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This issue is fully dedicated to start the discussion of 'Global Music History', a new Study Group of the International Council for Traditional Music, which had its first symposium organized by the Sichuan Conservatory in Chengdu, China. The topic starts slowly and will continue to grow in the issues to come, especially regarding the framework of Asian and European co-operation.

The order of contributions does not reflect on their quality. All are unique and of interest. Additional articles or review essays add up to the wider picture of the overarching topics on global developments and their local expressions.

After some years of experience, the editors decided to leave emphasizing type settings to the authors as they may know best of their subjects' features that are in need to be distinguished. Also, in the long term, these emphasizing patterns using italics or various diacritic signs can change and deliver study materials when observing the status of specific topics. This is to ensure diversity in representation. Along this way of thoughts comes the approved introducing of the authors' names in their local writings if there is a personal wish and a chance. Those local writings are as far as possible considered in the references.

Many thanks go to all nineteen contributors, their patience and careful control, the publisher, the reviewers, and the editors.

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Diasporas and Global Musical Networks: Jewish Perspectives

Edwin Seroussi [אדוין סרוסי]

Abstract

The COVID-19 pandemic, still present in our lives as I carve these lines, dictates not only daily routines but also scholarly concerns. Thus, global musical networks, the subject of this essay, should be a pertinent concern for musicologists today more than ever before. If we needed ~~a~~ tangible proof of human interdependence at a global level, then this boundless health crisis showed the full extent to which human civilization is hyper-connected. However, one should not turn the idea of connectivity into an exclusively modern phenomenon. Humans interacted with each other from the dawn of evolution. What changed in our times is simply the intensity of such interdependence generated by new transportation and information flow technologies.

Music is not immune to such transformative processes. Therefore, human connectivity is also an essential ingredient of a global vision of history and of music history in particular. Music studies are relatively latecomers to the idea of global history as a conceptual framework of research but not in practice, as I shall comment on a moment. The establishment of a Study Group at ICTM dedicated to a global history of music is a response to a new paradigm in the "economy of historical knowledge," namely, how we speak and write about music history.[1] Yet, many members of ICTM have been addressing music history from global perspectives ever since its establishment in 1947 without profiling what they did by this name. Brief remarks on global history in general precede the main concept discussed in this paper, diaspora and its pertinence to global music history.

Keywords

Diaspora culture, Musical networks, Interdependencies, Jewish perspectives, Global vision

The "global turn" in historical studies was patent already in the 1990s, following the rapid expansion of the Internet, the (apparent) end of the Cold War, and a sense of loosening of national paradigms in favor of global systems of governance, such as international courts of law or climate change initiatives. Yet, this conceptual framework refers more to academic discourses rather than to work "on the ground" because the concept of a "universal" or "world" history could be traced back at least to the 18th century. These old "universal histories," written in Western Europe, positioned Western Europe as the central force driving human civilization forward. In contrast, contemporary global history emerged from post-colonial sensitivities that stressed asymmetrical power relations between center and peripheries, North and South, white people, and all others, not only in history but also in historiography. Global history in its new guise is, from this perspective, a much-needed corrective to the dominant historical narratives written in the European metropolis that downgraded the non-Western subject to a secondary, passive role.

[1] The author teaches at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. This article is based on a keynote address read at the 1st Symposium of the International Council of Traditional Music (ICTM) Study Group on Global History of Music held at the Sichuan Conservatory of Music, People's Republic of China, May 12, 2021. The author wrote 'I thank the organizing committee of the Symposium, especially my most esteemed colleague Prof. Razia Sultanova, and our hosts at the Sichuan Conservatory of Music in the People's Republic of China for extending this invitation to me'.

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Similarly, the History of Music was by default the history of certain genres of Western European music associated with the aristocratic elites and the Church. It was dictated by a Hegelian concept of progress and, since the 19th century, it hailed a chain of “great composers” as the main agents of perpetual stylistic transformation. To a readership interested in music scholarship, I do not need to detail any further this Eurocentric concept of music history still prevailing in the curricula of many music schools across the globe.[2] Curricula, of course, is not the exclusive realm in which Eurocentrism reigns but only the forefront of systemic biases.[3]

As an aftermath to the “global turn” in History, recent music scholarship has challenged the Eurocentric concept of music history and its historiographical products by bringing the music of non-European Others and global perspectives into the narrative on music interactions across time and space. Two products of this new paradigm of music history studies are *The Cambridge History of World Music* (Bohlman, 2016) and *Studies on a global history of music*, a product of the 2012 Balzan Prize in musicology project entitled *Towards a global history of music* and directed by Professor Reinhard Strohm (Strohm, 2018). A discussion of the nuanced difference between the titles of these works, “history of world music” versus “global history of music” is beyond the scope of this paper. Suffice to say that the semantics of these titles conceal different strategies for addressing the diachronic development of the music of all humanity.

However, as hinted earlier, a global approach to music is certainly not a newcomer to musicology. In his introductory remarks to *Towards a global history of music*, Martin Stokes discusses four sub-disciplines of or approaches to music research that have attempted to tackle the evolution of music from a global or at least cross-cultural perspective:

1) Comparative musicology saw music history in terms of the inexorable “ascent of the west,” making it complicit with the racial crimes of colonialism. Yet, it had a universalist vision, especially in its psychological emphasis on the shared foundations of human musical cognition.

2) Ethnomusicology, reacting to comparative musicology, favored synchronic and functionalist modes of explanation within specific cultures from around the globe rather than historical ones. Therefore, ethnomusicology has failed to recognize the necessarily *historical* nature of the ethnographic inquiry. If some music cultures have no history, argues Stokes, then some may have something to gain from having one.

3) Post-colonial theory in musicology, an outgrowth of the New Musicology of the 1990s, denied the possibility of historical knowledge that is separable from the contexts of global power relations. Consequently, according to this school of thought, history cannot be extracted from its inherent “orientalism.” Therefore, one of its main goals was to recuperate the historical agency of the non-West.

4) Globalization posited many “end of history” scenarios, therefore suggesting that the compression of time and space characteristic of late capitalism generated a series of cross-cultural alignments at the sub-cultural, inter-cultural, and supra-cultural levels. Approaches to music history ranged from totalizing to fragmentizing ones, i.e., from those erasing constraints of time and place to those stressing those concerns.

Considering this continuous engagement of music scholarship from its very beginnings with a global vision of music history one may ask following Stokes, “how we might think *historically* across music cultures, as well as globally” (Stokes, 2018).

[2] In very recent years, this subject has been at the center of heated polemics in musicological circles and beyond, especially in the USA. From the vast critical literature that this reckoning over Eurocentrism in academic music studies has generated, I would recommend the essay by Levitz (2018) as an introduction.

[3] Levitz (2018: 46) is careful to warn that “the current focus on curriculum may be, in part, a diversion that allows academic musicologists to evade the job market crisis, class and racial inequality in higher education, the erosion of their profession, and labor injustices.”

Diaspora can be a very productive concept for global music history, and I shall address it here from a global micro-historical perspective. Within the "global turn" in history, the term "global microhistory" has recently gained currency. "Rich in promise, it unites the historiographical interest in microhistory that emerged in the 1980s with the global history paradigm that came to prominence in the 1990s. Is this proposed marriage a matter of giving microhistory a new lease on life by making it take the "global turn" that it had neglected? Or is it a question of giving an epistemological second wind to a global history that is struggling to clarify its boundaries, objectives, and methods?" (Bertrand and Calafat, 2018). As one learns from this quote, there is a crisis of identity in relation to what global history really means at the epicenter of historical research.

What global micro-history brings into the equation is a "connected history" that engages "objects specific to global history—diasporas, circulations, contact situations—but endeavors to capture them 'at ground level,' with the tools of microanalysis and a concern to replace an explanatory approach with an interpretative method better able to capture the motives of all the actors involved." Global micro-history emphasizes scenes and sites of intensive interaction, especially early modern or "first" globalization" ones, "global lives" i.e., the biographies of cultural intermediaries, brokers, or go-betweens, and "the plural and conflicting fabric of localities within overarching political entities (i.e. empires)" (Bertrand and Calafat, 2018: 7).

Jews as musicians fulfill most of these criteria making them ideal subjects of global micro-histories of music. What turned Jews into such subjects is their living in a perpetual diasporic condition. In his critique of the use of the concept of diaspora in music studies, Mark Slobin (2012) pointed out that this term "is heavily contextual." It can mean a blessing or a threat, an ideal or a curse. The term refuses standardization and ethnomusicological studies have used and abused while "spiraling out of control." He warned us particularly of the over-metaphorical applications of the term that detach it from the actual bodies of the displaced individuals. He concluded that diaspora is most effective as an explanatory tool when applied to "the existence of an identified population that feels that it is away from its homeland, however imagined, however distant in time and space," and more subtly, that "it involves more than demographics … some sort of consciousness of separation, a gap, a disjuncture must be present" (Slobin, 2012). This "diasporic condition" as defined by Slobin is systematically associated with the Jewish people although by no means is unique to them, as shown for example, by Timothy Rommen about the Caribbean diasporas, the result of displacements generated by violent colonial forces (Rommen, 2016).

However, diasporas run deep into the past. Even the biblical Israelites, the ancestors of the post-biblical Jews, were forced out of their geographical center in the Land of Canaan, later on the Land of Israel/Palestine, most notably eastwards toward Mesopotamia (Babylon) due to the exile imposed by the Assyrians in the late 7th century BCE. The musical longing of the Israelites in their Babylonian captivity for the songs of the land of their ancestors is voiced in Psalm 137 ("By the rivers of Babylon," verse 4: "How can we sing the songs of the Lord while in a foreign land?"). The post-exilic reconstruction in the Land of Israel and the rebuilding of the Second Temple of Jerusalem (ca. 516 BCE–70 ACE) did not obliterate the diaspora. Musically speaking, the diaspora reached the homeland sonically, as the elaborate choral and orchestral pageantry of the Temple probably drew its inspiration from Mesopotamian models (Smith, 2011: 110–116). Even during this restorative era, not all Israelites chose to return "home." They continue to dwell from the delta of the Nile and Western Anatolia to the shores of the Euphrates and the Tigris and Persia, well beyond the limited territories their brethren controlled around Jerusalem.

The destruction of the Israelite spiritual center, the Temple of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 CE, was the event that ended any hope of Israelite territorial autonomy. The rather remarkable number of Jews who remained and flourished in the Eastern Roman province of Palestine, later on within the Byzantine Empire, renounced restorative aspirations. During this period, the consolidation of rabbinical Judaism was based on the theological assumption that diaspora was a permanent existential

fate for Jews until divine redemption would redeem them and facilitate the return to their land as a sovereign people.

The triumphal rise of Christianity in the Roman Empire and the rise of Islam in the early 7th century CE divided the Jews into two main diasporas, namely, an Arabic-speaking and a Greek and later on Latin-speaking ones. Under the Abode of Islam and Christendom, Judaism flourished through the medieval and modern periods. Jews maintained an allegiance to their homeland expressed, for example, in their daily prayers while, at the same time, embedding themselves in the cultures of the societies in which they dwelled. As historian David N. Myers has summed it up, Jews could "adapt to new environments without losing a distinctive sense of cultural self" (Myers, 2017: xxiii). While a return to the homeland remained, until the early 20th century, an unattainable hope (and for many an undesirable aspiration), Jews maintained extensive networks of communication along continents for two millennia. Their intense mobility, by desire or by force, turned them into agents of musical globalization.

In considering how and why the movements of Jews in their shifting diasporas are relevant to our discussion, one should notice that music-making became a significant occupation for diasporic Jews for an array of reasons that vary in time and place. This aspect of the Jewish diaspora is important when considering Jewish musicians as active agents of globalization processes in the distant and not-so-distant past. The proportionately large number of Jews nourished this agency in the music field in their host societies. The image of Jews as prodigiously gifted musicians compared to their counterparts in the surrounding population is a well-known *topos*. It derives from diverse social processes, such as the low status of musicians in Muslim societies (that left music-making in the hands of religious and ethnic minorities in their midst) or music-making becoming one of the few open venues for social mobility (as it occurred in Europe since the mid-19thcentury; see, Loeffler, 2010).[4] This musical specialization led to the creation of Jewish musical networks across vast geographical areas.

Jewish musical connectivity along distances is documented from the medieval to the modern period. There is no more productive space to exemplify the connectivity of the Jewish diaspora in terms of the circulation of musical capitals than the Mediterranean and its Sephardic (Spanish and Portuguese-speaking) and Musta'arab (Arabic-speaking) Jewish network of settlements. Mediterranean is used figuratively, for it reaches as far east as Baghdad and as far north as Amsterdam, London, and Hamburg. Scholarship has tied this transnational Mediterranean Jewish diaspora to successful commercial networks that capitalized on family connections and extra-Jewish networks. Braudel pointed out another "secret" of the alleged success of this trans-imperial diaspora. According to him, Jews were "born interpreters of all speech," exploiting their native multilingualism to become much-needed translators (Braudel, 1995: 809).

Trivellato (2009: 50, 73) proposed the notion of "communitarian cosmopolitanism" to describe how clear boundaries between Jews and Catholics facilitated cultural and economic contacts around the extended Mediterranean. Jewish converts to Catholicism and their descendants (*Conversos*), who often moved back and forth between Jewish and Christian identities, are emblematic of the porous borders in which families of musicians of Jewish origins navigated. Families of musicians such as the Bassanos from Venice and later London (Ruffati, 1996) and the Duartes from Antwerp (Rasch, 1995; Weinfield, 2019) played a role in the circulation of musical expertise across early modern Western Europe.

However, there were other reasons for this constant circulation of Jewish bodies and their musical knowledge between the extreme ends of this diaspora, between Al-Andalus, the Iberian Peninsula and the Maghreb in the West, and Cairo, Aleppo and Baghdad in the East. Religious motivations of at least three kinds enhanced movement. One is acquiring knowledge in the most prestigious education and political power centers. Second is appealing to supra-territorial higher courts when the

[4] In the modern European context this image is tied to anti-Semitic stereotypes (see Gilman, 2008). For Jewish musicians in the Islamicate, see Seroussi (2006).

local authorities fell short of providing convincing rulings. The final one is Jewish pilgrimage to the Holy Land and other holy sites.

A modern example of this type of individual musical trajectories within diasporic Jewish spaces vividly illustrates the accumulation of compound musical capitals and their circulation since the distant past, becoming a classic micro-historical case study. Yehiel Adaqi (1903–1980), a Yemenite Jewish musician and singer, was one of the earlier brokers of arguably Yemenite Jewish music in Israel.[5] A chain of movements and encounters that filtered Adaqi's musical baggage mediated his transfer of musical lore from Yemen to Israel, enriching it with stylistic features that deviate from the "authentic" Yemenite Jewish soundscape imagined by European Jewish musicians and music scholars as a sonic remnant of ancient national glories in exile.[6] In other words, European-born Jewish musicians in Palestine/Israel who interacted with Adaqi as a reliable source of quintessential Yemenite Jewish music since the 1920s were unaware of the textured heritage this musician carried with him from his early years.

Adaqi's fascinating oral autobiography reveals a breathtaking transnational journey, one in which escape and adventure intersects with theological ideology. Most importantly for our argument, we learn from it about a young gifted singer who was exposed to multiple musical experiences in different places before becoming a representative of a venerable musical tradition in a new society in the making. Being born in Manakha in the Haraz Mountains of central Yemen, Adaqi was the only child, who was orphaned by his father at an early age. He was educated in a traditional religious Jewish schooling in the capital city of San'a, the main Jewish center in Yemen. At the age on nine, he learned the craft of silversmith, a very common Jewish occupation and went on to work in order to support his mother and himself while continuing his religious studies at night.

In 1920, Adaqi's life took a sharp turn when economic and political crisis hit Yemen. He turned to minting coins for a rebel prince, a profitable but dangerous enterprise that eventually forced him to escape once politics turned against his interests. After being released from jail and extorted by tax collectors, he decided to escape with the assistance of a friend to the port of Aden, a British outpost from where he planned to immigrate to Palestine. The long tortuous journey took him through the Horn of Africa, Egypt, Libya, and the Arabian Peninsula before making it to British Mandate Palestine. In each station, he was exposed to different Jewish liturgical music traditions that he willingly absorbed.

We learn about Adaqi's musical skills from his own narrative. During the magical nightly camel caravan to Aden, he remembers, he performed camel drivers' songs that he learned as a teenager from water drawers in San'a catching, the attention of the caravan's guide, who was "crazy" about his voice. This testimony means that he was conversant in non-Jewish musical repertoires as well. In Aden, he organized a special midnight prayer with other Jewish refugees from Central Yemen, creating a performative space that was new to the Adeni Jews who are perceived as musically different from other Yemenite Jews. Adaqi introduced himself as the bearer of a venerable liturgical music tradition that has not been exposed to external (read Ottoman and British colonial) influences.

