The Jemez and Cochiti examples repeat the first phrase without alteration, while the example from Zuni retains only the two inflections of its first phrase, then turns downward.

These similarities of melody and vocables strongly suggest that the opening phrases of these three songs are, if not directly related, then likely related through a common "ancestor" song. Dates of recording--1981 for the first example, 1967 for the second, and circa 1979 for the third--suggest that the least complex motive may have come first. This is a potentially misleading criterion, however, since borrowed melodies may well be simplified in a new song setting (see the first parallel system of Figure 6).

Figure 2 represents in parallel transcription the added phrase (see Glossary) in the chorus group of two Pueblo songs. The first is an Arrow (fast) Dance song from Laguna Pueblo, the second a Buffalo (fast) Dance song from Cochiti. In both examples, the melody is directed from the tone "la" above the ground tone to the tone "sol" below it through agogic emphasis of various intermediate tones. The melodies of both reach the final tone by way of a higher accented tone. Along the way to this closing "snap" the melody of the second example descends gradually through two parallel phrases, while that of the first descends more directly, through a single phrase. In their melodic constitution, the single phrase of the first example and the first phrase of the second are nearly identical. They differ in vocable density and at the point where the more buoyant character of the second example "prevents" it from descending to the lowest tone, "sol."

The Cochiti song was recorded in 1967, the Laguna song in 1981. My co-worker at Laguna said he had composed the latter song in the fall of the previous year without having had any particular song in mind (Humphreys 1981:207). Nevertheless, shared

Figure 2. Added Phrases of Laguna Arrow (fast) Dance Song and Cochiti Buffalo (fast) Dance Song in Parallel Transcription.



elements are unmistakable and suggest borrowing, in this case on an unconscious level.

### Borrowing of Indian Non-Pueblo Songs

In addition to contact through recordings and exhibition performances, Pueblo Indians associate with non-Pueblo Indians through trade, friendship, and intermarriage. Relationships both with neighboring peoples--Navajo, Jicarilla and White Mountain Apache--and with peoples of the Northern and Southern Plains--Sioux, Kiowa, Comanche--account for a great many songs held in common.

Navajo songs are frequently borrowed, not only to accompany the so-called Navajo Dances (see Sweet 1979), but also to adapt to ceremonial dances that are more characteristically Pueblo. Figures 3a and b represent a Navajo Ribbon Dance song and a Jemez Buffalo (fast) Dance song, both sung by my co-worker from Jemez. The diagram in Figure 3a illustrates structural similarities of the two songs. Each song is composed of four statements of a primary unit (see Glossary), itself composed of several short phrases; in each case the first of three units is accompanied by drum tremolo and sung slower than the statements remaining. Accompaniments in the second statements are contrasting, the pulse density of the Jemez song being twice that of the Navajo song. In the third and fourth statements, in which the pulse density of the Jemez song is halved, the accompaniments are again identical. Statements one and two of the Jemez song are fashioned after the primary unit of the Navajo song, while statements three and four and the primary unit of the Navajo song are identical.

Figure 3b represents in parallel transcription the second statements of both the Jemez and the Navajo songs (note that the vertical scale of representation of the Navajo song is half that of the Jemez song). Both songs begin and end with rhythmic-vocable formulas (see Glossary) that are sung on the ground tone. These formulas set off three phrases in the Navajo song, while setting off only two in the Jemez song. Only an initial accent and a slight change of vocables distinguish the first phrase of the Jemez from the Navajo song. The repetition of this initial accent, the hastening of the return of the first upward inflection, and a return to the energetic final portion of the first phrase distinguish the second phrase of the Jemez more

Figure 3a. Structural Comparison of Jemez Buffalo (fast) Dance Song and Navajo Ribbon Dance Song.

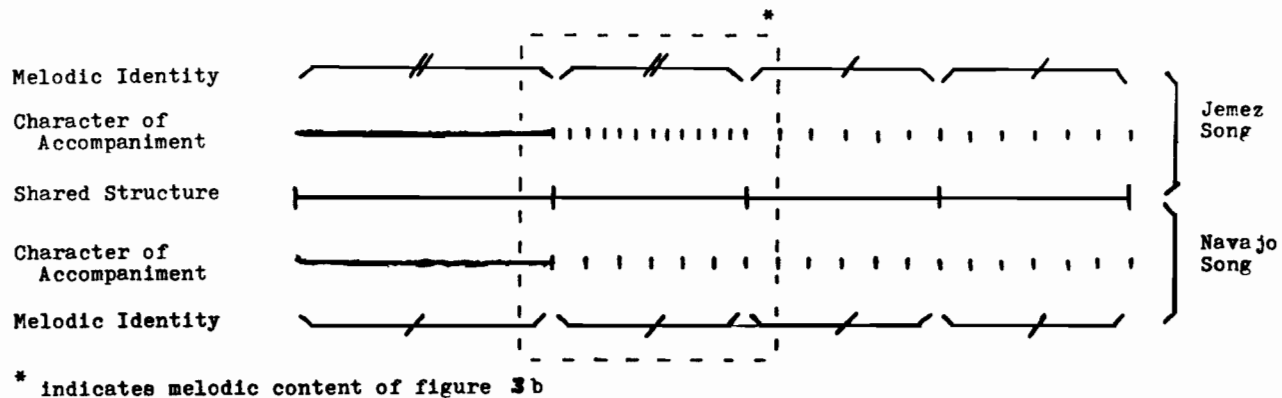




Figure 3b. Jemez Buffalo (fast) Dance Song and Navajo Ribbon Dance Song in Parallel Transcription.

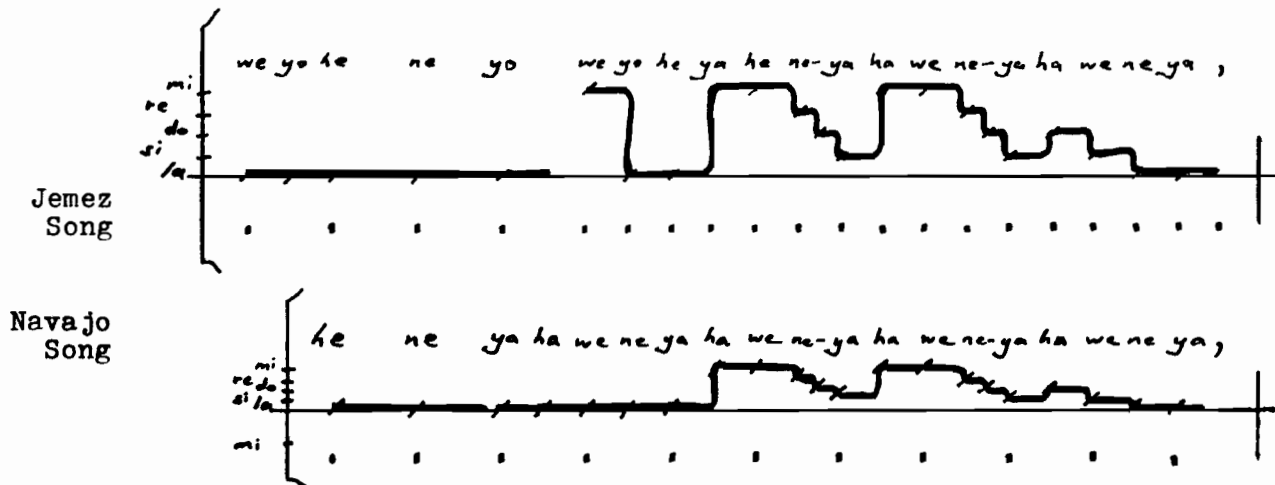


Figure 3b (continued).

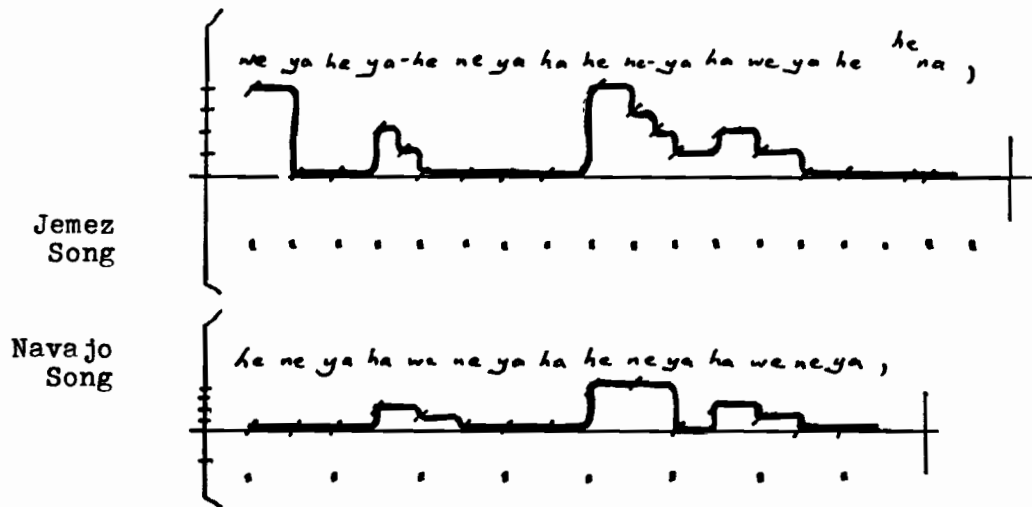
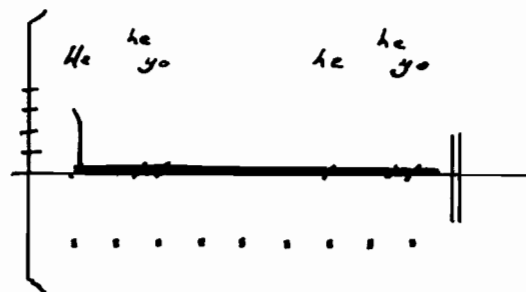
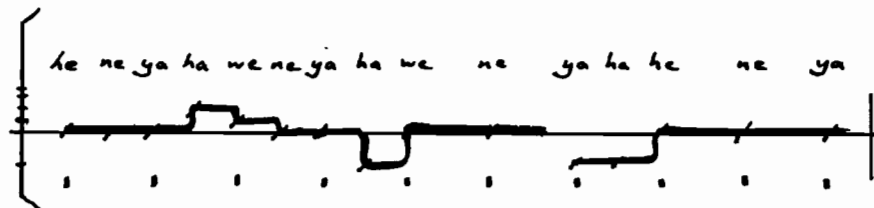


Figure 3b (continued).