From Aden, he is lured to move to Djibouti, then under French colonial administration, and from there to Addis Ababa in Ethiopia where a rich family of Yemenite Jews hosted him. After getting sick and recovering from malaria, he moved to Asmara in Eritrea, under the Italian colonial administration. There he learned the Jewish liturgy for the High Holy Days from a Yemenite rabbi

[5] His biography can be consulted in https://jewish-music.huji.ac.il/content/yehiel-Adaki based on information provided by Adaqi's son. For a detailed account of his early life, see Ben-Nun (2019). Several anecdotes mentioned below appear in Ben-Nun's publication. Adaqi has attracted the interest of scholars before. For his interactions with the most prominent Israeli ethnomusicologists who studied Yemenite Jewish music, see Bahat (1979), and especially Adaqi and Sharvit (1981).

[6] The classical formulation of this idea is found in the copious scholarship on Yemenite Jewish music and poetry by musicologist, composer, and teacher Abraham Zvi Idelsohn who was active in Ottoman and British Palestine from 1907 to 1921. See, for example, Idelsohn (1914). For the persistent permeation of traditional Yemenite music into Israeli contemporary art music, see Shelleg (2021). For the conceptualization of Yemenite Jewry in modern Jewish culture beyond music, see Gerber (2013). See also the short but incisive remarks by Wagner (2009, ch. 8, especially pp. 278–282) who also mentioned Adaqi's role as mediator.

from his hometown of Manakha, who became wealthy by a silversmith and was appointed as president of the Jewish community. Three years later, he illegally arrived to Port Sa'id, and then moved to Alexandria and Cairo. In Cairo, where he spent a year and a half, he often visited the Hanan synagogue. The sexton of the synagogue was impressed with his voice and taught him Sephardic (i.e., Eastern Mediterranean) *hazzanut* (cantorial art), which is a different musical tradition than the ones he commanded. To summarize, when he arrived to Palestine in the eve of Passover, the Festival of Freedom, in April 1926, Adaqi had experienced the soundscapes of four colonial territories, namely, Ottoman, British, French, and Italian to where the Yemenite diaspora expanded amid his musical training of youth in central Yemenite, the Horn of Africa and Cairo.

Adaqi was a mediator, a connector, and a creator. His movements throughout several Jewish diasporas are intercontinental and trans-imperial. His absorption, elaboration, and transmission of music informed the orientalist imagination of European Jewish composers who settled in British Palestine and dictated how the Yemenite Jewish sound, imagined by these composers to have remained immovable for two millennia, took shape within the young State of Israel. In turn, this Yemenite sound made in Israel would reverberate back in the American Jewish diaspora as an index of the new musical Israeliness. At present, this Yemenite Jewish/Israeli sound is on a more global scale as one of many "exotic" tracks in the recording studio of the "world music" industry (Erez and Karkabi 2019).

Adaqi was a Jewish musical globetrotter, but only one out of many such agents who were active throughout history. Even China, the country that hosted the first meeting of the ICTM Study Groups on Global Music History in which the present paper was first presented, became, due to historical circumstances, a destination for wandering Jewish musicians. During the 1930s and 1940s, displaced German, Austrian, Polish, and Russian Jewish musicians seeking a safe haven from hostile social and political scenes became agents in transferring European popular and avant-garde art music practices to then occupied Shanghai.[7] Jewish diasporas offer then inspiring case studies of how global micro-historical research can be carried out in the future by students of Global Music History.

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[7] The studies by Tang Yating (2004) and Christian Utz (2004), in the volume titled "Silk, Spice and Shirah: Musical Outcomes of Jewish Migration into Asia c. 1780-c. 1950" (*Ethnomusicology Forum* 13, no. 1). More than 20,000 Jews who took refuge in the city during World War II have their stories chronicled at the Shanghai Jewish Refugees Museum. Among them were 200 professional musicians who taught many Chinese children—some of whom became prominent. In 2021, a musical about these Jewish musicians produced and directed by Gao Xiang was announced online: https://english.eastday.com/Shanghai/auto/u1ai8703080.html, last accessed April 29, 2022.

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Performing the South Seas: Singapore Chinese Orchestra and the Making of Nanyang-Style Music*

Lee Ming-yen [李明晏][1]

Abstract

Since the establishment of the Singapore Chinese Orchestra (Xinjiapo huayue tuan 新加坡華樂團) in 1997, it has attempted to develop its approach to Chinese music differently from other international counterparts. Gradually, the Singapore Chinese Orchestra developed and performed Chinese music, reflecting Singapore's diverse cultures and identities by incorporating non-Chinese music elements from Singapore and Southeast Asia. This article examines the "Nanyang-style music" (*Nanyang feng huayue* 南洋風華樂) of the Singapore Chinese Orchestra. It draws on Tu Wei-Ming's (1991) concept of 'Cultural China' and builds on Brian Bernards' (2015) work on the 'Nanyang' in Chinese and Southeast Asian literature to consider the creation and performance of new forms of modern Chinese orchestral music. I argue that the Singapore Chinese Orchestra's Nanyang-style music, which has its roots in modern Chinese orchestral music, is created and performed to present the cultural hybridity of the Chinese in Singapore society. This article shows that the Nanyang-style music is performed in two ways, namely, Chinese music combining Nanyang elements and Chinese music presenting a Singaporean identity.

Keywords

Chinese music, Chinese orchestra, Nanyang-style music, Singapore Chinese Orchestra, Singaporean identity

Introduction

Despite unequal ways,
Together they mutate,
Explore the edges of harmony,
Search for a centre;
Have changed their gods,
Kept some memory of their race
In prayer, laughter, the way
Their women dress and greet.
They hold the bright, the beautiful,
Good ancestral dreams
Within new visions,

* This article is an enlarged version of the author's Chinese paper, "Minyue zhi nan: Lun Xinjiapo huayue tuan Nanyang feng huayue zhi kaichuang yu yanxu 民樂之南: 論新加坡華樂團南洋風華樂之開創與延續," *Journal of the Central Conservatory of Music* 4 (2018): 42–54. I would like to thank Jack Meng-Tat Chia, Terence Ho, Lim Wah Guan, Tay Teow Kiat, Wang Chenwei, and Tsung Yeh for their support and comments. I am also grateful to the staffs of the Singapore Chinese Orchestra for their assistance and suggestions.

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> So shining, urgent,
> Full of what is now.
>
> Perhaps having dealt in things,
> Surfeited on them,
> Their spirits yearn again for images,
> Adding to the dragon, phoenix,
> Garuda, Naga those horses of the sun,
> This lion of the sea,
> This image of themselves.

An excerpt from the poem, “Ulysses by the Merlion,” by Edwin N. Thumboo (1979).

In the poem “Ulysses by the Merlion,” Edwin Thumboo uses the Merlion as a metaphor to present the development of Singapore, from a fishing village to a vibrant and diverse global city-state. As an island-nation, Singapore features the connections between the land and the ocean. The dragon, phoenix, Garuda, Naga, and sun horses highlight the cultural diversity in Singapore. They seize the brightness and beauty of the ancient dream, shining radiantly in this brand-new vision. This poem also highlights Singapore’s constant attempts in creating new possibilities and identities, full of hope for the future.[2]

Singapore is a racially diverse country with three major ethnic groups: Chinese, Malays, and Indians. The Chinese form the ethnic majority, constituting approximately 75% of the total population. Despite the predominant Chinese population, the Singapore government has no intention to prioritize Chinese culture. Instead, it tries to encourage interracial and religious harmony and presents Singapore as a multicultural society. In line with the state’s multicultural and multiracial policy, the Singapore Chinese Orchestra (Xinjiapo huayue tuan [新加坡華樂團]), despite being a symbol of Chinese culture, creates and performs new forms of Chinese orchestral music with Southeast Asian and Singaporean characteristics. Therefore, the development of the Singapore Chinese Orchestra reflects the symbolism of the Merlion, presenting a Singaporean identity in a culturally diverse and hybrid environment.

Previous scholarship on the Chinese in Singapore focuses on the immigration, language, economic factors, and religions of the Chinese diaspora. Scholars such as Yen Ching-hwang (1986) and Liang Yuansheng (2005) discussed the sociohistorical development of the Chinese communities in Singapore and Malaysia. Eddie CY Kuo (1985) and Charlene Tan (2006) focused on Chinese language and culture from a historical perspective. In contrast, Hong Liu and Wong Sin Kiong (2004) as well as Eugene KB Tan (2003) studied the business and economic activities of the Chinese community. Jack Meng-Tat Chia (2020) and Xu Yuantai (2013) examined the religious belief and religious practices of the Singaporean Chinese.

A number of ethnomusicologists have studied the various forms of Singaporean and Malaysian Chinese music. For instance, Qu Qiumei (1986) discussed the development of the Malacca Chinese Orchestra from the 1950s. Tan Sooi Beng (2000) investigated the adaption and survival of Malaysian Chinese Orchestra, focusing on its development and social functions. Samuel Wong Shengmiao (2010) examined the social characteristics of Singapore Chinese Orchestra from a sociological perspective. Wang Jinyi (2009) observed the amateur Chinese orchestras in Malaysia. In a chapter of her dissertation, Ching-Yi Chen (2012) examined the various Chinese orchestras in Malaysia and Singapore. Chew Yi Tien (2013) discussed the performance and practice of the modern Chinese orchestras in Malaysia, introducing four different Chinese orchestras of junior high school in Malaysia.

[2] The Merlion is the official symbol of Singapore. It is a mythical creature with the head of a lion and the body of a fish. For further readings on the Merlion, see for instance, Chang and Yeoh (2003) and Hayward (2012).

Scholars of Chinese music have focused on the origin of Chinese orchestras and their regional features.[3] They have generally argued that Chinese music emerged in the beginning of the twentieth century under the influence of Western imperialism. This new form of music became a fusion of the traditional silk and bamboo ensemble (*Jiangnan sizhu* [江南絲竹]) and Western-styled orchestral music. Scholars have examined topics on the modern Chinese orchestra, including historical development (Han, 1979; Lee, 2014; Gao, 1965; Lin, 2007), musical instruments (Li, 1954; Yu, 2007; Lu, 2006), cultural identity (Liu, 2007; Chiu, 2008), and compositions (Sun, 2008; Liang, 2001). Some scholars have studied the development of professional modern Chinese orchestras beyond mainland China; they have studied the Hong Kong Chinese Orchestra (Wu, 2006; Yu, 2001), as well as several professional Chinese orchestras in other parts of China (Chen, 1994; Chen, 2013; Wu, 2013). Several recent studies focus on the development and activities of the Singapore Chinese Orchestra. For instance, Terence Ho (2015) presented on the historical development of Singapore Chinese Orchestra, whereas Tan Shzr Ee (2012) discussed the Europe tour of the Singapore Chinese Orchestra. Previous studies on modern Chinese orchestras have offered valuable insights into the history, development, and activities of various professional music groups. Nonetheless, they are yet to examine the creation and performance of the "Nanyang-style music" (*Nanyang feng huayue* [南洋風華樂]) of the Singapore Chinese Orchestra, and to consider how the Singapore Chinese Orchestra uses this distinct form of music to interact with other modern Chinese orchestras among Chinese speaking people in the region.

This article examines the "Nanyang-style music" of the Singapore Chinese Orchestra. It draws on Tu Wei-Ming's (1991) concept of "Cultural China" and builds on Brian Bernards' (2015) work on the "Nanyang" in Chinese and Southeast Asian literature to consider the creation and performance of new forms of modern Chinese orchestral music. I argue that the Singapore Chinese Orchestra's "Nanyang-style music," which has its roots in modern Chinese orchestral music, is created and performed to present the cultural hybridity of the Chinese in Singapore society. I show that the Nanyang-style music is performed in two ways, namely, Chinese music combining Nanyang elements and Chinese music presenting a Singaporean identity. This article is divided into three parts. First, I offer a brief history of Chinese migration to Singapore. Second, I discuss the history and development of the Singapore Chinese Orchestra. Third, I examine the creation and performance of Nanyang-style music by the Singapore Chinese Orchestra.

Chinese Migration to Singapore

In 1819, the arrival of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles marked the beginning of British colonization of Singapore. A few years later, in 1826, the British colonial authorities established the Straits Settlements, consisting of Singapore, Malacca, and Penang. The colonial government introduced the concept of open market and made Singapore an entrepot. Over the next several decades, Singapore grew from a fishing village to a major port for business and trade. This created a demand for a cheap source of labor.

At the same time, China's defeat in the Opium War and economic problems during the late Qing period motivated Chinese to seek better opportunities abroad. Mass Chinese immigration to Singapore began in the mid-nineteenth century. Many Chinese from the southern Chinese provinces of Fujian and Guangdong migrated to Singapore as a result of demand for expanding resources such

[3] The modern Chinese orchestra (*guoyue tuan* 國樂團) emerged and developed between 1919 and the 1950s. The term *Chinese orchestra* has evolved because of political and cultural reasons. In some places of the Chinese Province Taiwan, Chinese orchestras maintain the term *guoyue tuan.* However, Chinese orchestras in China have generally preferred the term *minyue tuan* 民樂團, orchestras in Hong Kong and Macau use the term *zhongyue tuan* 中樂團, and those in Singapore and Malaysia use the term *huayue tuan* 華樂團.

as tin and rubber for Britain. Chinese immigrants in Singapore consist of five major dialect groups, namely, Hokkien, Cantonese, Hainanese, Hakka, and Teochew (Liang, 2005).

As more Chinese migrated to Singapore, they built Chinese temples and established clan associations for mutual assistance. In 1906, Chinese businessmen established the Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce (Xinjiapo zhonghua shangwu zonghui [新加坡中華商務總會]) to look after the economic interests of the Chinese community. They also founded schools and institutions of higher learning, such as the Chinese High School, Chung Cheng High School, Nanyang Girls' High School, and Nanyang University. In 1947, Chinese constituted 78% of the total population in Singapore (Lee, 2003: 285).

A Brief History of the Singapore Chinese Orchestra

After Singapore achieved self-governance in 1959, the governing People's Action Party founded the People's Association in 1960 to foster closer ties among different ethnic groups in Singapore. The People's Association was tasked to organize social events and cultural activities to facilitate inter and intraracial harmony in the country. Following Singapore's independence in 1965, the Ministry of Culture established the National Theatre Trust to promote arts and theatrical performances in Singapore. Three years later, in 1968, it established the National Theatre Chinese Orchestra (Xinjiapo guojia juchang yishu tuan huayue tuan [新加坡國家劇場藝術團華樂團]). Subsequently, the National Theatre Chinese Orchestra became a part-time performing unit of the People's Association Cultural Troupe and was renamed the People's Association Chinese Orchestra (Remin xuehui huayue tuan [人民協會華樂團]). Members of the orchestra have expanded from six to thirty-two over the course of 10 years (Leong, 2017: 38). Some of the early directors of the People's Association Chinese Orchestra include Wu Dajiang [吳大江], Lim Tiap Guan [林哲源], and Ku Lap Man [顧立民] (Leong, 2017: 40). Following Ku Lap Man's retirement in 1993, the orchestra invited Qu Chunquan [瞿春泉], a well-known conductor in China, to direct the orchestra. Qu encouraged Singapore's local composers to write Chinese music and organized conferences for Singaporean musicians to present their works. During Qu Chunquan's tenure as the director, the People's Association Chinese Orchestra performed mainly local compositions for the major performances (Wong, 2010: 90).

In 1997, Singapore's then Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong supported the establishment of the Singapore Chinese Orchestra as Singapore's only professional national Chinese orchestra. At its establishment, the orchestra was made up of twelve members from the People's Association Chinese Orchestra and sixty-two newly recruited members from China. The Singapore Chinese Orchestra invited Hu Bingxu [胡炳旭] to be the director and increased the number of administrative staffs to manage the professional orchestra. Although the Singapore Chinese Orchestra is the youngest professional Chinese orchestra in Asia, it quickly expanded and became an orchestra comparable to its renowned counterparts in the Chinese speaking world. A year after it was established, the Singapore Chinese Orchestra invited the renowned erhu virtuoso, Min Huifen [閔惠芬] (1945–2014), to perform at its inaugural concert at the Victoria Concert Hall (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Min Huifen performing at the inaugural concert of the Singapore Chinese Orchestra in April 1997. Photo by courtesy of the Singapore Chinese Orchestra.