Jemez Song



Navajo  
Song



clearly from that of the Navajo song. Taken in sum, these changes impart to the second statement of the Jemez song a lively or "fancy" character that is typical of the verse phrase group (see Glossary) in a Jemez Buffalo (fast) Dance song. This animated single statement is most often followed by a single statement of the chorus phrase group (see Glossary). In this adaptation, however, the songmaker has chosen to treat what would itself otherwise be the chorus phrase group as the unit statement within a larger chorus group. The result is an unusually long Buffalo (fast) Dance song for Jemez.<sup>5</sup> The elasticity of this songmaker's notion of a chorus phrase group exemplifies the "fluidity of detail under the rigid pattern" noted by Bunzel (1932:901) of Pueblo ceremonialism in general. She remarks further that this quality "becomes more and more striking, the more we learn of variants in Pueblo culture" (ibid.).

Round Dance and Forty-nine songs are also frequently borrowed and adapted as Pueblo ceremonial songs (Humphreys 1981:216). These songs may originally come not only from the Plains but also from Taos Pueblo, where the Round Dance is included within the traditional ceremonial cycle (Brown 1961:38). Round Dances are widespread and popular and may even be composed within the Pueblos by Pueblos themselves (see, for example, Isaacs 1969).

Figure 4 represents a Zuni Comanche Dance song and Kiowa Forty-nine song (a type of Round Dance song) in parallel transcription. The Zuni song was recorded in 1967, the Kiowa song released on a commercial recording in 1972.<sup>6</sup> Each song is composed of three phrases, the first two of which are identical in length. The third phrases contrast, that of the Kiowa song taking somewhat longer to reach tone "sol" below the ground tone upon which the closing rhythmic-vocable formula is chanted in each song. The extent of repetition also varies: while the first repetition in each song (from the end of the first system in the transcription) is a second statement of the first phrase, the second repetition in the Kiowa song (from the end of the third system) partially includes this phrase as well, thus contrasting with the Zuni song in which repetitions do not overlap.

Both the first and second phrases of each song are constituted from three motives. Initial syncopation and parallel rhythmic-vocable structure characterize these motives within each song. In the Zuni song, greater rhythmic density (for example, the second motive of phrases one and two) and embellishment (for

Figure 4. Zuni Comanche (fast) Dance Song and Kiowa 49 Song in Parallel Transcription.

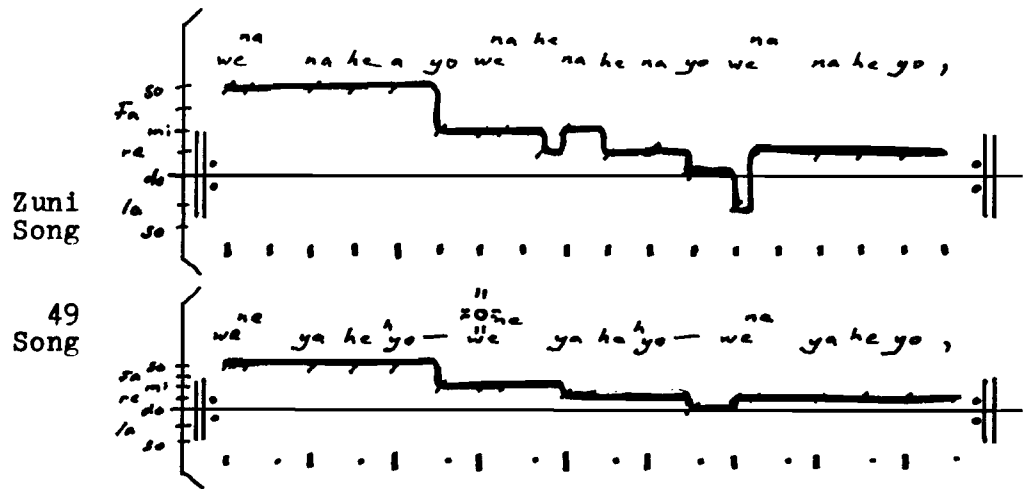


Figure 4 (continued).

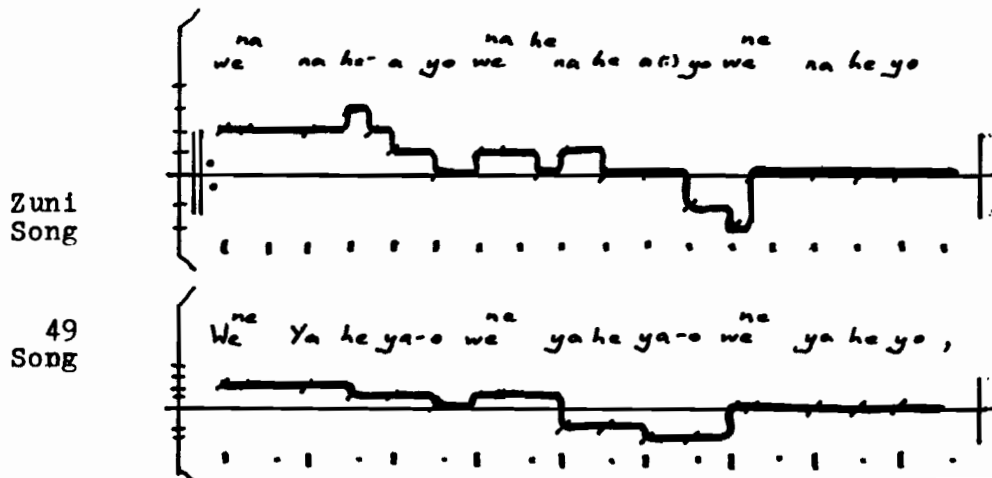


Figure 4 (continued).

Zuni Song

na he      1.      2.      he he  
 we na ha we yo he ne ya      we yo he na a /o

49 Song

we<sup>ne</sup> ya he ya-o ya He ya ha we yo he      yo he a (i) m , (From  $\begin{matrix} \text{H} \\ \text{S} \\ \text{O} \\ \text{M} \end{matrix}$ )

example, the fourth and fifth tones "fa" and "mi" in the first motive of phrase two) contrast with the more relaxed quality of the Kiowa song. While the Zuni melody is kept buoyant through most of the second motive of phrase two, the corresponding motive of the Kiowa song is allowed to descend more quickly. Contrasts of melodic character in these two songs are largely attributable to contrasts in the character of the dances that they accompany: Comanche is a lively ceremonial dance, while the Forty-nine is a more leisurely social dance.

Although the origins of this song are somewhat obscure,<sup>7</sup> it is more likely to have originated among the Kiowa (or another Plains tribe) than at Zuni; Pueblo singers take part more often in Plains-style ceremonials than do Plains singers in Pueblo. Also, Plains music is widely available on commercial recordings and cassettes.

#### Borrowing of Non-Indian Songs

The Pueblos' first source of non-Indian songs was Spanish culture.<sup>8</sup> With the coming of Anglo-Americans to the Southwest, yet another source of non-Indian songs became available. Since the return of veterans from wars in the Pacific, songs in Japanese (McAllester 1981:19) and Korean (McAllester 1962:219) have been adopted into the Pueblo repertoire. The two songs to be considered here have their origin in Anglo-American society. The first is a Protestant hymn tune, the second an early rock-and-roll song.

Figure 5 represents the verse phrase group of a Jemez Buffalo song and the opening portion of the hymn-tune "Amazing Grace" in parallel transcription. The melody of the Jemez song parallels the melody of the hymn-tune only in the two opening phrases. Rather than paralleling the third rising phrase of the hymn-tune, the Jemez song repeats the first group of two phrases and caps this repetition with an extended rhythmic-vocable formula.<sup>9</sup> This group might well have included the third and longest phrase of the hymn-tune had not the melody of this phrase been gradually ascending. Such movement is rarely found in the melodies of Pueblo songs (Herzog 1936:291) and has, in this instance, been set aside.

This example of borrowing further demonstrates markedly contrasting senses of rhythm in Pueblo and rural Anglo-American music. While pulse within the Pueblo song is clearly marked both





by the striking of the drum and by pulsation of the voice, accents of pulse are not determined by an underlying meter, but rather by aspects of the melody itself: phrase beginnings and arrival at prominent tones. If points of emphasis were to be singled out by these criteria, the first phrase would consist of a measure of four plus a measure of three, and the second phrase of a measure of two plus a measure of three. The Jemez song thus parallels the melody and meter of the hymn-tune with a more complex and elastic "meter" of its own.

Figure 6a represents a Zuni Comanche Dance song and a rock-and-roll song from the late 1950's, "The Limbo Rock,"<sup>10</sup> in parallel transcription. I discovered the similarities between these two songs some time after one of my co-workers at Zuni had remarked that "they might use songs from the radio to make new songs" (Humphreys 1981:222). Both songs are composed of two repeated groups, the second having roughly twice the duration of the first. The melody of the second phrase group in the Zuni song closely matches that of the second group in the rock song, the most apparent contrast being the rhythmic-vocable formula that closes the former. Similarities between the first groups of the two songs are, however, less evident. Two parallel phrases in the rock song are fused into one phrase in the Zuni song. Though the melody of the Zuni song in the verse phrase group dwells longer on the tone "sol" and is taken lower (to the ground tone "do") in its closing downward turn, verse groups of the two songs do share in broad outline a similar melodic course. No such observation will reconcile contrasts of rhythmic character between verse and chorus groups of the Zuni song itself. Why should the "flatness" of rhythm in the first group give way in the second to the jagged rhythms of the rock-and-roll song?

A probable answer may be found in the observation of Tedlock (1980:24) that, although melodies are occasionally borrowed from mainstream American culture, "if and when the audience realizes the sources of these melodies, they are quite disappointed."<sup>11</sup> Might not the very modest parallels in the first groups of the two songs represent the "shadow" of similarity that remains after efforts have been made to disguise the origin of the borrowed melody? Clearly, no such effort is made in the second group.

Figure 6b represents the verse group of a Jemez Buffalo Dance song together with corresponding groups of the rock and Zuni songs in parallel transcription. Radio origin for a song appears to be less objectionable at Jemez than at Zuni. Despite

Figure 6a. Parallel Transcription of Zuni Comanche Dance Song and "The Limbo Rock" as recorded by the Champs.

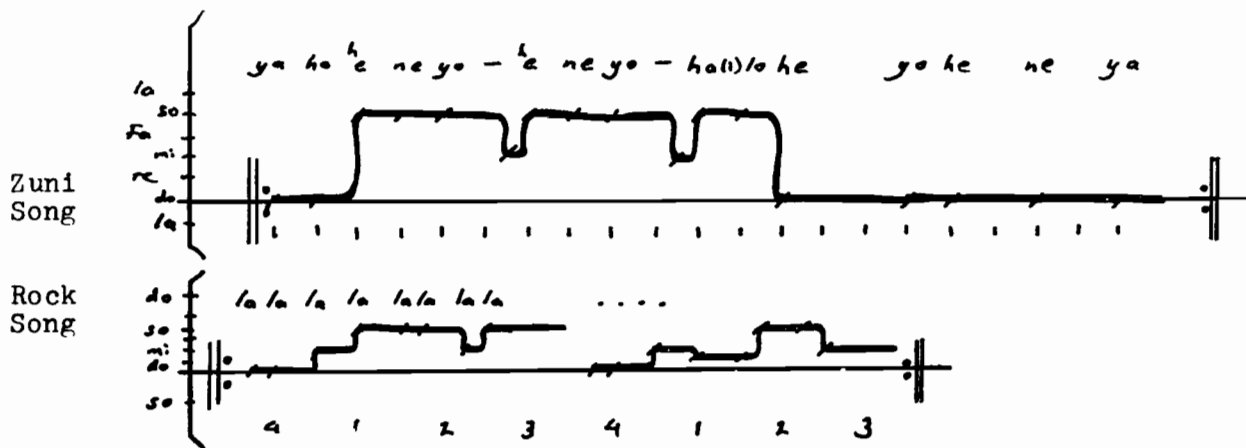


Figure 6a (continued).

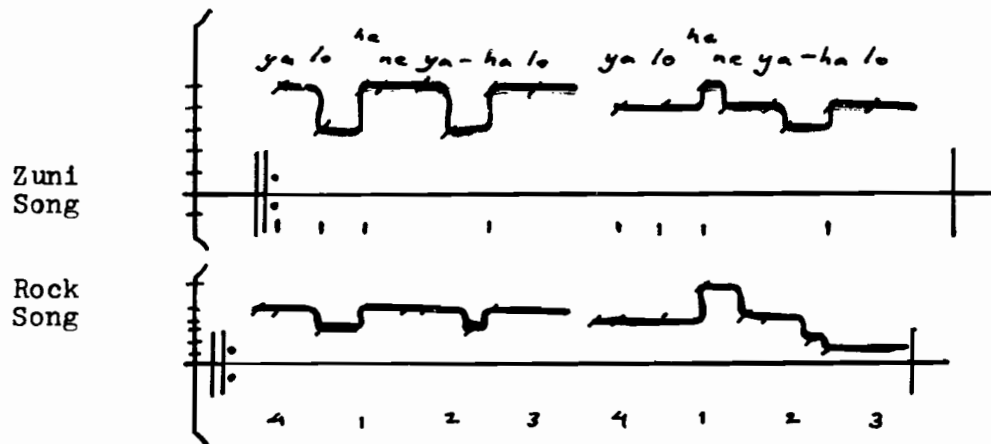


Figure 6a (continued).

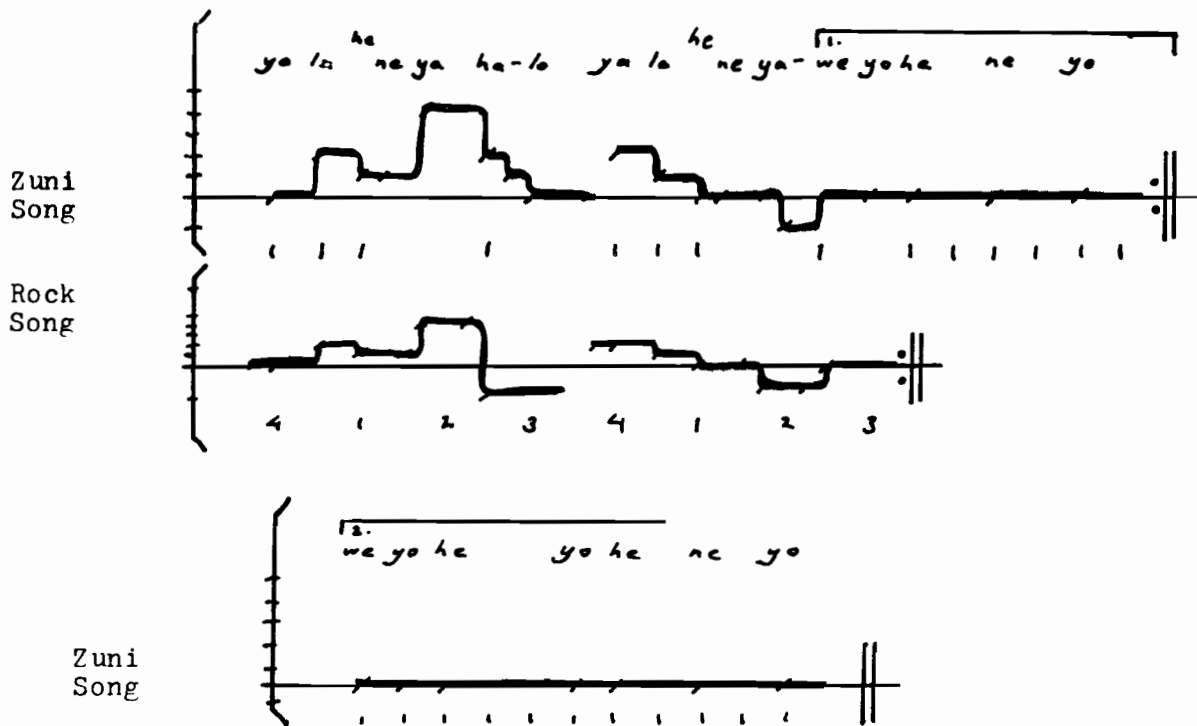
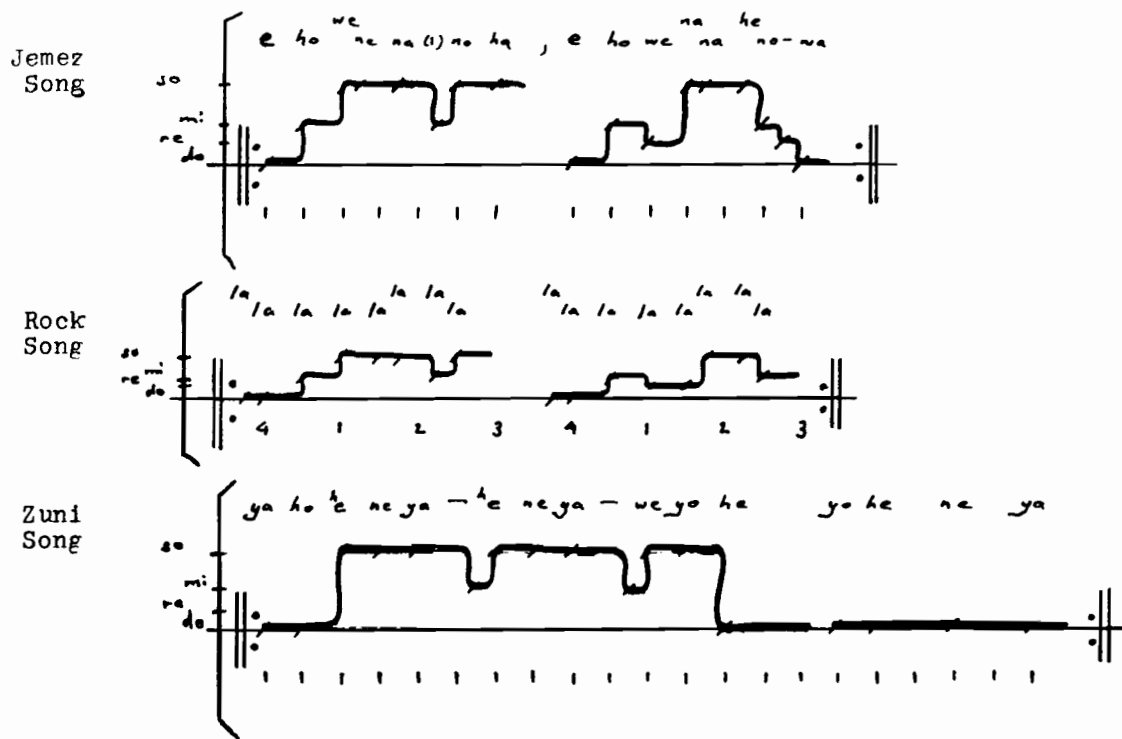


Figure 6b. Jemez Buffalo Dance Song, "The Limbo Rock," and Zuni Buffalo Dance Song, Corresponding Excerpts in Parallel Transcription.



the pronounced similarities of the Jemez and the rock songs in these initial phrases, however, the Jemez song departs from its model at the close of the phrase group by returning, as does the Zuni song, to the tone "do" (the ground tone).

### Summary and Perspective

In each of the three types of borrowing considered above, Pueblo songmakers are clearly able to shape borrowed material to suit their own compositional needs. When borrowing from another Pueblo, songmakers effect "intra-stylistic" modifications; that is to say, they make changes that reflect their own aesthetic preferences within the broad stylistic limits of Pueblo song practice (see Figures 1 and 2). When borrowing from Indian non-Pueblo peoples, songmakers effect primarily structural modifications and leave melodies essentially intact, though perhaps embellishing and elaborating them to suit the character of a particular dance song genre (see Figures 3a, 3b, and 4). When borrowing from non-Indian peoples, songmakers effect whatever modifications they deem appropriate to bring the borrowed song within the bounds of stylistic necessity and aesthetic preference. For example, in the two Pueblo songs that are represented together with the "Limbo Rock" in Figure 6b, considerations of style cause the melody of both the Zuni and the Jemez songs to return to the ground tone at the close of the second phrase; differences of aesthetic preference cause the melody to be "disguised" at Zuni while being almost literally quoted at Jemez.