After Hu Binxu left the Singapore Chinese Orchestra in 2000, Xia Feiyun [夏飛雲] became the guest director for a short period of time in 2001. Yan Huichang [閻惠昌], who originally planned to join the Singapore Chinese Orchestra, later decided to join the Hong Kong Chinese Orchestra (Xianggang zhongyue tuan [香港中樂團]). In 2002, Tsung Yeh [葉聰] (b. 1950), the music director of South Bend Symphony Orchestra, was recruited to serve as the music director of the Singapore Chinese Orchestra where he continues till present (Leong, 2017). The music director and musicians work alongside a professional executive team to plan and manage the orchestra. According to Terence Ho [何偉山] (b. 1969), the executive director of the Singapore Chinese Orchestra, both the artistic and administrative members work closely to explore and develop different projects, with the aim of sharing Chinese music with Singaporeans and audiences around the world (Ho, 2015; 2017).

Since the establishment of the Singapore Chinese Orchestra in 1997, it has attempted to develop its approach to Chinese music differently from other international counterparts. In the beginning, the orchestra mainly performed Chinese music, but through innovative concert programming in order to attract both Chinese and non-Chinese audience. Gradually, the Singapore Chinese Orchestra developed and performed Chinese music, reflecting Singapore's diverse cultures and identities by incorporating non-Chinese music elements from Singapore and Southeast Asia, which I will discuss later (Ho, 2015: 227). From the most basic values of the orchestra, Singapore Chinese Orchestra aims to pursue excellent performance, great teamwork, as well as persistent innovation and learning. As executive director Ho shared with me,

> "Unlike other orchestras in [……] China […], Singapore only has a population of 5.4 million people. While a Chinese orchestra can perform all over China for more than six months with a single programme, our orchestra has to constantly innovate and create new strategies, and learn about the development and features of other Chinese orchestras in the region. Our orchestra needs to innovate, experiment, and commission more compositions to stay at the top. Singapore Chinese Orchestra is a bridge and meeting point between the East and the West. There is no language barrier to invite international musicians as our composers are able to communicate efficiently to create more opportunities. We can use the orchestra's resources to commission bespoke works and engage in multidisciplinary collaborations such as with visual arts or film" (Ho, 2017).

According to Ho, the Singapore Chinese Orchestra values its mission and vision to promote "elegant Chinese music for a global audience" (Ho, 2017). Therefore, the orchestra's development strategies focus on interracial and intercultural approaches in order to reach out to diverse

audiences. The programs aim to resonate with various ethnic groups. The orchestra also advertises Chinese music using Singapore's colloquial language, Singlish, as well as goes beyond the concert hall to reach out to the community, hospitals, schools, and parks.

THE NANYANG-STYLE OF THE SINGAPORE CHINESE ORCHESTRA

Since the inception of the Singapore Chinese Orchestra, it has encouraged more local musicians to write Chinese music. Nevertheless, the orchestra initially still performed music mostly by composers coming from China because of the lack of Chinese music composers in Singapore. After becoming the music director of the Singapore Chinese Orchestra in 2002, Tsung Yeh began to consider developing the orchestra's positioning and specialty. He explains,

> "From my past experiences in directing orchestras, I think it's significant for an orchestra to develop its own uniqueness. For example, when I was the music director of the South Bend Symphony Orchestra, I not only encouraged local composers to write new music, but also to explore and incorporate Midwestern American music elements in their compositions. When I was the music director of the Hong Kong Sinfonietta, I supported the works of Hong Kong composers. In addition, I attended events of the Composers and Authors Society of Hong Kong annually to meet with local composers such as Chan Wing Wah and Doming Lam" (Yeh, 2017).

Interestingly, Yeh got his inspiration for Nanyang-style music not from music, but from visual art. Soon after becoming the music director of the Singapore Chinese Orchestra, Yeh stumbled on the Nanyang-style paintings (*Nanyang huafeng* [南洋畫風]) by Singaporean artists Chen Wen Hsi [陳文希], Cheong Soo Pieng [鍾泗賓], Chen Chong Swee [陳宗瑞], and Liu Kang [劉抗] in an art exhibition at the Singapore Art Museum. These artworks, completed in 1952 during a painting trip to Bali, were inspired by Southeast Asian themes such as kampongs, coconut trees, tropical fruits, and rice paddies. The artists also adopted mixed painting techniques, combining Chinese ink-wash painting with Western oil painting. This encounter inspired Yeh to develop a new concept of Nanyang-style music for the Singapore Chinese Orchestra.

Yeh's development of Nanyang-style music can be viewed in three phases. First, Yeh tried to study music in the Nanyang region, and he commissioned local composers to write music pieces. Law Wai Lun (羅偉倫, b. 1944) was one among the first composers. His piece *Prince Sang Nila Utama and Singa* (*Wangzi yu shizi* [王子與獅子]) is based on a local folktale about Prince Sang Nila Utama discovering Singapore and naming it the Lion City. This piece was premiered at the concert *Nanyang Musical Voyage* in 2004. Thereafter, Law Wai Lun composed several more Nanyang-style music pieces such as *The Celestial Web* (*Tianwang* [天網]) and *Admiral of the Seven Seas* (*Haishang diyi ren—Zheng He* [海上第一人]—[鄭和]). Second, Yeh organized the Singapore International Competition for Chinese Orchestral Composition and decided on Nanyang-style music as the theme for the 2006 competition. As Yeh explains,

> "[T]he competition aims to showcase compositions written with a Nanyang flavor. That means a style or theme relating to Singapore and its neighboring countries, such as Malaysia and Indonesia. That could be a story related to those countries or musical elements such as the melody, rhythm, theme or instrument. It could also include music from southern China like Hokkien, Teochew, Cantonese, Hakka or Hainan. We include this in our definition of Nanyang because the Chinese population in Singapore, Malaysia, and Indonesia largely originate from Southern China, provinces like Fujian and Guangdong" (Yeh, 2017).

Following the successful Singapore International Competition for Chinese Orchestral Composition (SICCOC) in 2006, the Singapore Chinese Orchestra organized two more competitions in 2011 and 2015, respectively. In 2011, the SICCOC was much supported by Singapore's Prime Minister Lee

Hsien Loong, who donated $750,000 to support the promotion of Nanyang-style music. In the first competition, sixty-four submissions were received from twelve countries. In 2011, seventy-three submissions were received from nine countries. In 2015, sixty-six submissions were received from thirteen countries (Figure 2). Table 1 presents the prize winners and their compositions in the 2006, 2011, and 2015 SICCOC. The prize-winning composers came from a number of Asian countries, including Singapore, Malaysia, and China with all its diverse regions. According to Yeh, an average of eight pieces were performed each season. Some of the award-winning composers were successively commissioned to compose more music for the Singapore Chinese Orchestra. To date, there are sixty Nanyang-style music pieces from both the SICCOC and other commissions (Yeh, 2017).

Figure 2: 2015 Singapore International Competition for Chinese Orchestral Composition. Photo by courtesy of the Singapore Chinese Orchestra.

2006 SICCOC			
Award	**Composition**	**Composer**	**Nationality**
1st Prize	*Tapestries: Time Dances* 《掛毯：時光飛舞》	Eric James Watson	Singapore
2nd Prize	*Izpirazione II* 《捕风掠影 II》	Kong Su Leong 江賜良	Malaysia
3rd Prize	*Buka Panggung*	Yi Kah Hoe 餘家和	Malaysia
Singaporean Composer Award	*The Sisters' Islands* 《姐妹島》	Wang Chenwei 王辰威	Singapore
Young Composer Award	*Volcanicity* 《熔》	Tang Lok Yin 鄧樂妍	China (Hong Kong)
Honorary Award	*Admiral of the Seven Seas*	Law Wai Lun 羅偉倫	Singapore

	《海上第一人—鄭和》		
2011 SICCOC			
Award	**Composition**	**Composer**	**Nationality**
1st Prize	*A Stroll in the Lion City* 《獅城漫步》	Xie Xiangming 謝湘銘	China
2nd Prize	*Nine Actors* 《九角子》	Stephen Yip 葉樹堅	China (Hong Kong)
3rd Prize	*The Silence of Borobudur* 《沉默的婆羅浮屠》	Zhu Yiqing 朱一清	China
Nanyang Award	*Cycle of Destiny* 《圓來緣去》	Raymond Mok Kin Yee 莫健兒	China (Macau)
Singaporean Composer Award	*Dark Light* 《黑光》	Lee Ji Heng 李智恆	Singapore
Young Composer Award	*The Capriccio of the Mountain Folk Song* 《山謠隨想》	Wang Dongxu 王東旭	China
2015 SICCOC			
Award	**Composition**	**Composer**	**Nationality**
1st Prize	*Arise, You Lion of Glory!* 《獅舞弄清韻》	Fung Gordon Dic-Lun 馮迪倫	China (Hong Kong)
2nd Prize	*The Calling from the Distant Hills* 《來自遠山的呼喚》	Liu Wei-Chih 劉韋志	China (Taiwan)
3rd Prize	*Go Across the Rainforests* 《穿越熱帶雨林》	Kong Zhixuan 孔志軒	China
Singaporean Composer Award	*Krakatoa*	Wong Kah Chun 黃佳俊	Singapore
Young Composer Award	*Bale Bengong* 《夢亭》	Chew Jun An 周俊安	Singapore

Table 1: Full List of Award Winners for 2006, 2011, and 2015 SICCOC.
Source and table by courtesy of the Singapore Chinese Orchestra Archives.

Third, in recent years, Yeh encouraged composers to embark on fieldwork (*caifeng* [采風]) to experience and learn the local elements and instrumentation of Nanyang musical culture. He believes that composers should learn first-hand the various forms of local music to better compose Nanyang-style music pieces for the Singapore Chinese Orchestra. Yeh suggests that the Nanyang-style music needs to be inclusive to present the cultural diversity of Singapore society. Therefore, it should not only include Southeast Asian music culture, but also incorporate Indian (such as Tamil) and southern Chinese (such as Hokkien, Cantonese, Hainan, Teochew, and Hakka) musical elements. According to Yeh, the composers visited various parts of Malaysia (Kuching, Sabah, Sarawak, and Malacca), Indonesia (Jakarta and Solo), and China (Quanzhou, Meizhou, Shantou, and Xiamen) to experience and learn various forms of music before composing their pieces (Yeh, 2017). More recently, Yeh has attempted to include Peranakan music and culture into Nanyang-style music, and he is collaborating with renowned Singaporean Peranakan musician, Dick Lee.

I argue that Nanyang-style music is the defining factor that distinguishes the Singapore Chinese Orchestra from other professional Chinese orchestras in the region. By looking closely at the themes and programs of the performances, I suggest that the Singapore Chinese Orchestra's Nanyang-style music, which is uniquely Singaporean, can be understood in two categories, namely, Chinese orchestral music pieces that celebrate Southeast Asian culture and those that emphasize Singaporean identity.

The first category of Singapore Chinese Orchestra's Nanyang-style music, as Yeh suggested, are music pieces that highlight the "culture, geography, history, and stories of the Nanyang region" (Yeh, 2017). Therefore, the titles of the music pieces often clearly demonstrate their "Nanyang-ness." For example, *Arise, You Lion of Glory!* is named after the traditional southern Chinese lion dance, whereas *Admiral of the Seven Seas* was composed in 2005 to commemorate the 600th

anniversary of Zheng He's maritime voyages and his arrival in Southeast Asia. *Prince Sang Nila Utama and Singa* got its name from one of the well-known local folktales. Some Nanyang-style music pieces were named after places. For example, compositions such as *The Sisters' Islands*, *Krakatoa*, and *The Silence of Borobudur* were named after well-known places in Singapore and in Southeast Asia more broadly. Figures 3 and 4 are two examples of Singapore Chinese Orchestra's Nanyang-themed concerts. As we can see from the two posters, the orchestra not only performs Nanyang-style Chinese music, but also uses Southeast Asian cultural elements such as batik and *wayang kulit* (shadow puppet) for its concert posters and programs. In fact, the poster of the *Nanyang Music Journey II* concert contains text in Chinese, English, and Malay (see Figure 4).

Figure 3: The concert program of "Nanyang Musical Voyage,"
September 26 and 28, 2003. Photo by courtesy of the Singapore Chinese Orchestra.

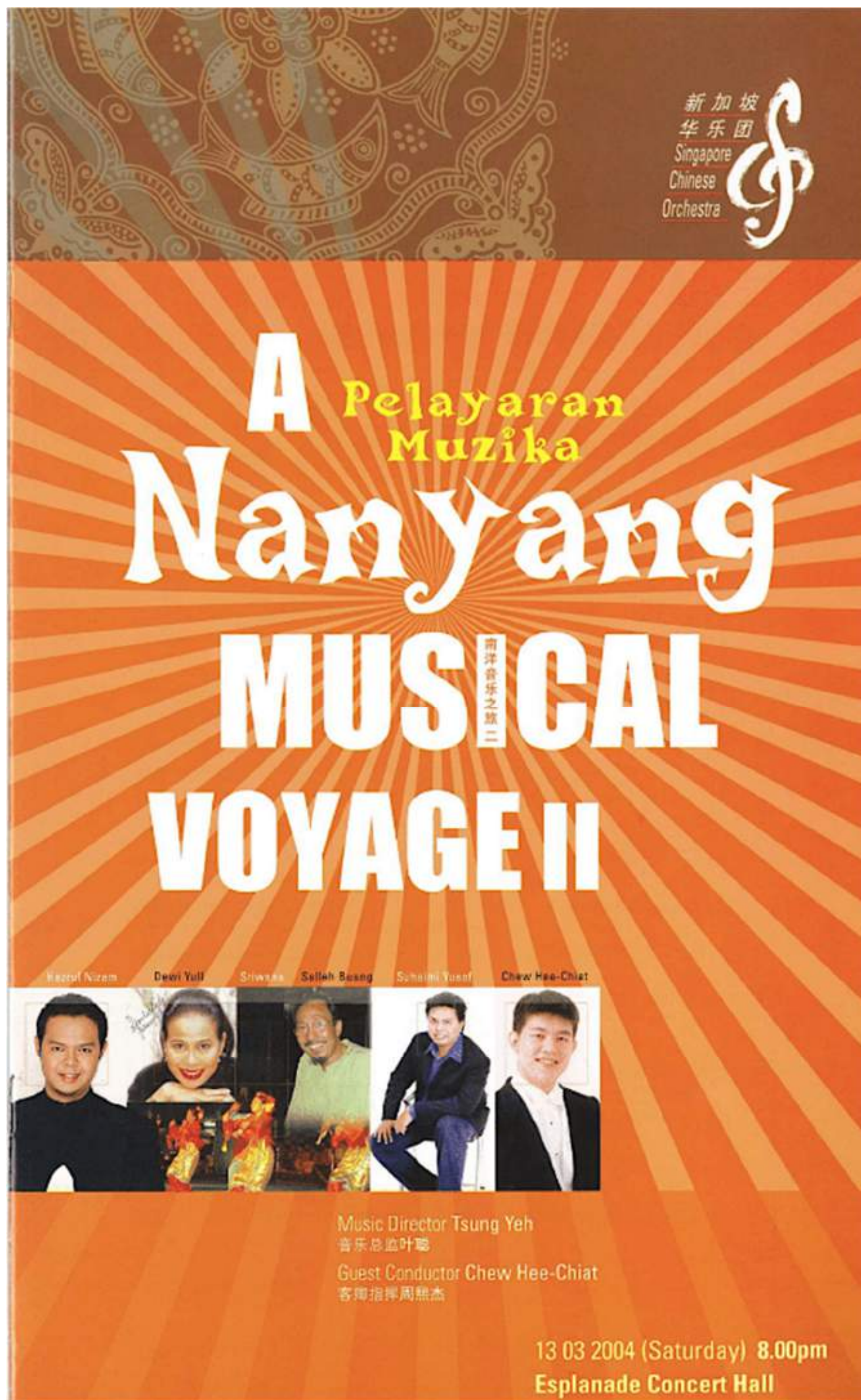

Figure 4: The concert program of "Nanyang Musical Voyage II," March 13, 2004.
Photo by courtesy of the Singapore Chinese Orchestra.

As I have discussed earlier, Yeh's concept of Nanyang-style music is an inclusive fusion of Southern Chinese music elements of Hokkien, Cantonese, Hainan, Teochew, and Hainan, as well as Malay, Indian, and Peranakan music from the Nanyang/Southeast Asian region, symbolizing the diverse migrant cultures of the Southeast Asian Chinese. For example, Singaporean composer Wang Chenwei's music piece, *The Sisters' Islands* (*Jiemei dao* [姐妹島]), which received the Singaporean Composer Award at the first SICCOC in 2006, was named after two islands in Singapore. I observe that the two themes, namely, "Sea" and "Sisters," are written in the Indonesian Gamelan pelog scale. The "Sea" theme is accompanied by complex rhythmic structures found in Gamelan, which is played by the Marimba and Yangqin. The main melody is played by the *sheng* [笙] and *ruan* [阮] (Figures 5 and 6). The 'Sisters' theme is presented in 4/4 meter in the style of

Asli, an elegant Malay dance. The composer applies the ornaments of an Asli dance to present the Nanyang-ness of the piece (Wang, 2018). The composer Law Wai Lun's *Admiral of the Seven Seas* features Chinese traditional drums and cymbals (*luogu* [鑼鼓]) and orchestration in companion with imagined Indonesian Gamelan musical structures and an abstract pelog scale.

E C调小笛

1. solo

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Figures 5 and 6: Score for *The Sisters' Islands* by Wang Chenwei (mm. 1–7/49–52). Page copy by courtesy of Wang Chenwei.

The second category of Nanyang-style music refers to the music pieces that present and celebrate Singaporean identity. Some music pieces are composed in order to highlight Singapore's multiculturalism. For instance, Eric Watson's *Singapore: A Gourmet Paradise* is a music piece named after the cuisines of different ethnic groups in Singapore. The first movement is "Roti Prata," the second movement is "Nanyang Breakfast," and the third movement is "Hainanese Chicken Rice."

Singapore Chinese Orchestra regularly organizes concerts in Singapore to perform popular songs from popular local Chinese drama series (see Figure 7). Some of these songs include *The Awakening* (*Wusuo Nanyang* [霧鎖南洋]), *Kopi-O* (*Kafeiwu* [咖啡烏]), *Good Morning Teacher* (*Zao'an laoshi* [早安老師]), and *I Can Endure the Hardship* (*Wo chi de qi ku* [我吃得起苦]). In addition, the orchestra commissioned rearrangements of popular National Day patriotic songs, such as Law Wai Lun's *Medley of National Day Theme Songs*, which consists of songs such as *We are Singapore,* Kit Chan's *Home*, and Stefanie Sun's *One United People* for National Day celebrations. Sometimes, Singaporean singers are invited to perform alongside the orchestra. As executive director, Terence Ho shared with me, "Singapore Chinese Orchestra aims to make Chinese orchestral music accessible to all walks of life in Singapore" (Ho, 2017).

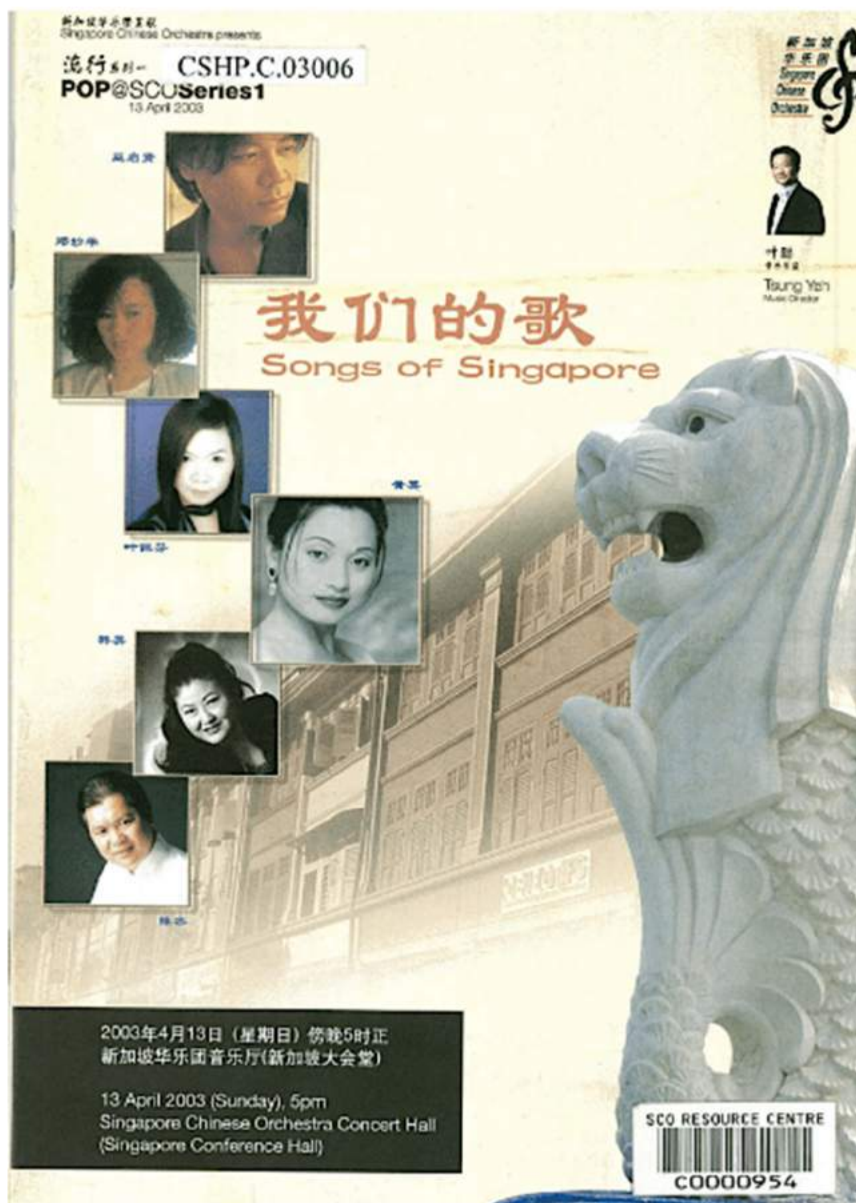

Figure 7: The concert program of "Songs of Singapore," April 13, 2003.
Photo by courtesy of the Singapore Chinese Orchestra.

CONCLUSION

This article has examined the Nanyang-style music of the Singapore Chinese Orchestra. I suggest that the Nanyang-style music presents a new form of creation and performance of Chinese music beyond China, which distinguishes the Singapore Chinese Orchestra from other Chinese orchestras in the region. In his influential article, Tu Wei-Ming proposed the concept of "Cultural China" to suggest that the core values of Chinese culture can be found in regions, such as definitely in China, Singapore, and Malaysia, which have preserved Confucianism. The Chinese music of "cultural China" demonstrates a complex hybridization process. As Brian Bernards argues, "Chinese ethnic, linguistic, or regional/dialect affiliations transcend national boundaries of culture, language, and political citizenship to produce transnational or diasporic networks of literary production, circulation, and appraisal" (Bernards, 2015: 9). In the case of the Nanyang-style music, we have seen how Chinese music transcends national boundaries of culture, language, and political citizenship to incorporate diasporic and local elements into music composition and performance.

As a matter of fact, Singapore Chinese Orchestra, founded in 1997, is the youngest professional Chinese orchestra in Asia. On the one hand, it aligns itself with renowned longstanding modern Chinese orchestras with its structure and instrumentation. On the other hand, the Singapore Chinese Orchestra creates and performs music to highlight the multicultural Singaporean society as well as the hybridized identity of the Singaporean Chinese. As Bernards writes, "The Nanyang trope does *not* appeal to an ethno-linguistic Chinese-ness that supersedes the assimilatory or marginalizing force of the nation, but instead draws attention to the creolizing processes behind the formation of *multiple* national cultures: it is just capable of expressing Malaysianess, Singaporeaness, and Thainess as it is Chineseness" (Bernards, 2015: 9; emphasis added). The Nanyang-style music offers a case to demonstrate the orchestration of new Chinese music by incorporating local sounds and musical instruments. This allows the Singapore Chinese Orchestra to differentiate their music from other orchestras.

In other words, just like Nanyang literature and Nanyang-style paintings, Nanyang-style music draws the attention to the creolizing processes behind the formation of Singapore Chinese Orchestra's music. The Nanyang-style music is an example of the expression of Singaporeaness. More importantly, it highlights the hybrized cultural identity of Singaporean Chinese. Tan Shzr Ee (2012) suggested that Singapore Chinese Orchestra's music is Chinese culture or the imagination of it; however, in combination with urban multicultural elements, Singapore Chinese Orchestra's expression of music is to present ethnic connections, establishing interest/likeness and approval/identity of Chinese music from diverse groups in Singapore. In other words, although Singapore Chinese Orchestra has its roots in the modern Chinese orchestra from mainland China, it strives for "cultural independency" and position itself as a node between East and West, China, and Southeast Asia (Groppe, 2013). As Edwin Thumboo writes in the "Ulysses by the Merlion":

> Despite unequal ways,
> Together they mutate,
> Explore the edges of harmony,
> Search for a centre.

The journey in "search for a centre" is probably best demonstrated in the three movements of the composition *Legend of the Merlion* (*Yuweishi chuanqi* [魚尾獅傳奇]) by Liu Xijin 劉錫津: 'Seek Blessings' (*Aimin qiuyou* [哀民求佑]); 'Raging Sea' (*Nuhai fengbao* [怒海風暴]); and 'Nanyang's Affection' (*Qingxi Nanyang* [情系南洋]) (Singapore Chinese Orchestra 2006). Similar to the protagonists in the music piece, migrants arrived in Singapore, became citizens of the city-state, and established their own identity. Their journey and their unique Singaporean Chinese music remain to be told.

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“A Tiger’s Coming Down”: Gugak in the Metaverse

Jocelyn Clark[1]

Abstract

In 2021, the South Korean government launched its Digital New Deal with the aim of transforming society through science and technology and, later that year, announced the creation of the National Metaverse Alliance, charged with building a unified national virtual reality (VR) and augmented reality (AR) platform. As 5G technology becomes the norm in South Korea, we may soon find the proscenium stage replaced by immersive digital experiences that transcend time and space in the “metaverse.” This article describes some of the points at which *gugak* is currently intersecting with emerging technologies and contemplates the future effects of these encounters on the country’s intangible heritage and traditional music aesthetics.

Keywords

Korea, *Gugak*, Joseon Pop, K-*Heung,* Leenalchi.

Introduction

In the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympics opening ceremony, five children arrived at a glittering “Gate to the Future at the end of the River of Time.” The light emanating from the gate lengthens, illuminating a new world in which “everyone communicates and interacts freely with one another.” As the media guide explains, “when the children step [through] the Gate to the Future, the people onstage stand in a circle with one ray of light drawing an image of a person with a smile: a statement that the world of new technology belongs to people” (PyeongChang Olympic Winter Games Opening Ceremony, 2018). Once through the gate, the children see the future Republic of Korea—a high-tech utopia where their dreams are realized: “Puri has become a doctor, Nuri an artificial intelligence specialist, Ara a K-pop star, Haenarae an urban simulation expert, and Bichae a Hangeul teacher and holographic specialist” (PyeongChang Winter Olympics Opening Ceremony, 2018). In 2018, few young people dreamed of becoming a *gugak*[2] star.

Four years into this imagined high-tech future and three years into the very real coronavirus pandemic, the metaverse now waits at the end of the River of Time (as we know it), and new *gugak* genres and renditions are being conceived and popularized every day, as modern musical influences and emerging technologies descend on Korea’s old musical traditions. As described in the lyrics of the Joseon Pop group Leenalchi’s hit song, “A Tiger Is Coming” (Arirang K-Pop, 2020), “scarlet mouth wide open, shrill rumbling sound as if the sky had collapsed and the earth had been ripped out … a tiger is coming down, a tiger is coming. A beast is coming down through the deep valley in the pine woods” (Elkan, 2020).

On January 20, 2021, the South Korean government launched a “Digital New Deal” with the aim of transforming society through science and technology. A few months later, in May, it announced the creation of the “National Metaverse Alliance,” which it charged with building a unified national VR

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[1] Jocelyn Clark is teaching and researching at Pai Chai University.

[2] 國樂, lit. “National music,” i.e., traditional Korean music.

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and AR[3] platform (Sharwood, 2021). Later that year, on October 29, Mark Zuckerberg announced the rebranding of *Facebook* to *Meta*, heralding the oncoming transition of much of our daily lives into the "metaverse"—the digital universe currently under construction by not only Facebook/Meta, but Apple, Google/Alphabet, Epic, Unity, Roblox, NVIDIA Corp., Tencent, NetEase, TikTok/Douyin/ByteDance, Zepto, Naver, Daum/Kakao, WYSIWYG, Com2uS, Netmarble, Studio Dragon, and Nreal, to name a few. As a result, if and when the pandemic loosens its grip on South Korea, we can expect to emerge into a world transformed by all manner of (extended reality) XR-simulated experiences[4]—a world where our material realities will increasingly migrate into virtual and other digital realms, with digitized possessions owned in the form of nonfungible tokens (NFTs) that are traded through cryptocurrencies pegged to various distributed database ledgers or blockchains.

In the winter of 2019, I had my first experience with VR goggles (Yonhap News Agency, 2021a) [5] using Oculus Quest 1; later, in early 2020, I tried Oculus Quest 2. Both headsets were introduced to me by an American friend, as neither was yet sold in Korea.[6] Oculus 2 would formally arrive on the peninsula later, coinciding with the announcement of South Korea's investment of 202.4 billion *won* ($181.8 million) in VR technology and devices to support the growth of the country's digital-content industry (Yonhap News Agency, 2021a).

My first Oculus 2 experience blew my mind. I played the musical rhythm game Beat Saber (which Zuckerberg claimed, in his October 29, 2021 speech, already had 100 million-plus players),[7] painted in 3D, went deep-sea diving, sat with Elton John at his piano as the crowd cheered, jumped off buildings, flew around mountains, drove off a cliff, and watched Netflix—sitting on a couch next to a crackling fireplace, in a fancy cabin located at a luxurious ski resort on a snowy evening. After I removed the goggles, I began to think about the possibilities this technology might hold for engaging Koreans with the country's traditional arts, and soon, after my out-of-body experience, I gave a talk

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[3] An enhanced version of the physical, real-world reality of which elements are superimposed by computer-generated or extracted real-world sensory input such as sound, video, graphics, or haptics (Schueffel, 2017). *The Concise Fintech Compendium,* pp. 2-3). A popular example is the digital Pokemon game.

"Mixed Reality" (MR*)* generally refers to hybrids of augmented reality and virtual reality.

[4] Extended reality (XR) is a generic term referring to all real-and-virtual combined environments and human–machine interactions generated by computer technology and wearables, including VR, AR, and MR.

[5] AR/VR technology makes use of sensory devices to either virtually modify a user's environment (AR) or completely immerse them in a simulated environment (VR). Virtual reality devices typically consist of specially designed headsets that offer complete visual immersion into a simulated environment, whereas augmented reality relies on headsets that add virtual elements to a user's actual environment. In 2020, global sales of AR/VR headsets were projected to reach 5.5 million units. Sony's PlayStation VR and Facebook's Oculus 2 VR headsets represent most of the VR headset products being sold on the market today (AR and VR market size worldwide from 2016 to 2024, 2020). Korea's top wireless carrier, SK Telecom Co., recently began selling Oculus Quest 2, whereas LG Uplus Corp. partnered with Chinese mixed reality developer Nreal last year to release AR glasses. (Yonhap News Agency, 2021a).

[6] Although Facebook had acquired Oculus in 2014, it was not until 2016 that Oculus applied to Korean regulators to market the original PC-based headset Oculus Rift (Kim Young-won, 2016). Either Facebook withdrew the application, or the government refused it, as neither Oculus Rift, its follow-up Oculus Rift S, nor Oculus Quest 1 ever made it to the Korean market. In late 2019, SK Telecom established a partnership with Facebook to sell its Oculus Go as hardware for SK's Jump VR services (Hamilton, 2020). When Oculus Quest 2 arrived in February of 2021 (like Oculus Go, also in partnership with SK Telecom Co.), it was only the second Oculus headset to come to the peninsula and priced at around ₩414,000 or $370, at least 10 times more than the less powerful Samsung Gear. Oculus Quest 2 differs from the Samsung Gear VR in that it has a 4° wider field of view (100° vs 96°), has a gyroscope, has position tracking, can track 360° head movement, has an adjustable IPD, has a socket for a 3.5 mm audio jack, a game controller is included, and it has an accelerometer.