In concluding this survey of the borrowing of songs among the Pueblos, it is well to remember that we have examined here only one of several procedures of song renewal. It may be instructive to consider that, from the author's sample of some two hundred songs, instances of observed borrowing appear as exceptions in the midst of an otherwise remarkable diversity. It is as if the songmakers have spun thin strands of song to connect the repertoires of their respective villages. For the informed Pueblo listener, and for those non-Pueblos who are fortunate enough to become so informed, the sum of these strands is a fascinating web of delightful correspondences and continuing surprise.

## GLOSSARY

Added phrase: author's term for a new musical idea that precedes the incomplete repetition (q.v.) in Pueblo mixed-style songs (q.v.); called the "short part" at Jemez.

Chorus phrase group: author's term for the second of two intermediate-scale divisions within large-scale unit statements of a Pueblo song (after Pueblo usage of "chorus").

Co-worker: "informant"/songmaker/teacher/friend, taken as one; an extension of the notion of "research collaborator" as set forth by Alfonso Ortiz (1973).

Ground tone: the pitch level from which the melody of a song begins, and to which it returns at the close of unit statements within intermediate- and large-scale divisions; tonic pitch.

Primary (song) unit: the largest repeated unit statement within songs without texts (after Herzog 1936).

Rhythmic-vocable formula: any one of several characteristic rhythmic patterns articulated in vocables on or about the ground tone (q.v.) (after Vennum 1973:xiii); used to delineate structure in Pueblo songs.

Verse phrase group: author's term for the first of two intermediate-scale divisions within large-scale unit statements of a Pueblo song (after Pueblo usage of "verse").

## NOTES

1. This article includes the substance of Chapter VII of the author's M.A. thesis (Humphreys 1983). Gratefully acknowledged are the financial assistance from the UCLA Institute of American Cultures that supported necessary fieldwork; the cooperation of the UCLA Ethnomusicology Archive in obtaining access to other field collections; and the invaluable advice and criticism of Professors Charlotte Heth, Peter Crossley-Holland, David Draper, and Paul Kroskirty. The author also wishes to record



here his indebtedness to co-worker/friends in Zuni, Laguna, and Jemez Pueblos. Shortcomings of this work are acknowledged by the author to be entirely his own.

2. Onlookers who attend with proper respect for a ceremonial may assist that ceremonial by virtue of their presence (cf. French, assister). Densmore (1938:92) quotes a Santo Domingo man as having said further that "outsiders share in the benefits [of the ceremonial] if they believe as we do."

3. For discussion of two other aspects of song renewal (composing and revision), see Humphreys 1983, Chapters VIII and IX.

4. In order to facilitate comparison between songs, the author has devised a method of graph notation in which the following conventions are observed:

- (a) time is measured along a horizontal axis;
- (b) pitch is measured along a vertical axis;
- (c) pulse markers below the horizontal axis represent patterns of accompaniment played by drum or drum and rattle;
- (d) solfege syllables to the left of the vertical axis represent pitch relationships within and suggest "the scale" of a song;
- (e) diagonal slashes represent articulations of pitches and vocables;
- (f) a bold line represents the melodic path;
- (g) letters above the bold line represent vocables, and dashes, melisma.

5. This perhaps accounts for the songmaker's only having borrowed the first two phrases of the Navajo song (see Figure 3b).

6. Kiowa Forty-nine and Round Dance Songs, side 1, n. 5.

7. A Round Dance song is sung and said to have been composed at San Juan Pueblo in which the melody is nearly identical with that of the songs represented in Figure 4. I am grateful to Charlotte Heth for having called this to my attention.

8. Although Herzog (1936:317) dismissed Spanish influence upon Pueblo songs as being "negligible," my Jemez co-worker recorded three songs with words and melodies that are clearly of Spanish origin.

9. This formula is nearly identical with that which closes song units within a Round Dance song.

10. Composed by Billy Strange and first recorded by "The Champs"; later recorded by Chubby Checker.

11. This stands in sharp contrast to the attitude towards inter-Indian borrowing noted by Lange (1959:311) and cited above under Survey.

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Paul Humphreys. Personal possession. 1980-81.

## CHILEAN NUEVA CANCIÓN: A POLITICAL POPULAR MUSIC GENRE<sup>1</sup>

Karen Linn

Nueva canción ("new song") is a Chilean political, popular music genre that began in the middle 1950's. Drawing upon folk music elements, the nueva canción musicians created a new kind of music that serves as a symbol for their ideology. In attempting to understand the political nature of a music it is easy to deal with the explicit meaning of the text. However, in this paper I shall show that, in nueva canción, the music itself can be implicitly political.

Accepting the folk/popular paradigm as a tool,<sup>2</sup> we need to decide if this tool is appropriate to the culture being studied, or if perhaps some other paradigm might prove more helpful. Behague (1982:3) has written:

little attention has been given to the significance of the prominent social stratification that typifies Latin America's social organization and elucidates to a large extent the musical expressions that function as class identity symbols. I submit that this stratification provides the keystone for accounting for the various musical practices to be found in both rural and urban areas of the continent.

The manipulation of folk music elements in nueva canción cannot be fully understood unless these elements are viewed as class identity symbols. A paradigm of more complexity than the usual folk-popular-art music division is necessary to understand nueva canción: a paradigm based upon the complex ethnic and social stratification of Chile.

The use of folk music materials for political purposes has been associated with many movements which have been, have claimed to be, or have wished to have others believe them to be popular political movements. In them, folk music served as a symbol and, it was hoped, as a verification of the common people's support. (See Denisoff 1971:10-11; Russell 1970:21-23.) Elements of political explicitness, such as text, are easily analyzed (see Denisoff 1972), but not so with implicit political elements.

Blacking (1980), however, deals with music and its political implicitness. According to him, the Black South African Zionist Churches' use of a new, distinctly African music which transcends old ethnic lines is political, even though the song texts lack political explicitness.

Before beginning an actual musical description of nueva canción, it is necessary to explain briefly the historical and political background of Chile and of this music. From 1932 to 1970, Chile enjoyed a long period of political stability, unlike almost all of the rest of Latin America. Democratic elections, freedom of the press, and legislative strides towards popular participation and social justice took place during this era. Political leftism in Chile reached its climax in 1970 with the democratic election of a Communist president, Salvador Allende. In 1973, a rightist military coup overthrew the Allende government, and the subsequent military government under General Augusto Pinochet has continued into the 1980's.

The beginnings of nueva canción can be traced to the middle 1950's and to the person of Violetta Parra. Known as a folklorist, artist, and composer-singer, Parra is perhaps the dominant figure in the history of nueva canción (Aguirre Gonzalez 1977:7), in spite of her early death in 1967. In 1955 her first group, named Cuncumen, was formed. Cuncumen collected, interpreted, and recorded folk music in Chile. Nueva canción did not, however, become a political tool until the 1960's, a time of increasing political leftism in Chile. The group Quilapayun, directed by Victor Jara, was formed in the middle 1960's and served during the Allende years as official cultural ambassadors on international tours (Fruchtman 1975:30). Since his death in prison after the 1973 military coup, Victor Jara has acquired a martyr status and Quilapayun has taken up residence in France. Another group, Inti-Illimani, was formed in 1967, and fled to Italy after the 1973 coup. Quilapayun and Inti-Illimani have since both enjoyed popularity in Europe, as well as in Mexico and the United States (Aguirre Gonzalez 1977:23). The recordings of these two groups are used as the sources of nueva canción for this paper. Of the other groups and individuals involved in nueva canción who will not be discussed in this paper, almost all now live in exile.

Since the 1960's texts in nueva canción have been explicitly political, often with a direct call for social and political action and, at times, a bid for violent revolution. But, rather

than discussing the texts, attention here will be given to the music and to its political implicitness. Analysis will be based upon a paradigm of ethnic and social stratification.

The three major ethnic components of Hispanic-American culture are Indian, African, and Spanish. The African component is not so important in Chile, nor is it particularly pertinent to nueva canción. Indian and Spanish components are important as well as their combination, called mestizo ("mixed" or "hybrid").

Class division is sociocultural as well as biological. For instance, the people who have always been in the highest socio-economic bracket in Chile, as in Latin America in general, are those of European descent. A member of this class may, in a strictly biological sense, be a Mestizo, but neither he nor his society would consider him as such. The preferred status of white Europeans in Chilean society is illustrated by the official policy of nineteenth-century Chile, which encouraged emigration from northern Europe to Chile for the purpose of counteracting the bad influence of "mestization" (Loveman 1979:193).

On the bottom rung of the political, social, and economic ladder are the indigenous Indians. Throughout the Andean region, Indians are subject to severe discrimination. The term indio ("Indian") has such negative connotations that it is rarely used (Patch 1974:308), and even indígena ("indigenous person") should be used with great care. Most of the Indians of Chile, and of the Andes in general, are biologically Mestizos. Being defined as an Indian in Chile depends primarily upon shared sociocultural attributes (Berglund 1977:34-35). This is well illustrated by the ability of an Indian to become a Mestizo by adopting a new set of attributes (Patch 1974:308).

Given the sociocultural nature of ethnic class division, cultural traits and symbols such as music can function as the definitional properties that create the societal structure. Furthermore, their use and manipulation can be perceived as commentary upon cultural and political organization. This is the understanding with which I examine the music of nueva canción.

Five commonly used instruments in nueva canción are the guitar, the charango (a small guitar with five pairs of strings), the quena (an end-blown flute), a large drum, and panpipes (variously referred to as zampoñas, sikus, or rondador). This ensemble originated in the Bolivian music movement begun by Edgar Joffre in post-World War II Bolivia (Leichtman 1982:1). Both the quena and the panpipes are of pre-Columbian origin and are



considered instruments of the Indians of the northern Andean region (i.e., Bolivia, Peru, and the northern tip of Chile). They are not instruments of the Mapuche, the largest indigenous population of Chile. The charango, an American adaptation of a Spanish prototype, is a typical example of a Mestizo instrument. The guitar is of Spanish origin. Large drums were used in both pre-Columbian America and Spain. Both the Bolivian and Chilean groups adhere strictly to Western tuning, unlike the Indians of the Andean highlands (ibid.:3). Other instruments used by Quilapayun and Inti-Illimani include tiple (small Colombian 12-string guitar), pandereta (small drum), marimba, Caribbean percussion instruments, brass instruments, cello, and bass. Most of these instruments are used only occasionally.