[7] In 2019, the market size of gaming in South Korea was around 15.6 trillion South Korean *won* ($13.2 billion; Jobst, 2022). A tenth of this was VR and AR gaming*,* which went from four trillion *won* ($3.4 billion) to 5.7 trillion *won* ($4.9 billion) in 2020 alone. The overall market value of gaming is estimated to grow to 19.9 trillion *won* in 2022. (Jobst, 2021b). The overall market value of gaming is estimated to grow to 19.9 trillion *won* in 2022[7] and up to 23.46 trillion won in 2023. (Jobst, N., 2022). Mixed reality (MR) gaming is certain to make up a growing percentage of that expansion.

to the music faculty at Seoul National University in the fall of 2020, in which I suggested, it was time Korean traditional instruments/music entered this space. As I soon found out, many in South Korea's traditional arts community were already working hard toward that end.

When COVID-19 arrived in Korea in February 2020 and many of our day-to-day activities began to move online, high-tech platforms featuring Korea's traditional instruments and music were "shovel ready,' with the National Gugak Center releasing a series of videos in Korean and English on *YouTube* on the Gugak TV channel (National Gugak Center. n.d.) titled "Daily *Gugak*: Fight COVID Online Concerts," with uplifting messages of strength and perseverance set against a backdrop of traditional "healing music" performances. More remarkably, on July 1st of that year, the National Gugak Center released 63 360º VR videos that could be viewed with VR goggles or on *YouTube* through a digital-streaming device. Although these video channels and VR concerts had not been planned, funded, institutionalized, shot, or edited in *response* to COVID-19, the timing of their release proved auspicious, as people retreated to their homes and into online worlds. By the summer of 2020, thanks to multidimensional 3D/8K video/sound recording technologies, anyone with a VR headset was able to step on stage and stroll among the young National Gugak Center performers who played in the productions.

In July 2021, South Korea's government launched its revised and expanded "Digital New Deal 2.0," with the vision of "becoming a leading country through great transformation to a first-mover economy, low-carbon economy, and inclusive society" (Government of the Republic of Korea, 2021: 15). The Digital New Deals were conceived as umbrella plans to tackle COVID-19 and start "a great transformation through science and technology innovation," including continued expansion of South Korea's public WiFi networks "to narrow the digital divide" (Melnick, 2021). Digital New Deal 1.0 allocated 58.2 trillion *won* ($50 billion) in key tech industries to create more than 900,000 jobs by 2025, (Yonhap News Agency, 2021a); the 2.0 version increased the total budget that included local government and private sector funds from 160 trillion *won* (New Deal 1.0) to 220 trillion *won* (up by 60 trillion *won* or around $182.6 billion) by 2025. Accordingly, under the Digital New Deal, between 2020 and 2025, South Korea's tech workforce is expected to increase from 1.9 million to 2.5 million (Government of the Republic of Korea, 2021: 16). Digital New Deal 2.0 also explicitly adds the policy to "develop hyper-connected industries including the metaverse" (specifically building "open metaverse platforms and support [for the] creation of metaverse contents…"), for which it set aside 2.6 trillion *won* (Government of the Republic of Korea, 2021: 16, 18). On November 10, 2021, Seoul announced it would invest 3.9 billion *won* ($3.3 million) of New Deal money to become "the first major city government to enter the metaverse" (Squires, 2021).

Put together with the proliferation of 5G Internet speeds across the country (Samsung, Verizon, Qualcomm set a new record of 711 Mbps upload speed which is around a gigabyte every 10 seconds in October 2021; Cho Jeehyun, 2021), we may be seeing the age of the proscenium stage brought to an end or, at the very least, augmented, by virtual and hybrid platforms that offer better views and sound without leaving the couch or putting oneself at risk for infection.

In this paper, I observe some of the ways *gugak* is beginning to express itself on new high-tech platforms and contemplate what these new tools may mean for Korean traditional music over the coming years.

Pioneering Online Video and VR Traditional Arts

For musicians around the world unaffiliated with an institution, 2020 was a harrowing time during which many struggled to eat and pay rent. Those with institutional backing and access to online video-production equipment fared better. Live concerts were canceled *en masse*, at the same time, interest grew in newly available digital performances. In the realm of non*gugak*-affiliated pop, the Record Label Industry Association of Korea (RLIAK) reported the cancellation of 211 concerts in just the

three months between February and April, resulting in losses of almost 63.32 billion *won* ($51.6 million) in concert-related revenue (Kwon Yae-rim, 2020).

We do not have these figures for the *gugak* industry at large, but we might take the National Gugak Center's numbers as a microcosm. In addition to the Seoul campus, the Center comprises "local" Gugak centers, including the National "Folk" Gugak Center in Namwon, North Jeolla Province, the National Namdo Gugak Center in Jindo, South Jeolla Province, and the Busan National Gugak Center in Busan. The average number of *gugak* performances per year across these locations was 250 to 300. These dropped to 167 performances altogether—54 stage performances and 113 *online* performances (Lee Chan-young, 2021), which included 103 nongovernment-affiliated performances at the Gugak Center's venues: 88 recorded/streamed in Seoul, three in Namwon, 11 in Jindo, and one in Busan (Seo Inhwa & Clark, 2021). By the end of 2020, the first year of COVID-19, corporate funding in South Korea had dropped 42.9% for classical music performances, 44.6% for musicals, and 50.1% for dance, compared to 2019. At the same time, private financial backing for *gugak* and traditional arts went up by 5.8% and the government began making significant investments in online *gugak* (Im Eun-byel, 2021a), "for the nation." Although concert numbers went down, the number of people exposed to various *gugak* performances increased. In 2019, the number of visitors to concerts at the National Gugak Center was under 200,000, but, in 2020, online performances were accessed by more than one million unique viewers (Lee Chan-young, 2021). Much of this content streamed on *YouTube* and *Naver* and, through these platforms, on *Facebook*. Those with international aspirations included *BandCamp*.

Gugak and *gugak*-related online concert videos use three general levels of technology. The first is familiar—simply moving a live traditional proscenium performance in front of a video camera. With Neilsen ratings hovering around 1.7% (The Neilsen Company, 2022), KBS's *Gugak Hanmadang* variety show, the longest-running (and for most of its history, only) Korean traditional music program on Korean television has been doing this since 1990—for 1,390 Saturdays as on February 5, 2022. Its production values may have improved over time—digital graphics and HD have been added—but less technological innovation is found in this tried-and-true format. Most of the concerts that have gone online during the pandemic have involved this kind of format, including the new K-music/Joseon Pop "*gugak* survival" shows on cable. It is familiar to performer (old masters in particular), camera person, production crew, and viewers, and the productions can be spun up relatively quickly and economically. Pandemic or not, students and those in the Intangible Cultural Asset System still need to fulfill their required concert quotas, and these accessible productions, which can now even be shot on a smart phone, provide a way to go before an audience, be it on national television or TikTok. For simplicity, I include rudimentary 3D videos of traditional proscenium and outside/*pan* performances in this first category.

The second type of online performance being produced today resembles an MTV-style music video, most often containing added visual, and sometimes audio, elements. Examples include the "Gugak Artist Lab," "Gugak in (人)," and "Hope ON" (희망[希望]ON) projects.

The third category involves the full use of the latest technology to create an immersive, and sometimes interactive, experience—projects like Won Il's work with the Gyeonggi Sinawi Orchestra and Leenalchi's 3D XR concert "*Sugungga:* Catch the Rabbit," a rendering of the *pansori* narrative "Song of the Underwater Palace" (水宮歌).

International collaborations on new music/electro/acoustic concerts that include *gugak* instruments, such as, the concerts of Yoo Hong, Kim Jin Hi, and Trevor New, have used a hybrid of the first and third types of productions described above.

In addition to the full concerts that were moved online, the Center created several separately branded music–video series. The "Hope ON" (희망 ON) playlist includes 32 videos performed in the Center's halls of *parts* of concerts of traditional repertoire, each around 5–10 minutes long—a short *sanjo* or

an aria from the *pansori* (narrative story singing) repertoire. The playlist premiered on May 1, 2020 and was last updated on October 29, 2020 (Hope ON, 2020).

Another video project of the National Gugak Center, sponsored by the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, was the "Gugak *in* (人)" project, (Gugak in playlist 2021, 2021) which began in February of 2021 and ran through December of 2021. The project's aim was to provide 3 to 7 million *won* (around $2,500–$6,000) in financial support for artistic activities—specifically, for performance videos by traditional artists who had lost concerts "due to the corona situation" (Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, 2021). With these funds, actual MTV-style "music videos" lasting 5–35 minutes were produced instead of videos of live concerts. As on December 20, 2021, 63 videos were made for the 2021 series. The project was renewed, with applications for a "2022 Gugak in 人 project" [국악인 프로젝트] accepted from December 15–17, 2021 (National Gugak Center, n.d.).

Next to the "Gugak *in*" project, the 2021 Gugak Artist Lab project (2021 국악아티스트 랩), also created by the National Gugak Center under the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, aimed "to promote creative activities <u>based on</u> (emphasis added by the author) traditional art in the online space." From April 16 to 20, "[a]ll genres (traditional, fusion, creation, etc.) based on *gugak*" were accepted, with "the elements of *gugak* (content, acoustic, etc.) required to be included." Applicants had to be 18 (19 in Korean years) and should have *majored in Korean music*. Winners received production support (up to 10 million *won* per individual/team in equipment, video, and technical education support, and so on.), public relations support, posting on the National Gugak Center's *YouTube* channel (Gugak Artist Lab [국악 아티스트 랩], 2021a), Naver TV, and distribution to overseas cultural centers, as well as "excellent work MCN (Multi-Channel Network)-related business matching support and overseas performance market entry support" (Ibid). In the end, 28 new videos were created and later revealed between December 13 and 17, 2021 (Gugak Artist Lab [국악 아티스트 랩], 2021b).

The very first set of videos to be produced after COVID-19 that arrived in Korea, however, was the "Daily *Gugak* —Fighting COVID Online Concerts" [코로나 19 극복 온라인 콘서트 '일일국악'], and began on March 17, 2020. On April 29, 2020, all concerts were subtitled in English. These were not really concerts but short music videos on each of the genres housed in the National Gugak Center, introduced by a director or head musician who first urged viewers to work together to combat COVID, wear masks, wash hands, and socially distance, then proceeded to extend the sounds of their "healing" and ritual work to help everyone sequestered at home feel better. The list of works included everything from court pieces that had once brought the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1897) auspicious luck, to the "Sparrow's Travelogue" aria from the *pansori* narrative *Song of Heungbo*, invoking fond memories of travel, to songs with roots in shamanic exorcism—such as the very first video in the series, "Namdo *Sinawi*," a genre which seeks to expel evil spirits from the land. Although some videos were beautifully shot in 4K with multiple cameras on booms, there was less revolutionary about them, except the speed with which they came out—almost a video a day during the month of March 2020.

The most remarkable and uniquely Korean aspect of the series were the high production quality and speed of the releases, neither of which would have been possible had the digital infrastructure was not already in place. In a survey published by *statista.com*, conducted in April and May of 2020, around 45.3% of South Korean respondents said they had experienced their first virtual concert (regardless of genre) during the previous two months. Around 54.7% stated that their online video consumption had increased overall during that time (Jobst, 2021b).

Ready Country One: From 2D to 3D

Although the above streaming resources were impressive, what really put South Korea on the map in the early days of the pandemic when it came to the traditional performing arts, was the country's VR

advancements. In February of 2019, the Japanese company Docomo created the "world's first 8K[8] 3D virtual reality system" for live 5G streaming at 60 frames per second (FPS).[9] Just a year later, on July 1, 2020, the National Gugak Center had 60 examples of its National Gugak Center-affiliated works and genres played by its employees ready to enter the 3D VR space. The National Gugak Center boasted that their effort marked the first known VR product in the world featuring traditional performing arts (Kim Hee-sun & Park Yu-sung, 2020: 1).

This achievement was largely made possible by the Center's work, beginning in 2019, on an experiential interactive exhibit based on Digilog technology for which VR, AR, holographic, and projection-mapping technologies (together known as "mixed reality") were required. According to Kim Hee-sun, Director of the Research Center at the National Gugak Center at the time, the idea was for these advanced technologies to "be used to expand the base of Korean traditional music, [leading] to the globalization, popularization, [integration into] daily life, and industrialization of Korean traditional music"—the mission of the National Gugak Center and the Museum of Traditional Music. The Center was working under an Innovative Growth Foundation grant for their "Cultural Data Construction Project" for new technology support for Korean cultural information (Kim Hee-sun & Park Yu-sung, 2020: 5).

The first filming took place on November 5, 2019 and included the fan dance, *sogo* (small frame drum) dance, *janggo* (hourglass drum) dance, and *Cheoyongmu* or "Cheoyong's Dance," a dance to ward off the Smallpox Virus God from sleeping with the protagonist's wife (Ibid). Less did the filmmakers know what was coming in three months' time.

Viewers can experience these performances in 3D from a 2D perspective on a computer or smart phone by 'looking around' with the 360º hand function (National Gugak Center, 2022). For those with VR goggles, one may stand in the middle of the performers and turn to engage with any one of them. (They do not react—yet.)

In the Center's 3D educational videos, like "Jindo Arirang" (National Gugak Center, 2020), the names of the instruments are labeled in Korean as each is played individually and then together, as viewers may learn how each looked and sounded. One may step closer and, for instance, sit next to the *gayageum* player or zoom in on her hands (by moving your head) in 3D to get a closeup view of her technique. The players are young employees of the Center and not Important Intangible Human Cultural Assets, which makes the videos good as educational introductions to *gugak*, but not as pedagogical tools for advanced students and practitioners.

Online Learning: EdTech Tools and Apps

Elsewhere on the educational front, in January of 2021, the National Theater of Korea moved its Korean Traditional Performing Arts Academy to *YouTube*. The "Let's Gugak!" (I, II) site's English playlist (National Theater of Korea [국립극장], 2021) was designed to educate foreigners in Korea interested in traditional Korean culture without exposing them to the novel coronavirus. A new class was posted online every Thursday, beginning on March 18, 2021, for nine weeks in each session (I, II), with English, Chinese, and Japanese subtitles and practice videos that allowed viewers to rehearse dance, vocals, and rhythm (Im Eun-byel, 2021b). The National Gugak Center also experienced a surge in the number of visitors accessing the e-Korean Music Academy, which it had started in 2007

[8] 8K indicates 7680×2160 pixels per square inch, the highest resolution available in 2019 when the NGC recorded its videos.

[9] VR headsets like the HR Reverb G2, HTC Vive Cosmos, Vive Pro, and Valve Index, run $600 or more, but the current most popular headset, Oculus 2, now costs about $300, with Facebook/Meta's new sunglasses-style VR headset, produced in partnership with Ray Ban Stories, running just under $300.

and upgraded during the pandemic. Between 2019 and April 2020, the site saw an increase of 27,500 users which is almost a five-fold increase.[10] (Lee Chan-young, 2021).

Korean institutions have also been making *gugak*-related apps, although not all have been updated regularly. The "Digital *Gugak* Instrument Source and App Development Project" at the Center for Arts & Technologies at Seoul National University (CATSNU, funded by the Korea Creative Content Agency) made a series of individual instrument apps between 2005 and 2015 under the "Gugak" (with an "˚" over the second *g*) brand (Lee Ji-hyun, 2018). On the iOS App Store, CATSNU describes itself as "an organization that creates advanced art content by converging art with science. We aim to build a creative research environment focusing on education and study. We also conduct research in digital media and electroacoustic music. Moreover, we are continuously challenging ourselves to explore newer art areas such as developing virtual Korean instruments and mobile applications, and interactive hybrid performances using sensor application." Referring to the app CATSNU created for the SNU Entrepreneurship Center [서울대학교 창업지원단] (SNU Entrepreneurship Center, 2015-2022), Apple's monitors note as it appeared when installing the application says "[t]he developer has not provided details about its privacy practices and handling of data to Apple. The developer will be required to provide privacy details when they submit their next app update." The update never came and it has not been updated in iOS since 2015 as far as I am informed.

CATSNU also came out with "*Sori*," Korean instrument sampler sets for composer and sampling software (in EXS24, KONTAKT, Live Sampler formats) as well as *gugak* fonts and symbols. The most significant thing CATSNU did for *gugak* was perhaps provide its sound sample library of Korean traditional instruments to BTS for their use on the album *IDOL* in 2018. The last update of this software[11] was April 2015.

In "Gugak BEAT," a game designed in 2019 by JH Park with music by Choi Ansik and English translations by Hwang Heejeong, players could easily combine rhythm patterns with various Korean traditional instruments, including piano, keyboard, and drum machine, by simply bringing an instrument icon to an empty circle. The drum machine feature made it possible to include hip-hop and house beats. The developers wrote in the application that you "can combine Korean traditional instruments and music to suit current trends." Like CATSNU's apps, it failed to "provide details about its privacy practices and handling of data" and has since disappeared from the iOS App store (SNU Entrepreneurship Center, 2015-2022).

My personal experiences show two applications that have been updated. Those are Acoustic World's "*Jangdan* [rhythm cycle] Metronome" (recorded/data input Hyeonhee Park, sold by Jae Rock Park) and "Our Ensemble." Although the *Jangdan* Metronome was created 10 years ago, it is up to date (v 2.2) and ready for Apple's M1 chip and iOS13. "Our Ensemble" (우리앙상블, or "Uang" 우앙), developed by the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism and the Traditional Performing Arts Promotion Foundation (KOTPA 전통공연예술진흥재단, which is housed in the Gugak Education Center of the National Gugak Center) to expand educational opportunities for traditional arts majors, debuted in 2019, adding videos in 2020. It was most recently updated in September 2021. "Our Ensemble"/"*Uang*" won the Mobile Award Korea 2019 Public Service Sector Grand Prize ('모바일 어워드 코리아 2019 공공서비스 부문 대상) for providing high-quality content through co-organization with the National Gugak Center. This application "allows you to practice Korean traditional music [60 pieces are provided] with the best performers anytime, anywhere" (Traditional Performing Arts Promotion Foundation, 2020: 1). The app provides most of the rhythm cycles used in sanjo in "original form" (기본형), in three variations (변주형), and in combination (기본형과 변조형), each for a duration of around 15 minutes. Unlike the *Jangdan* Metronome, it cannot be adjusted for BPS (beats per second) tempo, but it can be sped up and slowed down. In this player's opinion, although not yet

[10] From 7,500 in 2019 to 35,000 in April 2020.

[11] Currently downloadable at Seoul National University Center for Arts & Technologies. "Gugak." http://en.catsnu.com/Project/GugakVSTi.aspx.

ideal, it works better as a rhythmic accompaniment for *sanjo* practice, but the less frequently used fast *hwimori* and 10-beat *eonmori* patterns, which are used only in a few "schools" of *sanjo,* are missing from the app's *jangdan* list. For dancers and folk singers, it instead includes the frequently used *salpuri* (shamanic dance for releasing bad spirits)*, seungmu* (the monk's dance)*,* and *semachi* (used especially for *Arirang* variants) rhythm patterns, which are not included in instrumental *sanjo*. As on January 28, 2022, the app is providing scores to go with the recorded content. What is particularly interesting for students who have not been able to rehearse together during the pandemic, especially those of instrumental court music and ritual traditions, is that the app provides much of the repertoire with which one can practice, minus your own instrument (or with *only* your own instrument or whatever combination you choose in the menu). The app functions as a kind of instrumental ensemble *karaoke* (空桶) machine. Among folk music traditions, aside from the rhythm patterns, only southwestern Jeolla-style *sanjo*[12] ensemble, Namdo *gutgeori*,[13], and *Yukjabaegi*[14] (which can be used by singers) are included (*han* and all). The app seems geared toward exams*,* primarily for instrumentalists and also for a few dancers and singers. It includes links to 20 instructional *YouTube* video lectures—primarily theory and historical sites—by experts in the field of Korean traditional music education.

Clubhouse and Social Audio

In addition to the *gugak*-specific apps, some interesting new audio-only social media spaces have opened since the arrival of COVID-19, like Kakao's *mm* [음] (*https://mm.xyz*, released on June 7, 2021, for both iOS and Android users without invitation) and *Clubhouse*, "The Social Audio App" (released in April 2020 initially only for iOS users by invitation, is now open to Android users; Clubhouse, n.d.). *Gugak* musicians have started to use *Clubhouse* both as a performance space and teaching tool. On October 15, 2021, the platform released its locally spatialized "music mode" (Harris, 2021) for iOS on top of its "high," "normal," and "low" bandwidth modes, thereby expanding the ability of artists to collaborate on live shows and broadcast with, as they say on their website, "high quality and great sound stereo" to "improve the live experience when introducing new songs or hosting a jam session with friends." By improving sound quality, *Clubhouse* is seeking to "enhance engagement as it allows artists from any part of the world to collaborate and monetize their live shows on the audio platform" (WeRSM, 2021). Music mode does not solve all latency problems (the delay between creating a sound and hearing it), but it does improve sound quality.

Tae-Gap YANG (baritone/conductor, New England Conservatory) started the *club YeSuDa* (예수다) "Korean and Global Artists Meet Up," where, for 12 hours a day (supported by the accompanying websites in English and Korean, en.yesuda.com, yesuda.com, and Instagram @Ye.Su.Da), he facilitates arts chats and live performances that include *gugak*. The *club* had 3,600 members as on January 19, 2022.

In addition to Tae-Gap Yang, "classical" *jeongga* (正歌) singer Moon Hyun has been running the club *Korea Traditional Songs* since 2021. Currently with 421 members, Moon introduces a new song in a different genre through a representative of that genre every Monday night in Korean and English, playing music, sending a score to the participants via Kakao Open Chat room ("all about Korean songs [*gugak*]"), and then conducting a call and response singing lesson over the app.

[12] The so-called *scattered melodies* (or modes) for solo melodic instrument and drum accompaniment—here in ensemble form.

[13] The *gutgeori* rhythm pattern used in *pungryu* and *samhyeonyukgak* aristocratic ensemble music in the Southwest provinces, is also used as an accompaniment for folk dances such as Monk's Dance of the Southern Provinces [僧舞] and the Sword Dance (劍舞).

[14] A song of longing and abandonment from the *seonsori* ("standing songs") repertoire of the *Namdo Japga* "Miscellaneous Songs of the southern provinces" repertoire.

Students, in particular, like not having to show their faces and spaces. Although *Clubhouse* cannot compete with *YouTube* or *TikTok* when it comes to spectacle, it does serve as a fresh *intimate* platform where musicians can also "monetize their live shows" whereas not having to come up with the financial capital required to create a *visual* extravaganza. Facebook (Live Audio Rooms and podcasts; Mengus & Carman, 2021), Twitter (Spaces), and Spotify (Greenroom; Carman, 2021), among others, have since all released their own social audio platforms.

The Decentralized Digital Marketplace: NFTs[15]

Another way *gugak* musicians are starting to monetize their work is by turning their digital art, including recordings and related audio, video, photos, and tickets, into currency through NFTs.[16] NFTs allow people to buy and sell digital artwork and keep a record of each transaction on a public blockchain.[17] The idea is to create scarcity (through nonfungibility) for digital goods (which otherwise can be infinitely digitally reproduced on the "giant copy machine" of the Internet), so that they can be owned like physical "artist proofs" (the first pull of a series of prints; Smee, 2021).

In early 2021, when it came to digitizing their products, the Korean recording industry was still thinking in terms of digital recordings, event tickets, membership tokens, and exclusive experiences like meeting the band.[18] Later, in July 2021, the multinational entertainment and record label conglomerate JYP Entertainment Corporation unveiled plans to launch an NFT platform for K-pop artists in partnership with Dunamu, the operator of South Korean cryptocurrency exchange Upbit (Yeo, Gladys, 2021). BTS's parent company HYBE announced on November 5, 2021, that it would buy a 2.5% stake in Dunamu and issued 2.3 million shares, giving Dunamu a 5.6% stake in HYBE. At that time, HYBE was reportedly contemplating offering digital photocards of BTS, TXT, and Enhypen idols as NFTs (Yeo, Amanda, 2021).

[15] NFTs entered the public consciousness in early 2021 when the 225-year-old art auction house Christie's auctioned a digital artwork by Beeple, also known as Mike Winkelmann—a collage of his first 5,000 days of "a sketch a day" forming a square of 21,069 x 21,069 pixels, for $69,346,250. (Kastrenakes, 2021). On November 9, Christie's auctioned a new, three-dimensional video sculpture by Beeple called *Human One* for $29 million. In an interview with *Wired,* Winklemann said, "While the piece was sold last night, the piece is not complete… I'm going to continue changing and updating the piece for the rest of my life… You could come downstairs in the morning and the piece looks one way, then you come home from work, and it looks another way"— love it one day, hate it the next (Rose, 2021).

[16] Although NFTs had not yet been conceived, the London-based, self-produced award-winning composer, recording artist, and tech enthusiast Imogen Heap foresaw their possibilities when, during a hackathon weekend, she put together in October 2015 "to explore what could be done with music and blockchains," she released the song "Tiny Human," which sold 222 copies. It became "the first piece of music sold on the Ethereum blockchain using smart contracts to pay the musicians and the mastering engineer directly" (Heap, 2015). She reports that proceeds went to fund what became her organization Mycelia's (http://myceliaformusic.org) Creative Passport (CP) program (https://www.creativepassport.net), a verified digital ID for music makers that lets them access, update, and manage information about themselves and their work and share it with others. CP uses blockchain technology "to hold verified profile information, IDs, acknowledgments, works, business partners, and payment mechanisms, to help get music makers and their works, linked and open (data) for business" (Kastrenakes, 2021) As we move into the metaverse and navigate between platforms and their individual sets of rules, verifiable ID, which is already a problem with streaming audio, will become exponentially more important as we interact with one another as avatars of ourselves.

[17] Programmers are now busy adapting popular creative platforms to be compatible with NFTs. Adobe Photoshop, for instance, announced in November 2021 that it will build NFT production into its software to complement its "content authenticity initiative" (CAI), which seeks to address "misinformation through digital content provenance"–in other words, to ensure the authenticity not only of information digital media users consume but of the NFTs they purchase.

[18] Internationally, on March 5, 2021, *Kings of Leon* became the first *major band* to release a record as an NFT, generating over $2 million from *When You See Yourself*, with available NFTs, including not only digitally "collectible" versions of the album, but short music videos and fan experiences like looks backstage and peeks into the artistic process, all of which the buyers can "own," sell, display, revel in the cool factor of, or hold dear as an expression of *Kings of Leon*'s value to them.

The first *gugak* musicians threw their hats into this ring on June 29, 2021, when the "fusion *gugak,*" band Leenalchi released an NFT of "A Tiger is Coming." NFTs are meant to generate royalties for the copyright holder as they are traded (the copyright generally does not transfer to the purchaser of an NFT). In the case of the "A Tiger is Coming" NFT, a 3% royalty is provided to the copyright holders whenever the NFT is transferred to a new purchaser. But, as of November 2021, the owner of the token who bought it from its creator for $10,107.95, had yet to trade it. This is a new concept that Korean artists (and artists around the world) are just beginning to understand. Although Leenalchi is the first to create an NFT in the *gugak* world, they certainly will not be the last. Watch for South Korean government and private marketers to come up with innovative ways to use this technology once it becomes more familiar.

Joseon Pop and the Rise of K-heung

Despite being technically ready for COVID-19, the growing modern *gugak* industry, led by the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, still has much to think about. Ministers are not artists, and goals and hopes for the future can conflict when one group seeks increased soft power and international recognition for South Korea—repackaging *gugak*'s novel South Korean sonic aesthetics to keep the so-called *Korean Wave* or *hallyu* (韓流), cresting—and the other cares more about *sori*—the retention and transmission of authentic and deeply rooted Korean sounds.

Among the ministers and the old masters, has emerged, a cadre of young, innovative *gugak*-trained (to varying degrees) performers, who have been influenced (in various ways) by K-pop. This generation is native to the smart phone, digital gaming, video on demand, and all that comes with *Instagram*, *Facebook/Meta*, *Daum/KakaoStory*, *TikTok, Naver/BAND*, *Cyworld*, and so on. With their husky "K-*soriggun*" (K-소리꾼; Jin Hyang-hui, 2021) voices, they are building a new *gugak*-adjacent, marketable K-*sori* (*K*-소리; Ibid) scene. Gugak Broadcasting, which now includes radio, TV, and online streaming, rebranded itself "K-Music" in 2021 (Korean Cultural Center UK, n.d.). Other new words for "fusion" genres include "New *Hallyu"* (신(新)한류), coined in 2020 (Jeon Hyeong, 2020),[19] "K-Rock" (K-樂; Lee Bam-eum, 2020), a named genre adopted by various groups,[20] and 2021's most provocative new moniker, "Joseon Pop" (朝鮮팝), which, as it appears, may stick.

These newly designated genres have themselves sprouted several linguistic shoots of various provenance, like the three strung together to publicize the hit television music contest, *Pungryu Captain* (風流大將, *Pungryu Daejang*): "*han, heung,* and hip." *Heung* has long been used opposite the word *han* (恨) to describe the *yin* and *yang* of the emotions found in *gugak* and historically considered so central to its aesthetics.[21] The idea of *han*, which once helped define what it meant to be part of the South Korean *minjung*, "the people" (and their suffering), is today becoming less and less central to the country's musical identity, arguably owing to the influence of the ubiquitous upbeat aesthetic of K-pop. With its lachrymose *gyemyeon* musical mode (界面調, the *minor* of Korean music), the *sound* of *han* came to embody the South Korean national music aesthetic in the 20th century. Today, it holds as much value to South Korea's Millennials and Gen Zers as it did to the North Korean government in the 1960s, when it banned the mode along with the instrument that might best express it—the bowed "elegant" zither, *ajaeng* (雅箏; Howard, 2011:187).

In contrast, the term *K-heung* denotes the "sparkling" Yoo Changjo, Han Sang-pil, and Kim Sang-Hoon, 2008). Korean aesthetics is currently rising in prominence not only in *Pungryu Captain* promotions but also in commercials and elsewhere in the media. It is sometimes translated as "Korean vibe" (Kim Soyeon, 2021) and "K-excitement" (Seoul National University Center for Arts & Technologies. 2014). With the hyphenated "K" added as a prefix, the once-paired *han* and *heung*

[19] Here is stated: "Unlike the existing Korean Wave's dramas and music represented by idols, the "new Hallyu" will encompass cosmetics, Korean food, modern art, *taekwondo*, traditional culture, and movies."

[20] The character for the *ak* in *gugak*, pronounced *rak* (like the English word "rock"), means "fun."

[21] In other writings, I have translated *han* as "fermented sorrow" and *heung* as "welling joy."

have been lightened to fit Joseon Pop's buoyant "listener-oriented" (Kang Hyun-kyung, 2022) energy. But, with the retention of the old *heung*, artists working in the new genre appear to be consciously signaling their status as traditionally trained performers, singing with aesthetically Korean voices. A few examples follow.

LEENALCHI

Named after the famous 19th century Korean singer Yi Nalchi (a pen name that means "Flying Fish" Lee), one of the "Eight Famous Vocalists" of the late Joseon period (Yoo, 2020), Leenalchi's seven members—four *pansori* singers (all graduates of Seoul National University), a drummer, and two bassists—initially came together as a one-time (what was then called a) "fusion" project group. Drawing inspiration from the 80s new wave (Leenalchi, n.d.), "their desire for challenging the limits of traditional music and self-expansion of music variety" (Kim Soyeon, 2021) helped them to create a novelty band by drawing on their roots in *pansori*. Leenalchi's hit song, "A Tiger is Coming Down," first came to widespread attention with its release with the Ambiguous Dance Company (앰비규어스댄스컴퍼니) on September 19, 2019, through the Onstage 2.0 *YouTube* Channel. This original video had 16,144,673 views as on February 2, 2022 (Onstage, 2019). But the Leenalchi's rise to fame came when the Korea Tourism Organization (KTO)'s "Feel the Rhythm of KOREA" campaign that was produced to induce people to visit Korea after the pandemic, used the band's music with the Ambiguous Dance Company's moves. Each of the campaign's videos had more than 30 million views on *YouTube* in March 2021, and closer to 50 million in February 2022 (Kim Soyeon, 2021). Kim Soyeon writes of the band, "it has transformed *pansori* so that it can be enjoyed by all generations by breaking its fixed image of obsoleteness and sorrowfulness." A tiger has indeed come down.

Since gaining fame, Leenalchi has been out in front of what is becoming possible with visuals, not only in their collaboration with the Ambiguous Dance Company, but also what can be done in general with video art and technology. On February 21, 2020, the group released a 3D 360º Official M/V video of "A Tiger is Coming," designed to be viewed in VR goggles. On November 30, 2021, they held their first full XR concert for VR goggles, *Sugungga: Catch the Rabbit*, on the local Korean mobile streaming platform Kakao TV for domestic viewers and on Bandcamp for nonKorean viewers. The 3D concert was designed to be a totally new experience of *Sugungga*, an album that reimagines the traditional *pansori* narrative *Song of the Underwater Palace* (水宮歌). The original full album had been released before the VR concert, on May 30, 2020, with animated videos by Ore-Oh! Studio.