The core ensemble is a non-traditional instrumentation. Quenas traditionally are played with other flute-family instruments and drums. Panpipes are played either in an ensemble composed solely of panpipes, or in one of panpipes and drums (Bauman 1982:84). Instrumental technique also varies from folk practice. For example, the use of tonguing for articulation on the panpipes is not traditional (Leichtman 1982:3-4). The vocal production used in the two nueva canción groups examined is opposite that of traditional Chilean vocal technique, characterized by lack of vibrato, nasality, tension, and extra-high intensity and pitch (Grebe 1980:239).

Unlike the Bolivian groups, nueva canción groups perform few folk melodies and instead compose the majority of their repertory. When folk melodies are performed, they are arranged for ensembles and are played on instruments which are not traditionally associated with that particular melody. Variations of the same basic ensemble are used for folk tunes from various parts of Latin America. The music remains firmly in Western tuning.

In the 1950's and early 1960's, nueva canción musicians performed much more folk material. They commonly composed new material using traditional folk forms (Aguirre Gonzalez 1977:9). Compositional practice grew away from this, and more recent nueva canción makes only occasional use of folk forms. An example of a new composition based upon a folk form is Cirilo Vila's "Cueca de la Libertad" as performed by Quilapayun on a 1973 recording of the same name. The cueca is the national dance of Chile.

By comparing Vila's "Cueca de la Libertad" with characteristics of a traditional cueca, we can better understand some

aspects of the differences and similarities between nueva canción and traditional folk music. These differences and similarities can be most clearly shown with the aid of a chart listing some characteristics of a traditional Chilean cueca and those of Quilapayun's rendition of "Cueca de la Libertad." The only characteristics maintained are meter and form, traits without which the piece really could not be considered a cueca. Instrumentation is altered, tempo is slowed, and vocal parts and harmonies are more complex. Rich vocal harmonies and fairly complex harmonic structures are typical of nueva canción.

	Traditional <u>Cueca</u>	" <u>Cueca de la Libertad</u> " as performed by Quilapayun (1973)
meter	3/4, sometimes 6/8 or 2/4 (changing meter)	3/4
form	three sections repeated	ABCABC
instrumentation	guitar, harp, accordion, brass bands in the north, piano in the cities	guitars, <u>tiple</u> (?), bass, tambourine
tempo	lively	slower, mm $\downarrow$ = 110
vocal parts	solo, or harmony in parallel 3rds or 6ths	rich vocal harmonies
harmonic structure	I, IV, and V chords	sections A and B: switches between DM and CM. section C: DM, CM, DM, B <sup>b</sup> M, FM, CM, DM.

It becomes apparent that the nueva canción musicians are not attempting an emulation of folk music, but rather are carefully manipulating elements of folk music while creating a new, popular, and, as we shall see, political genre of music. The element most used as a class symbol in nueva canción is the indigenous element. Inti-Illimani has an album of Andean Indian folk tunes ("Canto de Pueblos Andinos"), including a song in Quechua.

With an understanding of the social and ethnic stratification of Chilean society one gains an appreciation of the implicit socio-political meaningfulness of a group of middle- and upper-class young people playing Indian instruments and Indian folk tunes.

By using instruments and tunes from a variety of South American countries, nueva canción groups move toward a pan-Latin American rather than a strictly Chilean idiom. Quilapayun also performs some Caribbean-style music. This broadening stylistic base is probably very important now that audiences are generally not Chilean nor even Latin American. By adopting northern Andean instruments as used in the Bolivian folk music groups, nueva canción musicians knew that they had an ensemble of folk instruments which could maintain folk music associations, had already been adapted to Western musical idioms, and had a variety of timbres.

Blacking (1980) concludes that the music of South African Zionist churches is a new music, truly African, which transcends old ethnic lines. The same can be said of nueva canción. Traditional renditions of folk music could not represent the progressive, socialist philosophy underlying nueva canción.

Nueva canción is a new genre, using native folk music elements in its creation. Nueva canción is truly Latin American. Combining elements of Indian-, Mestizo-, and European-derived musics, nueva canción transcends old ethnic lines and uses musical class symbols in a creative manner. The incorporation of indigenous musical elements into a predominantly Western musical idiom is iconic of the ideological desire to incorporate the poor and dispossessed into the politics and economy of an essentially European-style nation-state. Though the music has grown out of the traditions of the people, it is no longer firmly rooted there. A new, progressive style has grown out of the old, one which is symbolic of the new society they had hoped to create.

#### NOTES

1. This article is a revised version of a paper read at the meeting of the Northeast Chapter of the Society for Ethnomusicology at Middlebury College, April 1983.

2. When looking at a music that crosses boundaries between "folk" and "popular," as nueva canción appears to do, it is necessary to consider what is meant by "folk" and "popular." Perhaps these terms have proved impervious to satisfactory distinction because both come from the same root, meaning "people," one of Germanic and the other of Latin derivation. The situation is complicated further in the Spanish language where the term "popular" covers the territory of both of the English terms "folk" and "popular." The Spanish "folklorico" is a subset of "popular" rather than distinct from it.

3. For a more detailed description of social stratification in Latin America see Wagley and Harris (1955).

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## GARBĀ: A SOCIAL DANCE OF GUJARATI WOMEN

Medha Yodh

Garbā<sup>1</sup> is the communal-social dance performed by women and men (usually separately but on occasion together) from all levels of society and all the castes and sub-castes of Hindus and Jains in Gujarat. It is performed during the festival of Navaratri, the first nine nights in the brightening fortnight of the month of Asvin (Aso), usually falling within the months of September-October in the Western calendar.<sup>2</sup> Garbā is also seen at the Sivaratri festival, before and during weddings, following the observance of a vrat ("vow") by pre-pubescent girls, and in certain pregnancy rites (see Majmudar 1968:98). This dance is performed in homes, courtyards, village squares, within temple grounds, and, in recent years, on the concert stage. In the last thirty to forty years, numerous garbā clubs have been formed in towns and cities, and competitions of garbā are held by municipal and state governments and by women's societies during Navaratri. The dances are evaluated by a panel of judges on the following elements: unity of the ensemble, choreography, costumes, and style.

Garbā is the primary dance of Gujarati women and is the cultural expression of Gujaratis wherever they reside. It is always performed in celebration of Ambā--the mother goddess. Its function is not purely social; it is also a reaffirmation of the intense matā worship observed by Gujaratis throughout history in India and abroad.

There are numerous temples and shrines to Mātā, Śiva, and Kṛṣṇā in Gujarat. Mātā ("mother goddess") has many names and forms: Ambā ("the mother"), Gaurī ("the golden"), Bahucarā ("the clan mother"), Mahākālī ("the great dark-one"), Durgā ("the inaccessible"), Anna-Pūrnā ("the mother of plenty"), and Devi ("the goddess of fertility") (see Basham 1963:313-314). Festivals and celebrations concretely display the continuous devotion to mātā. Garbā is the dance which reaffirms faith in Śakti, the divine female energy.

Whenever this dance occurs, it is done around a centerpiece, a representation of Mata. The centerpiece can be just a light set on a platform, a candle, an oil lamp, or any illumination. It can also be an image of the deity--a painting, photo, or poster. Most

often it is the garbī--a decorated clay pot with perforated designs and with a light (oil-lamp, candle) within. Often the garbī is carried on the head while the dance is performed.

Garbā poetry has been an oral tradition, learnt by rote. The poets of medieval Gujarat used deśī ("regional") tunes and rhythms for their songs having various functions. Bhakti ("devotional") poetry, which includes garbā texts to both Mātā and Kṛṣṇa, has become an essential part of literary traditions in Gujarat from the fifteenth century A.D. onwards. (See Jain 1981:19-20 for significant historical descriptions of garbā and related forms.)

Garbā texts illustrate, sometimes metaphorically, the loves, hopes, and desires of women. Familiar images in nature such as seasons, flowers, birds, and animals are found in these songs. The songs are devotional and instructive and the roles of women are well-defined as daughter, wife, and mother. Girls learn about acceptable codes of behavior as they are initiated into the rites of passage for puberty, marriage, and childbirth. In this century new songs are being written with relevance to the changes in status confronted by women with higher education, new responsibilities, and who may be emigrants.

Garbā is a circle dance, led by a woman and followed by women, with claps accenting the rhythm. Men may also join in the dance; when it is performed by them alone it is called garbī (see Raghavan 1979:155-157). The steps are simple and easily learnt. As the hands meet to clap, the ball of the foot is stamped in place; and as the hands part, the circle moves forward with one or more steps in a counterclockwise direction. This basic step is repeated throughout the dance. An increase in the speed of the song is often characteristic. The number of claps may increase to two, three, or a continuous clapping as the tempo becomes faster. The grapevine step is also used (see Lidster 1965:55). Members of some communities may include sketchy gestures corresponding to the words in the song. Spinning in place, moving to the center of the circle and back to the perimeter, and weaving in and out along the circumference are some of the floor patterns which can occur in the dance.

Previously the song was led by one woman, the others repeating each line in chorus. In this manner the songs were learnt and the oral tradition kept alive. Now, quite often, a musical ensemble leads the dancers. A singer, one or more

percussionists, and a harmonium player are commonly used. The percussion instruments are gholak (double-headed barrel-shaped membranophone), tablā (a pair of kettle-shaped membranophones), mañjira and/or jhañjh (small hand-held cymbals), and a tambourine.

Until now the form and context of this dance, as it occurs in Gujarat, has been considered. What follows are descriptions of garbā in Bombay, India, and Durban, South Africa. The first two descriptions are based on personal experiences of the dance in Bombay separated by some forty years. The third description of garbā is based on the experience of a South African Gujarati woman.

My earliest recollection of participation in a garbā is of the inner courtyard of the home of my mother's friend, Madhurikamashi (an aunt), in a suburb of Bombay in the 1930's. It was the last day of the goro vrat ("vow") that I had been observing. This vow is practiced by pre-pubescent girls of about five to ten years of age for five to seven days, to ensure their growing up as chaste as the goddess Gauri. I was eight years old at that time. I remember going to my aunt's house in the evening after the full moon had risen, dressed in a new long full skirt, a new blouse, and an odhani ("half-sari"). My aunt led us in a song, the garbā, line by line. We followed her lead in the singing, stepping and clapping in a circle. Our hands came together in a clap as we bent down and separated as we straightened to step. As far as I recall the song was to Amba Mata, though it could have been to Krsna. The group ranged in age from girls of six years to women in their forties, all singing and dancing together around a tower constructed with garbīs of graduated sizes.