In 2021, Leenalchi won prizes at the Korean Music Awards for Musician of the Year, Best Modern Rock Song, and Best Jazz & Crossover Album. On December 31, 2021, their song "Please Don't Go" was selected as one of "the best 100 songs in 2021" by Apple Music. As on November 2, 2021, Leenalchi had 11,035 monthly listeners on the music streaming platform *Spotify*, which had been blocked in Korea and only officially launched (with premium plans only; no ad-supported free service) in Korea on February 1, 2021, after Korean streaming services like Melon and Genie Music and Flo (together, 80% of the Korean market) were well-established.

GYEONGGI SINAWI ORCHESTRA (GSO)

Although Leenalchi had the hit single of 2020 (Kim Hoo-ran. 2021),[22] on the traditionally more conservative side, the Gyeonggi Provincial Traditional Music Orchestra has been generating new interest since Won Il took over as its fifth artistic director. Won Il had served as the Musical Director of the 2018 Pyeongchang Winter Olympics Opening and Closing Ceremonies—which, along with the children at the end of the story, featured *gugak* post-rock *geomungo*-metal bands like Jambinai, and drone swarm dancing in the sky above the Olympic venue. Won was about to take the Gyeonggi

[22] Because there was not a single official video for the song "A Tiger is Coming," it is difficult to quantify the song's "hit" ranking.

Provincial Traditional Music Orchestra, founded in August 1996 with 55 members "to preserve and develop traditional music of Gyeonggi Province and of Korea in general," in new directions. In March 2020, four months after Won Il's appointment, the orchestra changed its name to Gyeonggi *Sinawi* Orchestra (GSO) and embarked on a new journey to develop a new style of Korean orchestra in the spirit of *sinawi*. Popularly understood to have been more of an improvisational genre, in this case, *sinawi* would be reimagined to encompass the performances of both the core repertoire of traditional music and newly composed contemporary Korean music, blending traditional and modern music with technology and popular music.

Arriving as director of the GSO just as COVID-19 hit and live performances began to be cancelled, Won Il had to come up with a solution quickly. "When on 19 February, 2020, reached its greatest crisis, I invented a new [project]. It started with an idea in the form of a meta performance [—] a work of synthesis of various techniques. It was performed under the title of '[Meta Performance] Future Theater' (메타퍼포먼스 미래극장) … [with] a format in which online audiences decided on offline performances such as venue, content, and music through voting… [It was] a performance that had already been experimented [with] and prepared for before [Zuckerberg's 'metaverse' presentation]. It was a performance enjoyed online (offline only 20 people participated), such as playing Korean traditional instruments and AI [generated music] together through deep learning, broadcasting games, (participants' broadcast). There were a whopping 12 performances in 24 hours" (Won Il & Clark, 2020-2022).

The 12 back-to-back, around-the-clock performances that took place on November 6 and 7, 2020, attempted to "destroy the concept of time and space, placing the audience in a subjective position" (Jayeon, J, 2020). The "experience" was set up, whereby, online audiences could access the international direct-to-fans chat platform *Twitch*,[23] select a performance method, and instruct offline audience members, who essentially became game characters, to act. Wearing camera devices, five offline performers followed the instructions of online audience members. "Their cameras showed the various performances from a first-person perspective and transcended the limits of 'online' performances that emerged at the time as a unique alternative to the performing arts world in the non-face-to-face era" (Jeong Jayeon, 2020a).

The reporter Jeong Jayeon opened *Twitch* just as one of the performances was reaching its climax. "At dawn, lying in bed and watching a Korean traditional music performance under a blanket was a new world. I felt respected as an audience member just by watching the performance at a time I wanted, outside the implicitly set performance time of 7:30 pm on weekdays and 4:30 pm on weekends." She described how, as she watched, she and the rest of the online audience had to choose between *haegeum* (2-string fiddle) or *ajaeng* (bowed zither) and answer 12 questions to decide on what happened next in the performances. There were 4,096 possible outcomes from combinations of

[23] *Twitch* and other direct-to-fan/fan-to-fan "decentralized autonomous organizations" (DAOs) are increasingly being used in the K-pop world for fans to catch a glimpse of a different, more personal side of the idol they are following on less direct platforms like Instagram. *Gugak's* new pop stars, like sEODo BAND, Kim Junsu, and AUX (discussed later in this paper), undoubtably have already figured out many of the possibilities of direct-to-fan platforms like *Twitch* and *Patreon*, which allow artists to connect directly with, and monetize their interactions with, their audiences. Coming soon are also tools that drive fan-to-fan interaction, which will not only help artists nurture fan bases, but also take the pressure off the artist to churn out content. As is already happening in K-pop, look for the emergence of DAOs in the so called "Joseon Pop" space. Community-owned and community-governed online organizations that individuals purchase or earn tokens to join, DAOs provide a new way for fans to engage with one another, earn rewards for their fandom, connect in both virtual and "in real life" (IRL) spaces, and vote to influence things like merchandise drops and fan experiences. In the K-pop space, "NCSoft's Universe is used by a wide range of groups managed by companies outside of the Big Four of Korean pop music and includes features like a "private messaging" service, exclusive music, and mildly controversial AI-generated voice calls with idols …[and] SM's LYSN, which includes the truly innovative *Bubble* app that has found a way to give K-pop groups all of the benefits of Twitter DMs, without many of the problems." Another example, HYBE's in-house community app, *Weverse*, for fans of its K-pop roster, has 5.3 million active monthly users and ended 2021 with more than 36 million subscribers. HYBE also backs the app *Fave*, on which users can join fandoms for artists, including BTS and Taylor Swift, create profiles, post content, and compete for prizes (Cirisano, 2022).

the musical content of Gyeonggi folk songs, sounds of traditional instruments, *sinawi*, works by composers Jiseon Yang and Terry Riley, and an AI sound source reworked by media artist Byeongjun Kwon (Shin Yeseul 2020). "It was a performance that resonated more with the online audience than the on-site audience," she said, having previewed some of the live rehearsals. She was also grateful for the online chat boxes that provided extra explanation of what was going on—something impossible to deliver in person. "If the key is to create a performance that a small number of people participate in but is enjoyed by a large number of online viewers due to COVID-19, the intention is correct … The performance implicitly revealed that AI music, cutting-edge science and technology, and art are inextricably linked in the future, and that artists and the art world must overcome reality" (Jeong Jayeon 2020a).

The music critic Sin Yeseul found the experience almost overwhelming. "Four stages, continuous voting and movement, online and offline, games and performances, musical instruments and body movements, human performances and music playback based on AI sound sources, numerous things collided and intersected. While experiencing many things in a compressed way, contemplative appreciation like before was impossible. I had to take what was useful to me from the flood of information and constantly pick out my preferences. What I experienced in theaters in the past and what I experienced outside the theater today met in one place. When I finally left the theater, I was a little dazed, but I thought that this high speed and overwhelming amount of information could be an important attribute of the theater of the future" (Shin Yeseul, 2020).

During periods in the pandemic when infections decreased for a time, there were short windows in which theaters were allowed to open, although never at full capacity. During one of these, in April 2021, I was able to attend one of Won Il's projects with the Gyeonggi *Sinawi* Orchestra. "Sinawi Electronica" (*Sinawi* Electronica. 2021), with its light beams shining out into the audience and its video backdrops, also combined *gugak* with popular and *avant garde* composers/performers/DJ/ lighting and video designers to create a *gugak* spectacle adapted to these times. Won Il told me he is considering incorporating VR into future GSO projects (Won Il & Clark, 2020-2022).

Won Il's former position as director of the Yeowoorak festival (2017-2018) has now been taken over by Park Woo-jae, famous for his experimental bowed *geomungo* work. Park is trying to follow a similar trajectory as Won, asserting "Musicians doing *gugak* and other genres got to gather together and try different things to make *gugak* sound more fun and appealing…We believe it's about time we take it to the next level and showcase more experimental works that *hyper-connect* different genres in the performing arts genre including music, dance and even media art. But in its core, we still focus on presenting *gugak* in a refreshing way" (Yim Seung-hye, 2021).

JOSEON PAN STAR AND PUNGNYU CAPTAIN

In 2021, the "popularity of Leenalchi's sound and the Ambiguous Dance Company's visuals caught the attention of several producers who, impressed by the holographic tiger, began to see new possibilities for *gugak.* The first result was the first 'fusion Korean traditional music audition, featuring an unconventional crossover of various genres and Korean traditional music" (Maekyung platform/MBN. n.d.). "Joseon *Pan* Star" (조선판스타—pansori+star) aired on the cable channel MBN (Maeil Broadcasting Network) 12 times between August 14 and October 30, 2021. The contestants performed before *gugak*-familiar judges, most notably, ShinYoung Hee (b. 1942), Important Intangible Human Cultural Asset for *pansori* (no. 5) for her "Song of Chunhyang." Shin thought hard before accepting the judgeship. "There is a concern that the original meaning of *sori* will be diminished by a focus on fostering stars (스타 양성에 치우쳐 소리 본연의 의미를 퇴색시키진 않을까 하는 염려가 담겼다)," she said. "But I also want to see many stars among our pansori singers (우리 판소리도 스타가 많이 나오길 바라는 마음이다)… I hope that by watching this program our melancholic Korean traditional music industry will regain vitality (이 프로그램을 보며 암울했던 우리 국악계가 활기를 찾길 바란다)" (Lee Hoyeong, 2021).

About 1,000 "K-singers" (K-소리꾼 K-*soriggun*—in this show, contestants had mixed training from both *gugak* and western musical backgrounds) applied (Jin Hyang-hui, 2021). In the end, *pansori* singer Kim Sang-ok won the top prize (Maekyung platform/MBN. n.d.), worth 100 million *won* ($89,700) in addition to other benefits (Yoon, 2021). The average rating of a show was 3.2% with a maximum of 4.7% during the third episode. In October, Joseon *Pan* Star's ratings slipped to 2.9%, when a shiny new show with *gugak* content hit the airwaves.

Joongang Tongyang Broadcasting Company's "*gugak* survival" show *Pungnyu* Captain (풍류대장), dubbed "battle of the hip *soriggun*" (*soriggun* 힙한 소리꾼들의 전쟁 indicating a professional singer, especially of *pansori*), debuted on September 29, 2021 and aired every Tuesday at 9:00 p.m. until December 21, 2021. *Pungnyu* Captain, which overlapped with Joseon *Pan* Star for a month and used *gugak*-trained singers exclusively, both complemented JPS and slightly outshone it, becoming perhaps the most significant popularizing stage for *gugak* singers and taking their public exposure to the "next level" by "hyper-connecting different genres" (Ibid.). The goal was to present "strangely familiar but beautifully unfamiliar" music ('희한하게 익숙하지만 아름답게 낯선'음악) to the public… and "imprint the *real* (emphasis added) 'K-*heung*' through the energy of *soriggun* [singers]" (소리꾼들의 에너지를 시청자들에게 그대로 전달하며 진짜 'K-흥'이 무엇인지 각인시킬 것으로 기대된다; Jin Hyang-hui, 2021).

The show popularized the use of the 2020 neologism K-*heung* (K-興, translated as "K-excitement" in a Seoul National University article on Leenalchi (Seoul National University News Room. n.d.) and as "Korean vibe" (or "K-vibe" elsewhere; Kim Soyeon, 2021). Described as *heung, han,* and hip (here, perhaps, "exciting, moving, and hip"; Kim Soyeon, 2021)[24] the program approached *gugak* through rhythm and musical accompaniment "strangely" familiar to the larger public—that is, crossovers with popular music instead of traditional music itself (although it was not without its *janggu* drums, *haegeum* fiddle, *daegeum* flute, and 25-string *gayageum*). The singers, however, retained their "husky voices" in the case of *pansori* singers, or various other "beautifully unfamiliar" traditional qualities in the case of court-style *jeongga* singers or Gyeonggi *minyo* folk singers, thus making the general audience *feel* they were experiencing *gugak*, with which most Koreans today are unfamiliar, particularly younger viewers. Reporter Jin Hyanghui at *Star Today* went so far as to headline her piece, "Joseon *Pan* Star and *Pungryu* Captain… by now this *is gugak*" ('조선판스타' '풍류대장' …이젠 국악이다; Jin Hyang-hui, 2021).

The judges on *Pungnyu Captain* hailed from the world of popular music, with the exception of Song Gain. Song's mother had been a performer of *Jindo Ssitgimgut* (a shamanic ceremony from Jindo) and Song herself had been a *pansori* singer (Saeji, 2022: 262), but had become a crossover star in the recent Trot revival brought about by televised singing competitions like "Miss Trot" (2019-2021 내일은 미스트롯; average Neilsen rating 32.9%; Hyuk Jo, 2021) and "Mister Trot" (2020 미스터 트롯; both on TV CHOSUN) and "I Like Trot" (2019 트로트가 좋아 KBS; Kim, R., 2020). When Gain fell ill with COVID-19, she was temporarily replaced by Korean-American/American-Korean Kolleen Park, who has a background in *pansori* and *gugak* composition from Seoul National University and has conducted, directed, and performed in musicals and other stage productions. Viewers of *Pungnyu Captain* were able to vote through the *Real Live* (리얼라이브) app (2021) once a day from the end of the third broadcast (October 12, 23:00) to the final round (December 5, 24:00).

The final winner, the six-member group sEODo BAND (서도밴드), received 100 million *won* in prize money (around $83,850) and, along with other top three winners, the opportunity to tour the country and release an album. sEODo BAND had already won the 2019 KBS New Artist grand prize (2019 년 KBS 국악신예대상 대상) as well as the 2019 grand prize (Minister of Culture, Sports and Tourism Award) at the 11th Korea University Gugak Festival (제 11 회 대한민국 대학국악제대상(문화체육관광부 장관상) and had released an album, *Moon: Disentangle,* on June 21, 2021. Before sEODo BAND ever appeared on *Pungnyu Captain*, the genre descriptor "Joseon Pop" was being used in reference to the

[24] *Heung* and *han* are often used to describe Korean traditional music.

music of the group's founder, *pansori* singer Seo Do (Seo Jaehyeon), but the show brought the term into the national consciousness.

The second-place winner was the *pansori* singer Kim Junsu (b. 1991), who holds a PhD in Traditional Arts from Chung-Ang University. Kim had already become popular among young Koreans after appearing in music shows like tvN/Mnet's "I Can See Your Voice" (너의 목소리가 보여), a mystery music game show that aired from February 26, 2015 to April 16, 2021,[25] and KBS's "Immortal Songs" (불후의 명곡, June 4, 2011-present). Kim is a member of the National Theatre's National *Changgeuk* Company and became the company's youngest singer to be cast as a protagonist in "an attempt by the theater company to snag younger audiences" when he was cast as Orfeo in the company's 2016 *changgeuk* (唱劇 *pansori* musical theater) production (Yoo, Ju-Hyun & Kim Hyang-Min, 2016).

Third place went to the band AUX (억스), which had at least six awards under its belt: 2nd Creative Korean Traditional Music Awards Excellence Award (2014), 1st EBS K-Story Pop Contest Gold Prize (2013), Asian Beat Grand Final Runner-up (2011), Asian Beat Korea Finals Winner (2011), Jeonju International Sori Festival Sori Frontier 2nd place (2011), 21C Korea Music Project Grand Prize (2010). All prize winners, and indeed many of the other contestants, were well-known in the *gugak* world.

The first episode of *Pungnyu* Captain scored 3.5% nationwide based on "Nielsen Korea's paid households." Before the airing, the two youngest judges, Wooyoung (2PM member Jang Woo-young (Jang Uyeong) and pop-star/Mamamoo member Solar (Kim Yongsun [Kim Yongseon]), promised that if the average ratings exceeded 5%, they would transform themselves into the style of Gyeongi-style folksinger Lee Hee-moon, known for his unique costumes and experimental performances (Naver TV, 2021). Although the show had a maximum score of 5.3% per minute, the average never exceeded the finale's 4.6%.