The garbīs were clay pots, decorated with designs made by pierced holes, and which contained a lit oil lamp. The topmost pot in the tower was crowned with mango leaves (symbolizing good luck) and a coconut (fruition, fertility). This tower was the center of the circle formed by us dancing. The courtyard was decorated with torans (long garlands of special leaves and flowers, often marigolds and/or jasmine) and many lit oil lamps in small saucers. All of our male relatives--fathers, uncles, brothers, cousins--smilingly enjoyed watching us do the garbā. A sense of unity prevailed--a joy of moving, clapping, singing as though it was our right, our time of enjoyment. We all belonged to the same caste, the Nagar Brahmins, spoke the same language--



Gujarati, practiced the same vow, and belonged to the same peer group in society.

Many years have passed, and for most of them I have made my home in the United States, but in 1980 I attended the 35th anniversary of the Bhagini Samāj Garbā club celebration, held in the playground of the school across the street from my mother's flat in Bombay. This is a very large Gujarati urban women's organization formed about fifty years ago. The event took place in late February. A shrine was prepared in the playground of the school. Sacred space was defined by designs (raṅgoli) painted with white paint. Three perforated and decorated clay pots lit within were stacked on top of a low platform placed on the white designs. The top pot held mango leaves, a coconut and flower garlands. An ensemble of musicians--percussionists, singers, and a harmonium player--sat on one side with a public address system. Chairs were arranged on three sides of the space for the audience. The officers, past and present, of the society and elders sat in the best seats.

Performers ranging in number from fifty to eighty women danced for about three hours. At first the group was led by a solo singer, followed by a choral response of the group as the dance continued. The musicians only accompanied this. Later the singers in the ensemble led the garbās. Only married and unmarried women (that is, no widows) participated. These were rather simply designed dances, most ending with an increase in tempo. Carefully choreographed garbās with intricate rhythmic designs were done by smaller groups of eight to ten women. These were presentational, care being taken to match and balance the clothes and paraphernalia. Mostly well-known and favorite garbās were sung. As dusk fell, the crowd grew, refreshments were served, and the event ended with a rās, a stick dance, exuberantly performed by at least a hundred women of all ages.

I interviewed Protibha Jethalal, a third-generation Gujarati South African now residing in Los Angeles, on the practice of garbā in Durban, South Africa during the 1960's and 1970's. Although her father was Vaishnava and her mother a follower of the Hindu reform movement, Ārya Samāj, Protibha did not actively participate in religious ceremonies. She learnt the garbā and rās in the Gujarati school she attended in the Indian township in Durban and she also participated in garbā events.

During Navarātri, the Gujarati men and women gathered to sing and dance in praise of Ambā Matā. For the nine nights of the religious festival, a shrine to the deity was constructed in the community hall next to the temple dedicated to Ambā. An image of Ambā was placed on a low platform in the center of the hall. A spherical wall of clay was fabricated around the image. In order to accommodate small dīvis ("oil lamps"), niches were carved in the wall. The outside of this spherical wall was decorated with designs of painted swastikas and aum--the mystic sign.

The garbās were performed around this shrine, following the evening worship of Ambā conducted by the Brahmin priests in the temple. The more religious of the participants observed fasts and vrats ("vows"). "I did not attend this worship nor observe any vows," said Protibha (Jethalal 1984). The men began the evening festivities and with great religious fervor they sang and danced in praise of Ambā. Next came the women, often leading the song and being accompanied by the musicians, rather than being led by them like the younger members of the community. Often men and women danced together. The musical ensemble included one or more singers, percussionists playing gholak and tablā, harmonium, and, at times, tambourine, hand cymbals, and flute.

In addition to the Navarātri festival, the women met socially once a week, in the afternoons, in each other's homes for garbā parties. The elder women would teach old garbā songs and those returning from visits "home"--mainland India--would share the new songs and dances learnt there. The repertoire was enlarged with the incorporation of new songs from books and tapes.

The evenings during the two weeks prior to a wedding were filled with sanj (singing). Female relatives and friends gathered to sing songs instructing the bride in behavior towards all belonging to the groom's family, as well as teasing her about her future and celebrating the coming wedding by dancing garbā.

Many garbā competitions were held in Durban throughout the year on long weekends. Community leaders formed the panel of judges and the participants came from as far away as Port Elizabeth, Cape Town, and Johannesburg. The garbā tradition lives in the India of South Africa as well as in the motherland.

Garbā was and continues to be an important dance form of Gujaratis in India and abroad. It is a reaffirmation of their communal identity as well as their abiding belief in Amba Mata. As Gujaratis have established communities in various parts of the world in this century, they have maintained garbā as a cultural

feature. Future studies should focus on continuity and change in the form garbā, which serves as a conduit for communal and religious symbolic expression.<sup>3</sup>

#### NOTES

1. The singular form of garbā is garbo. It is most often referred to in the plural.

2. Both a religious and an autumnal festival, Navaratri is similarly celebrated during the months of January, April, and July, often at and before the full moon.

3. A subsequent paper will deal with Gujaratis in Norwalk, California.

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REGIONAL PEASANT MUSIC AND CHANGES IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY  
VILLAGE PERFORMANCE PRACTICE IN POLAND

William H. Noll

The music cultures in countries of East Central Europe are complex matrices based on regionalism, class or estate distinction, and ethnicity. The rise of "national folk musics" within this area is a nineteenth- and twentieth-century phenomenon with urban origins. In Poland it had little impact on village music practice until after World War II. Although these "national folk musics" currently dominate village musical life in some regions, in other regions of Poland there remain older musical traditions and practices which arose within and have been continued by peasant populations.

Such older traditions, accumulated over the last two- to three-hundred years, include various musical forms, styles, and genres that originated in specific historical periods. Today they are retained by some of the oldest living instrumental musicians in certain, but not all, regions. By examining the music of a few contiguous locales, the regionalism, the older peasant styles, and later changes in village music practice can be illustrated.

The repertoires of current village ensembles can be divided into two types characterized by specific musical forms, styles, and performance practices: (1) those that arose during the period of feudalism and mandatory labor services (pańszczyzna), said styles here called "peasant music styles"; and (2) those that became dominant after the beginning of peasant enfranchisement (uwłaszczenie), hereafter called the "new style."<sup>1</sup>

In some regions of Poland, as in all of East Central Europe, the older instrumental peasant music styles have already died out. For example, in the Sandomierskie region a highly variegated instrumental ensemble tradition, well-documented in Polish archives, completely disappeared in the 1960's with the passing of the oldest local musicians. In other regions older traditions are retained by only a handful of aging performers, while the rest of the regional repertory is highly stylized and modified for mass consumption. In a very few areas, the peasant-music style is currently developing on a broad regional basis and will

likely continue, somewhat modified, into the next generation (Chorosinski 1953:20-21). The new village music that arose in the late nineteenth century is found in the repertoires of village musicians in nearly all regions; the peasant styles are not. Likewise, the older peasant traditions were, and for the most part are, strictly regional or sub-regional. They are generally not known outside of their natal region, whereas the new-style melodies are inter-regionally and even nationally known. The following analyses examine some of the most obvious differences between and characteristics of the peasant-music styles and the new style, as represented by three examples: two of the former and one of the latter.

### Analysis of Transcriptions

All transcriptions are fragments of performances recorded by the author in Poland, 1980-1983. Transcription 1 (see Appendix) is an example of the dance/music form chłop ("peasant"), and illustrates one of several peasant styles found in the Góry Świętokrzyskie (Holy Cross Mountains) sub-region (see map). The melody is based on two sets of alternating triadic constructions:

Example 1. Triadic constructions.



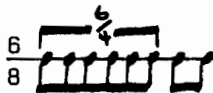
Example 2. Alternation of 1 and 2 in chłop.





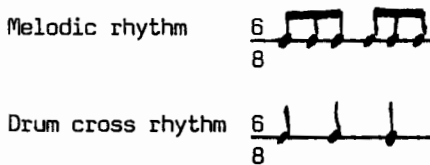
The musical form is ABBBBB...., with the B phrase repeated ad libitum, although four times is most common. This form, and its many variants, is the most common one for the peasant-music style in the Góry Świętokrzyskie region. As is typical for the peasant style, the phrases are asymmetrical (of unequal length): the A phrase is fourteen beats of while the B phrase, except for the cadence point leading back into A, is eight beats of . Part of the melodic material of the B phrase is a variant of the A phrase, also quite typical. The melodic rhythm alternates between duple and triple; the rhythmic variant is notated in Example 3:

Example 3.



The drum used is a small bass drum, played on one head with a wooden mallet. Of note are the cross rhythms supplied by the drum, indicated in the transcription by . Such cross rhythms are particularly representative of the regions under question. In this example, the cross rhythm is two against three:

Example 4. Cross rhythms.



Transcription 2, an example of the dance/music form mazurek, is one of several types of peasant-style melodies in the Rawskie Mazowsze sub-region. Melodically it can be said to be based on three gapped tetrachordal or pentachordal fragments:

Example 5. Gapped tetrachordal and pentachordal fragments.



The musical form, like that of the selection in transcription 1, is the common ABBBBB...., with the B phrase repeated ad libitum, although four or five times is most common. The phrase A, as in the chlop, can be asymmetrical, either four or six 's, depending upon the player's whim. The melodic material is based on three segments:

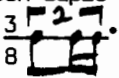
Example 6. Three melodic segments.



The principle mentioned above concerning melodic material of B partially based on A is clearly illustrated here:

$$1a \text{ or } 1b + 2 = A \text{ Phrase}$$

$$3 + 2 = B \text{ Phrase}$$

As in transcription 1, the melodic rhythm in transcription 2 alternates between duple and triple; the rhythmic variant is notated here as  $\frac{3}{8}$  .

The rhythmic drone instrument here, instead of the drum as in Transcription 1, is a homemade bowed lute about the size of a violincello. It has three strings tuned in fifths which are played only in open position, that is, the left hand is not used. It is known over a very large area as basy. The many and varied cross rhythms are generally two against three.

The melody given in transcription 3, "New Style Oberek," comes from the Radomskie sub-region. It is clearly based on the major-minor harmonic system and its phrases are symmetrical (of equal length). Both of these features are typical of the "new style," as is the form:

A
B
A
C (four times)

||: a a' :||
:|| b b' :||
:|| a a :||
||: c c' :||

In fact, except for the absence of a key modulation at C, it has an ABA trio form. This has been a common form for military music since the late eighteenth century and characterizes a large percentage of nineteenth-century popular music as well.

### Changes in Nineteenth-Century Village Performance Practice

The arrival of the "new style" in the nineteenth century greatly influenced village performance practice. The typical early nineteenth-century village ensemble of violin and basy in these regions began to change around 1850. The basy, with its open strings, was used as a rhythmic drone and was not suitable for the demands of the "new style" such as the major-minor harmonic system and key modulation. In most of the area the basy is no longer heard. It has been replaced either by various kinds of drums, by purely rhythmic instruments with no drone to hinder the new harmonic demands, or by the contrabass, which accommodates the major-minor harmonic system and the melodic demands of the "new style."

In the late nineteenth century, wind instruments such as the clarinet and, later, the trumpet began to be played by peasant musicians in some locales. The harmonia, which entered village life about the same time, could only be played in a major key and was thus unsuitable for the modal elements of the older peasant repertoires (Dekowski 1974:178).<sup>2</sup> Wherever the harmonia became dominant or even popular, large portions of the older peasant-based repertory faded from memory, likely due to lack of



performance. Harbingers of the "new style," all of these instrumentation changes resulted from its musical necessities.

The reasons for this musical change can be found in the economic and social environment of the second half of the nineteenth century. Except during the Napoleonic War years, all of the area was a part of the Russian Empire from the late 1700's. After the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Polish peasants began to be conscripted into the army of the Russian Empire (Blum 1978:69). The conscription of peasants in the early nineteenth century represented the first time in the history of the area that large numbers of peasants, many thousands, traveled widely for long periods of time outside their natal sub-region.<sup>3</sup>

Although peasants were theoretically released from serfdom in the Russian Empire in 1863, vast numbers remained tied to landlords' estates until the first World War. In spite of this, the times were marked by the beginnings of the development of capitalism and a gradually expanding surplus of wealth which helped feed new cottage industries and an infant industrial base. Both of these factors led to varying degrees of inter-regional contact among peasants (Kieniewicz 1969:76-78). In addition, peasant contact with the small-town middle class increased as people from overcrowded villages, as well as those fleeing or being expelled from the western provinces of imperial Russia, swelled the populations of the small towns of the area.

The nineteenth-century conscription of peasants and, later, the developing contact between peasant and small-town populations are two reasons why Polish peasants increasingly adopted musical forms, styles, and instrumentations from outside their natal area. Certainly, extra-regional influences occurred before this time yet, prior to the mid-nineteenth century, the music adopted from outside was likely to have been another peasant music from a neighboring region or of ethnic groups living nearby.

The military music tradition throughout Europe, from the late 1700's onward, is replete with formal characteristics, such as the ABA or ABC trio form, that are common also to the "new style." This trio form is also found in much of the urban popular music of the second half of the nineteenth century. Both the "new style" and the military/popular musics of the time include a modulation of key, particularly at the trio, symmetrical phrases, and melodies clearly based on the major-minor harmonic system. In contrast, peasant music does not use trio forms, often has asymmetrical phrases, and is not based on major-minor tonalities.

Additionally, the peasant music of these regions includes cross rhythms. Although some village musicians continue to include such cross rhythms in the new style, others have lost this practice entirely, especially those who have already lost the peasant-music repertory wholesale. Melodic rhythmic variants, common in the peasant-music styles, are virtually non-existent in "new style" music.

"New style" village music from the late nineteenth century is not of peasant origin. Clearly, judging from melodic type and from formal characteristics, this music is related to the popular urban and mass-consumed genres of the day that were found throughout the continent. The dissemination of the "new style" did not primarily stem from large urban centers such as Vienna, Berlin, or Warsaw; rather, it was the result of peasant service in the military and contact between small-town and village populations. With the late nineteenth-century growth of small towns in the area, it can be said that there was a proportional increase in the use and dissemination of the "new style," a consequent change in instrumentation and performance practice, and a shrinkage of the older "peasant-style" repertory among village musicians.

Finally, a link can be made between changes in music style and performance practice among peasants and the changes in popular- and art-music genres of the nineteenth century. During the Romantic Period throughout Europe, the gradual development of a mass audience for both urban popular- and art-music genres was accompanied by concomitant changes in their forms and styles. Much of this was due to changing demographics and the rise of a relatively affluent middle class. These changes were mirrored in the music of even one of the most disenfranchised people in Europe at that time, the peasants of Poland and East Central Europe.

#### NOTES

1. The feudal epoch began in Poland around 1500, at about the time it was declining in Western Europe. Feudalism did not decline in Poland until the early- to mid-nineteenth century. In the regions under question peasant enfranchisement began after 1863.

2. The harmonia, precursor to the now ubiquitous accordion, entered village life in the second half of the nineteenth century. The early harmonia, known in Polish as dziesiątka, was a small "button squeeze box" with ten melodic pitches (in Polish dziesięć is "ten") but no bass or chordal functions. It could play only in C major and was unsuitable for the modal elements of the older peasant-style melodies. From approximately 1890-1920 several kinds of harmonias possessing various melodic, bass, and chordal functions in a few keys became widely dispersed in many regions (see Dekowski 1974:177-78).

3. In the late 1700's Poland was partitioned among the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian Empires and politically ceased to exist as a state until 1918.

It seems unlikely that service in the military band had a pronounced effect on village musical life until after 1855, when the length of service in the Russian army was reduced from 20 to 12 years. Discipline was very harsh. Before the reduction in service, discharged peasants would have returned home sick, crippled, and broken. In some drafts, up to one-quarter of a village's male population between the ages of 20 and 35 years could be conscripted.

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## APPENDIX

Transcription 1. Chłop (Peasant Style). Recorded in the village Nowa Słupia; Zygmunt Zagórski (violin I), Zygmunt Kowalczyk (violin II), Stanisław Plewiński (drum).

$\text{♩} = 60$  A

Violin I

Violin II

Drum

Detailed description: This musical score is for section A of the piece 'Chłop'. It consists of three staves. The top staff is for Violin I, the middle for Violin II, and the bottom for Drum. The tempo is marked as quarter note = 60. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The music is in 3/4 time. The Violin I part features a melodic line with many slurs and ornaments. The Violin II part provides a rhythmic accompaniment with many sixteenth notes. The Drum part has a steady, rhythmic pattern with some rests indicated by dashed lines.

B

Detailed description: This musical score is for section B of the piece 'Chłop'. It consists of three staves. The top staff is for Violin I, the middle for Violin II, and the bottom for Drum. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The music is in 3/4 time. The Violin I part features a melodic line with many slurs and ornaments, including triplets and a 3/2 note. The Violin II part provides a rhythmic accompaniment with many sixteenth notes. The Drum part has a steady, rhythmic pattern.

Transcription 1 (continued).

The first system of musical notation consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef and contains a complex melodic line with many sixteenth notes, including a triplet of eighth notes and a sixteenth-note triplet. The middle staff is in bass clef and contains a rhythmic accompaniment with eighth and sixteenth notes. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains a bass line with quarter and eighth notes. A bracket labeled '6/4' spans the first two measures of the top staff, and another bracket labeled '3' spans a triplet of eighth notes in the same staff. A dashed line is present in the middle staff under the first two measures.

The second system of musical notation also consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef and continues the melodic line from the first system, featuring a triplet of eighth notes. The middle staff is in bass clef and continues the rhythmic accompaniment. The bottom staff is in bass clef and continues the bass line. A bracket labeled '6/4' spans the first two measures of the top staff, and another bracket labeled '3' spans a triplet of eighth notes in the same staff. A dashed line is present in the middle staff under the first two measures.

Transcription 2. Mazurek (Peasant Style). Recorded in the village Glina; Kazimierz Meto (violin),  
Józef Meto (basy).

$\text{♩} = 96$

Violin

Basy

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled "Mazurek (Peasant Style)". The score is written for two instruments: Violin and Basy (Bass). The tempo is marked as  $\text{♩} = 96$ . The key signature has one sharp (F#). The score is divided into two systems. The first system consists of seven measures. The Violin part features a melodic line with trills (tr), slurs, and fingerings (2). The Basy part provides a harmonic accompaniment with chords and eighth notes. The second system consists of six measures, starting with a section marked "B". The Violin part continues with a melodic line, and the Basy part continues with a harmonic accompaniment. The score includes various musical notations such as trills, slurs, and fingerings.

Transcription 2 (continued).

Musical notation for the first system of 'Transcription 2 (continued)'. It consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The treble staff contains a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, including trills marked 'tr' and a sharp sign. The bass staff contains a bass line with eighth and sixteenth notes, including a dashed line indicating a continuation or a specific articulation.

Musical notation for the second system of 'Transcription 2 (continued)'. It consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The treble staff contains a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, including a trill marked 'tr' and a sharp sign. The bass staff contains a bass line with eighth and sixteenth notes, including a dashed line indicating a continuation or a specific articulation.

Transcription 3. Oberok (New Style). Recorded in the town Szydłowiec; Marian Bujak (violin), two pedal-harmonia players, Marian Olczyk (drum).\*

♩ = 80

Violin & Harmonias

Drum \*

B

\* The drum used is a one-sided frame drum with circular metal discs (tambourine). ♯ = head is struck with a short mallet. † = frame is struck with the butt of the wrist in order to sound the metal discs.



Transcription 3 (continued).





## BRIEF CONTRIBUTION

### AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY NOTATION OF INDIAN MUSIC

Susan D. Clark and Bennett Gilbert

Every so often an overlooked work will surface and need placement within the ranks of other historic publications on similar topics. Such a case can be made for Viaggio alle Indie Orientali of Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeus (1748-1806) in terms of its section on Indian music.<sup>1</sup> Published in 1796, Viaggio is a narrative of Paulinus's residence in southern India and contains substantial information on the religion, language, arts, and customs of that region during the period. Included in a chapter about music, poetics, and architecture<sup>2</sup> is a transcription in Western music notation of a devotional song from the Malabar Coast area, together with a transliteration of the Malayalam text into Roman characters along with its Italian translation.<sup>3</sup> Also included in this section are Paulinus's observations about Indian musical instruments, names for vocal production styles, and an explanation of sargam (solfa) syllables.

While the publication of Viaggio followed by only two years William Jones's (1746-94) landmark "On the Musical Modes of the Hindus," which appeared in the 1794 Asiatick Researches,<sup>4</sup> Paulinus's work is never mentioned in the chronology of early Western writings on Indian music. However, the music transcription in Viaggio contains two musicological "firsts" which argue for its placement there.

Viaggio was not the first publication to give an illustration of Indian music in Western notation, as Jones's article included an "Air" transcribed from Somanātha's Rāgavibodha. It was, however, the first in which the music transcription displayed a drone in addition to the melody line. This inclusion is of some importance, as the drone is recognized to be one of the primary identifying characteristics of Indian music. Secondly, and more importantly, it is perhaps the first field notation of Indian music by a Westerner. Jones depended primarily upon literary sources including Saṅgītarpaṇa, Saṅgītapārijāta, and especially Rāgavibodha.<sup>5</sup> His reliance upon these Sanskrit treatises also explains why he does not transcribe a drone, for it would not have been included in their notations.

In addition to their musicological significance as being among the first Westerners to publish descriptions of Indian music, Jones and Paulinus are notable as representatives of two rather different traditions, who happened to be working at the same time, in the same area, on similar material. Their scholarly works dramatize their differences in both personality and research method: Paulinus was the observer, Jones the bookish scholar for whom knowledge was legitimized by literary sources.<sup>6</sup> Some discussion of their background is appropriate, for any assessment of the music description found in past sources such as theirs, according to Harrison (1973:2), "must involve judgements about the observer's motives, opportunities, qualifications and methods..." and should include consideration of "...the place of his occupation in the society and career-structure of his time."

Sir William Jones, a lawyer by profession, pursued oriental studies at University College, Oxford, although he did not learn Sanskrit until his tenure in India.<sup>7</sup> While his acceptance of a position on the Calcutta Bench was apparently motivated by a desire to improve both his fortune and social position in England (Mukherjee 1968:79), Jones also planned to make a thorough study of Indian culture during his stay.<sup>8</sup> To this end, together with other individual British gentleman scholars in Bengal at the time, Jones founded the Asiatick Society in 1784.<sup>9</sup> A rather exclusive group, they read papers to each other and published them in the society's Transactions. These Orientalists approached their Indological investigations with curiosity and open-mindedness. Yet, coming as they did at the beginning of the British ascendancy, they tended to view India as a subjugated and ancient civilization, its accomplishments lying in the past. Hence their proclivity to study the arts and literature they found in venerable Sanskrit sources. Following this pattern, Jones elected to research the modal system used in Indian classical music nearly 200 years previous.

In contrast, Paulinus was more conscious of and perhaps more sympathetic towards the living Indian society of the time, especially its cosmological views. His investigations were prompted largely by a practical reason: the propagation of the Roman Catholic faith. Austrian born, Paulinus was a Discalced Carmelite of recognized erudition. He was a member of the Academy of Vetitri and a professor of oriental languages at the Congregatio de Propaganda Fidei in Rome. Having sailed for the

Coromandel Coast in 1776, Paulinus spent a subsequent 13 years in southern India. During this time he bore the title of Vicar General and, later, Apostolic Visitor. In 1789, he was recalled by the Propaganda Fide to write an account of his mission in Hindustan, in part to be used for the correction of catechisms used in India. Paulinus wrote comprehensively of his travels and it is not surprising that he chose to record a simple contemporary devotional tune in Viaggio alle Indie Orientali.

While Paulinus's corpus of work was eventually superceded by that of Asiatic Society scholars, and even though his transcription may be of dubious accuracy, his contribution to the Western record of Indian music nevertheless remains a pioneering effort and deserves musicological recognition as such.

#### NOTES

1. Paulinus also authored Systema brahmanicum (an overview of Hinduism), a Sanskrit grammar (Rome, 1790), and other works.

2. In Parte Seconda. Libra Secondo. Cap. X.: Musica, Poesia, Archittetura ed altre Scienze degl' Indiana; pp. 325-48, see especially pp. 327-36.

3. Paulinus gives a four-verse, bhakti-influenced text in which Saraswatī is urged to relate the deeds of Kṛṣṇa to the devoted.

4. The article is an expanded version of a paper presented to the Asiatick Society of Bengal on November 11, 1790.

5. Jones drew principally from three Sanskrit music treatises all written in northern India after the sixteenth-century reorganization of Indian music theory. "On the Musical Modes of the Hindus," is largely based on his study of Rāgavibodha (1609) by Somanātha. Considered by Jones to be his most valuable source, Rāgavibodha constitutes a reconciliation of ancient theory with contemporary practice and refers to the Saṅgītaratnākara (ca. 1230) by Śārṅgadeva. Jones had access to Persian translations of Saṅgītararpaṇa (ca. 1625) by Dāmodara and Saṅgītapārijāta (second half of the seventeenth century) by Ahobala. According to Cannon (1970: v. 2, 647fn), he also

consulted treatises entitled Tohfunt-ul Hind, Rāqānarva, and Sabhavinod.

6. In fact, Jones was openly contemptuous of what he called the "numerical references" of Paulinus (see Arberry 1946: opposite p. 28 for a facsimile of a criticism concerning Paulinus in Jones's handwriting). Similarly, Paulinus voiced disagreements with Jones, among them, the age of the Vedas.

7. Jones was in India from 1783 until his death in 1794.

8. While still en route to Calcutta, Jones wrote George Spencer a letter (April 22, 1783) in which "Music of the Eastern Nations" was listed eleventh on his 16-point agenda to study the history, science, and arts of the Orient. The "Laws of the Hindus and Mahomedans" ranked first (Mukherjee 1968:74). However, his judicial responsibilities and early death prevented the fruition of these plans.

9. The society was founded in the Grand Jury Room of the Supreme Court of Calcutta. Its charter members included William Jones, John Hyde, John Carnac, David Anderson, William Chambers, Francis Gladwin, Jonathan Duncan, Thomas Law, Charles Wilkens, John David Paterson, Charles Chapman, Charles Hamilton, and George Hilario Barlow.

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*Altro Canto in lingua Malabarica.*

I.

The image shows a musical score for a song in Malabaric. It consists of four staves. The first two staves are grouped by a brace on the left. The first staff is a treble clef with a melody line. The second staff is a bass clef with a single note. The third and fourth staves are also grouped by a brace on the left. The third staff is a treble clef with a melody line. The fourth staff is a bass clef with a single note. The lyrics are written below the melody lines.

Shu ga ta ru ni ge na Ma ni ju ma ni ma guda ma li

gue ciolle dō ciolle dō Kr shna lilām r dam

Figure 1. Facsimile of the music notation in *Viaggio alle Indie Orientali* (Paulinus 1796:327). The author remarks that "the melody to this song is rather quick than slow; and holds a medium between alt and bass. The tone always lies on the first syllable of the three or four first words with which the verse begins: and, altogether contrary to the European manner, never on the final words" (Paulinus 1800:369).



## BOOK REVIEW

Feldman, Jeffrey M. Learning Tabla with Alla Rakha: A Manual of Drumming and Recitation. Ravi Shankar Music Circle, Los Angeles. 1983. x, 92 pp., photos, figures, charts, transcriptions, and cassette. \$14.95.

In many cities of North America and Europe, as in India, groups of individuals band together to encourage and promote Indian music and to sponsor concerts. Los Angeles has one of the most famous of these. The Ravi Shankar Music Circle dates from the 1960's when Pandit Ravi Shankar, then a popular figure, lived here. Since then, Indian music has ceased to be a fad among Americans; however, the Music Circle lives on, sponsoring numerous Indian concerts every year, some of which are recorded and issued on cassette.

Learning Tabla with Alla Rakha is the Music Circle's most recent publication. During the summers of 1977 and 1978, Ustad Alla Rakha, perhaps the most famous tablā artist inside and outside of India, lived in Los Angeles and offered weekly classes. Jeffrey Feldman (as well as this reviewer) was a member of a small group of students at these classes, where Khan Sahab dictated and demonstrated numerous compositions and honed technique. It was a unique opportunity. Feldman, with the assistance of Ravi Shankar's pupil, Harihar Rao, and the consent of Alla Rakha, has selected some of these lessons and presented them in this publication. The lessons are an excellent introduction to performance on the tablā at an intermediate level; however, without an instructor, the beginning student will have difficulty with the materials. The inclusion of a cassette with demonstrations by Ustad Alla Rakha is enlightening, but the execution of the strokes can only be learned by direct study with a performer. It is a failing of all tablā manuals.

As with many "home-grown" efforts of this sort, there are problems associated with the production of the publication. Photographic reproduction is often of poor quality so that the details of hand positions are sometimes unclear. One page of the typed, spiral-bound review copy (p. 82) is mounted askew so that some words in the lower right-hand corner are illegible. Furthermore, the cassette recording which accompanies the book has obviously been copied over a previous recording of a sitār,

without first erasing the original recording. In terms of content, Feldman's interest in making the publication appealing to Western jazz drummers obscures the principal task of the book: to present a primer for the tablā based on lessons by perhaps the world's most famous tablā artist. Given other better-known efforts at presenting rudimentary lessons or introductions for the tablā, most notably those of Robert Gottlieb (1975 and 1977), Feldman's offering is a disappointment (see Thompson 1979 for a discussion of Gottlieb 1977).

The publication does offer some insights into the organization of material in a tablā solo and provides a documentation of some of the peculiarities of the Panjabi bāj ("style") of performance, perhaps the most often-heard tablā bāj in the West, as well as of Alla Rakha's teaching style. The recordings, although lacking in clarity and brilliance, do reflect some of the spontaneity and exuberance for which Alla Rakha is known. The cassette also offers, besides Khan Sahab's performance of the lessons, lahrās (the repeating melodies which mark time for the tablā soloist, performed here by Mir Yakoob on the sarod) which the aspiring drummer can use to accompany his practice. Finally, Feldman approaches his subject with an enthusiasm and devotion which we can only hope will inspire others.

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