Although Lee Hee-moon's popularity peaked before the COVID era, he is still in the game as an early pioneer from way back in 2017. On a January 30, 2022, KBS broadcast of the COVID-era show "Issue Pick with Teacher" (이슈 픽 쌤과 함께), the network introduced Lee with the following splash screens: "Traditional, modern; New Year's traditional music that breaks down boundaries; a singer who performs 'hip' traditional music…" (전통, 현대; 경계를 허무는 신개년 전통 음악; 그리고 '힙'한 전통 음악을 선보이는 소리꾼들...). KBS went on to declare "[t]he reinvention of K-sound…, the era of 'young *gugak*' has arrived. It's unfamiliar, so it's cool…young geeks flock to Korean traditional music/traditional dance," noting that the proportion of those in their 30s who chose traditional music performances, 12% in 2019, increased to 18% in 2020 (National Gugak Center; K-사운드의 재발경...'젊은 국악" 시대 여렸다. "낯설어서 더 멋져" 국악/전통춤에 젊은 광객 몰려. (추 소비충) 전통 음악 공연을 선택하는 30 대 비중 2019 년 12% --> 2020 년 18% 증가 (국립국악원). According to KBS, Joseon Pop is "connecting traditional music and the arts of various genres in collaboration—new words are emerging; change is taking the stage in the wake of a growing public interest in 'hip'—a meaningful transformation for traditional music (조선팝: 전통 음악을 다양한 장르의 예술과 협연 신조어 까지 등장 변화하는 전통 음악 높아지는 대중의 관심 '힙'하게 잇는다 전통 음악의 이유 있는 변신"; KBS. 2022). American colleagues who had never been interested in Korean music were enraptured by Lee Hee-moon when he appeared with his group SsingSsing on American National Public Radio's "Tiny Desk Concert" in 2017 (NPR Music, 2017).

Korean colleagues who had never been interested in *gugak* relayed to me that they fell in love with the show *Pungnyu* Captain because it focused on the music and not the judges, who were kind and supportive of contestants—who, in turn, were kind and supportive of each other. There was a humanism to the show that created an atmosphere that people warmed to as they were reintroduced to *gugak*, or introduced for the first time, to K-*gugak* for the 21st century.

25 Kim Junsu appeared in season 3, episode 6.

International Online Collaborations

Next to their domestic appearances, many *gugak* and *gugak* "fusion" ensembles and bands are working the international world music performance circuit physically and online. The Korean Arts Management Service (KAMS), under the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, launched the program "Journey to Korean Music" in 2008, which has played a key role in globalizing Korean traditional music. Over 160 overseas festival directors, musicians, and journalists covering world music have come to Korea year after year to be introduced to Korean music (Kang, Hyun Ji, 2013). The Performing Arts Market in Seoul (PAMS) has served a sister function since 2005. As a result, organizations like American National Public Radio Tiny Desk Concert, which had hosted Ssing Sing in 2017, followed up with the Korean fusion group Ak Dan Gwang Chil (ADG7) in January 2022. Between Ssing Chill and ADG7, the series had featured several other Korean groups, such as BTS, Jambinai, and Coreyah. Worldwide Music Expo (WOMEX), World of Music, Arts and Dance (WOMAD), and Global Fest all have had a constant Korean *gugak* presence, and London's K-Music Festival has been going strong since it began in 2012. The Association of Performing Arts Professionals (APAP) has also been active in Korea, and *Songlines,* "the magazine that looks at the world through its music," has featured several Korean groups such as Jambinai, Noreum Machi, and Black String, as well as covering the International Jeonju Sori Festival.

In addition to South Korea's expanding presence on the world music scene, the field of so-called *new music*—new compositions written by composers—is also active innovating with *gugak* musicians and tech. Three recent multilocation projects I was able to attend have been made possible through new low-latency technology.

The first was *daegeum* player Yoo Hong's new music exhibition–concert "Reflection," performed live in a moment of low-infection numbers in April 2021, featuring, the world premiere of a duet, "Vanishing Point Study III-B" by Keiko Harada with Japanese *shamisen* player Honjo Hidejiro via video. Yoo said that, through *daegeum*, he ruminates on sounds from the past to create repercussions for the present and the future. His recitals make up a series for new contemporary music centered on Asian traditional instruments, and this one was planned as an exhibition–concert to expand and communicate artistically in the post-corona era (ART.Map [아트맵], 2021).

Next, I myself played in the American Composers Orchestra (based in New York) and Groupmuse Foundation's *New Canons* concert, which streamed on *YouTube* on October 23, 2021, featuring a new work by Trevor New called "Cohere 1." In the program notes, New described the piece as "written for decentralized simultaneous telematic performance. It features a soloist and orchestra, three quartets in separate locations, each with an audience and six international soloists [including *gayageum,* the only Korean instrument, played by me] from around the world.[26] They will be playing together in real time, seeing, listening, and reacting to one another…" The whole *New Canons* concert engaged with the effects of latency (the delay between live sound and transmitted sound), which musicians encounter when playing together online. We usually try to ignore latency in virtual concerts, but, in the pieces in *New Canons*, it was incorporated as an integral part of the compositions.

The third concert, *Electric Gugak*, was presented by La MaMa and CultureHub and livestreamed on November 5, 2021, on the global commons-based peer-produced HowlRound TV network at *howlround.tv*, powered by LiveLab, a browser-based media router for collaborative performances developed by CultureHub. The program notes describe *Electric Gugak* as "a multi-locational live concert which features performances from Seoul, New York City, and Los Angeles, where networked CultureHub studios are located. The performances combine traditional Korean music with new media practices, highlighting new expressions of Korean composition." In the first "piece," electric *komungo* artist Jin Hi KIM created a ritual for COVID-19 live in New York in memory of the 616,000 reported deaths from the pandemic in the U.S. and 4.2 million worldwide (up to that date; as of this

[26] Jocelyn Clark, *gayageum* (Daejeon, S. Korea), Diego Tejedor, violin (Buenos Aires, Argentina), Bernd Keul, bass (in Berlin, Germany), Raymond Seng'enge, *kalimba* (in Tanzania), Gaurab Chatterjee, hand percussion (in India), Patti Kilroy, violin (in Los Angeles, California), and Trevor New, viola (in New York, New York).

writing, the numbers are approaching one and six million, respectively). Inspired by Korean shamanic *ssitgimgut* ritual, the piece was intended to purify the deceased's spirits. The performance articulated the enormous tragedy, grieving, praying, and, finally, purification as a protest against the anti-Asian bias that has arisen in the pandemic period (in America). A second piece in Seoul by Kim Dae Hong, titled *Paleum* (팔음, 八音), builds on a term used in Korean traditional music context that refers to eight material types or sounds used to make traditional Korean instruments: metal, stone, silk, bamboo, gourd, soil, leather, and wood. The *haegeum*, a traditional Korean instrument, may incorporate all these materials and produces many sounds. This performance intends to show that one can reproduce sounds with modern materials through a newly developed "electronic *haegeum"* along with AI and augmented reality audio–visuals. In the future, these kinds of performances will become more frequent as the technology becomes better, latency decreases, and composers, producers, and performers get comfortable with online collaborations and find new ways to incorporate them into their work.

NEW TECH: NEW ISSUES

As is true for even the most basic inventions, new technologies are designed by people for purposes that serve very specific interests—to make money, acquire fame, or simply to overcome obstacles. It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the history of digitization in South Korea as well as all the potential issues associated with the coming era of the metaverse/web 3.0.[27] We are only starting to understand what web 2.0 social media has wrought worldwide in the last decade and a half—psychologically, physically, socially, legally, and environmentally… that is to say, existentially. We have barely begun to consider the debates and theories of mid-20th century thinkers like Asimov, Turing, and Nozick, or Neal Stephenson, who coined the term *metaverse* in his 1992 science fiction novel *Snow Crash*, or Ernest Cline, who wrote *Ready Player One* in 2011, as their perspectives relate to spaces like social media in today's exponentially expanding metaverse, much less address important concerns related to the one little patch of pixelated ground in that metaverse on which *gugak* sits.

Writing as a performer who, under the social distancing requirements of the past two years of COVID-19, has studied, collaborated, and, in general, stayed plugged in using many of the tools, sites, apps, and approaches surveyed in this article, I can say with confidence that the new technologies have a long way to go to get the bugs worked out. As exciting as it was to play *gayageum* in pieces by Pauline Oliveros and Trevor New in the American Composer's Orchestra online concert in October 2021, even moving the sound channel out of Zoom to a multichanneled Cleanfeed could not solve time zone problems (the concert ran from 3:00 a.m. to 5:00 a.m. Korea time, like many an international Zoom conference). Moreover, we were at the mercy of the beginnings of a DDoS (Distributed Denial of Services)[28] attack on the Korean Internet that shut it down completely later in the morning. I lost Internet connection during the concert three times. Even in the rehearsals, when there was no digital-connection problem, sitting alone in my cold room, listening through earbuds and watching through my iPhone at 2:00 a.m., worried I was keeping the neighbors awake, my ability to be fully present in the moment was impeded. VR goggles might have been able to solve my problem but not in their current design. The issues we face in what are still largely experimental technological endeavors, whether those issues be technical, philosophical, or psychological, are as confounding as they are numerous. And yet one can still imagine what it was *supposed* to be like, or how it could eventually be—as we continue to deploy new tech tools to "make money, acquire fame, and overcome obstacles."

[27] Seoul National University recently received part of a US$50m investment program from Meta (Facebook) to ensure the concept of mandatory distances between virtual reality avatars meets regulatory and legal requirements. (Milmo, 2022). Meta to bring in mandatory distances between virtual reality avatars (*The Guardian*. Feb. 4.)

[28] Distributed Denial of Services attacks seek to disable a service by barraging it with data.

Implications for Gugak

Distracted Learners

Most of us in South Korean traditional *gugak* are not techies—not even the digital natives, who know what they know and not more. With notable exceptions, we are still using silk strings instead of metal or even gut.[29] Yayoi Kusama's analog metaverse, *Infinity Mirror*, is enough visual excitement for most players I know. We are interested in sound and otherwise spend our time on the minutia of vibrato according to mode, and the flow of *sanjo*. One of the paramount concerns of anyone engaged in *gugak* today—the quest not for K-*sori* but for *ko*[古]-*sori*—old *sori* (*true* and rooted sound)—is to continue receiving the teachings of the masters before they die—our teachers, the last generation of artists who were trained by former masters before the distractions of the Internet and smartphones. This is the well from which we must drink even as we create new music in new ways. As we have learned during this pandemic, learning, playing, and performing virtually cannot begin to compare to learning, playing, and performing in person.

Students of "Professor Machine"

Even before COVID-19 and the emergence of new hi-tech learning methods, some very good players, for reasons of cost and convenience, and in many cases, because their own teachers are no longer among the living, were learning from recordings and no longer studying with a living teacher from whom they could receive feedback. They suffer from what my teacher, Ji Seongja (b. 1945), calls "Gi Seonsaeng" (기[개]선생님) syndrome— "studying with Professor Machine" —an updated version, if you will, of what they called *sanjin* [寫眞] *sori* in the early 20th century, meaning someone who copied their teacher "like a photograph." My teacher blames this, in part, to the lack of time available to teach and receive improvisation methods in the late 20th century. The metaverse threatens to make this worse if what we really want to pass on includes living traditions like *sanjo*. Mistakes and distortions have a way of getting baked into recordings—Master Ji always hears them immediately in a performance of someone who has studied with a "Professor Machine." She has a term for musicians, like many in today's fusion groups, who draw from the well of tradition but are unable to retain it for long before its essence disintegrates: "paper cups." They constantly need to go back to the well with a new cup, she says, and too often do not. I confess I worry that the day is soon coming that the metaverse will have grown so vast that even those of us who have spent much of our lives hauling the nuances of tradition into our rooms in big metal buckets will be unable to find our way back to the well.

From Gugak to K-Music to K-Rock

In early November 2021, the *gugak* radio station changed its English name from *Gugak* Broadcasting (국악방송) to K-Music. The new brand had already taken hold in a concert I did for the STB channel on November 6, 2021. The *gugak* brand in English had only been established in 2011 for the 60th anniversary of the National Gugak Center (formerly, the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts and, before that, the National Classical Music Centre). "K-Music," which was coined by the K-Music Festival in London for the Olympics there in 2012, hitched *gugak* to the Korean Wave K-brand train and K-Music is now one of the brands that, along with Joseon Pop, and K-Rock, will transport us into the metaverse to perform for an audience that grew up playing MMOGs (massively multiplayer online games).

[29] East Asia has often traditionally used strings made of silk rather than gut as in some places of the West.

CONCLUSION

The Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism has been trying to develop strategies for Korea's global integration since at least the first decade of this century—now the metaverse will supply the venue (Al Farouqi, 2021). Ten years ago, Hilary Finchum-Sung noted, with foresight, "The building of a national image has taken the forefront of the commodification of traditional music, and, as a result, theatrical effects, popular trends, and audience expectations play active roles in the cultural production of traditional music on the global stage." According to Hackforth-Jones & Roberts (2005), these keep, "[r]edefining 'traditional" and showcasing performing arts that are "transmuted, refashioned, or invented to serve present cultural and political agendas" (Hackforth-Jones & Roberts, 2005:5).

The Ministry's policies flow through the National Gugak Center and its K-Music FM and TV stations, which have long recognized that, given its disappearing listener base, traditional *gugak* is not the best use of airtime. With its small audience, particularly among the young, *gugak* is not heard on the radio much these days, and that, in turn, feeds its obscurity. As the saying goes, "you cannot fall in love with something you cannot find." Having moved online during the COVID era, and encountered *gugak* via the new TV shows, now more people *can* find *gugak* but often in a westernized rhythm signature in passing tourism ads, smartphone promotions, and snack food commercials, where its glittering mood is used to spark K-*heung* in potential consumers.

As K-pop bands dominate the global music scene, incorporating "conspicuous iconography, shooting locations, and aural elements that explicitly *represent* Korea" (Saeji, 2022: 250), the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism's longstanding effort to "industrialize and globalize" Korean culture is finally gaining lift-off, helped by the hypermodern Korea brands beneath its wings. In 2012, Finchum-Sung wrote that, between 2009 and 2010, almost five million dollars were set aside to support the industrialization and globalization of traditional arts content; more than three hundred thousand of that, she writes, was to be used to support the "development of traditional arts digital contents" including through the following stated strategy: "Uncover a global artist who will appeal to popular sensibilities domestically and globally and develop global digital contents appropriate to the new generation…" (Finchum-Sung, 2012; 134).

Finchum-Sung observed, "Due to the continued specialization of *gugak* education and subsequent estrangement from the daily sonic experiences of many South Koreans, to a great majority of the consuming public any type of music remotely connected to *gugak* aesthetics or materials is *gugak*" (Ibid.: 138). What was true then is true many times over now: "Once disparate forms of new traditional music and conservative genres are sharing a space in the youth-driven market… the aim of the performance shifts to highlighting the physical and emotional manifestations of Korean identity that have proven to be popular and appealing across cultural borders for both domestic and international audiences" (Finchum-Sung, 2009: 53). The result of the Ministry's policy is to redefine *gugak* in the public's mind as something "based on *gugak"*—those half-learned traditions my teacher describes as having been taken from the well in a paper cup.

In a recent interview with sEODo BAND, the group's lead singer Seo Jaehyeon admitted feeling embarrassed about winning the 2019 KBS New Artist grand prize. "The other contestants at the awards had traditional instruments and could express *gugak* elements in a more professional way," he said. "We had guitar, percussion, bass guitar, and keyboard, plus singing that 'resembled' traditional *pansori* in a way" (The Korea Herald [코리아헤럴드], 2021). Joseon Pop bands know what they are doing is not really traditional and, although full of respect for the old masters, are rightfully unapologetic. When asked how they define *gugak* today, one of the band members replied, without hesitation, "The next hot keyword." They laughed and then remarked that even the fact that they can talk about it means that the public *now knows what gugak is* (even if the public thinks that it began with the sEODo BAND). The group's percussionist Park Jin-byeong went on to say that he thinks "a large part of how our team could have come this far was because of the keywords 'K-music,' '*gugak*,' 'Joseon Pop'—and that the public showed interest in them." *Gugak* was once "hard" and "boring,"

he said, suggesting we should "laud" this age in which "*gugak* is blooming." Kim Seong-hyun, the keyboardist, agreed: "It's time to move away from a specific framework and express *gugak* music freely" (Sonamu Music, 2020). It's hard to argue otherwise. Since the tiger cannot be stopped from coming down, perhaps the best strategy is *détente*.

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NOTES ON AN EARLY CHINESE NATIONAL ANTHEM

Keith Robinson[1]

Abstract
This short descriptive paper shows the early development of the Chinese National Anthem as presented abroad. The paper was extracted and improved from a self-published book by the author who had spent a lot of time in compiling facts and data about the musical legacy of a foreigner who had lived for many years in Shanghai. The paper starts off with a neglected part of an Exhibition Catalogue in 1884, which included music pieces played at a Health Exhibition held in the United Kingdom. Robert Hart, the named foreigner, as well as other foreigners were involved in this undertaking and a detailed review conducted of his correspondence and material collected by the author revealed a number of interesting facts.

Keywords
China, Shanghai, National anthem, Robert Hart, Cultural exchange.

BACKGROUND

The first instrumental piece that appears in the Catalogue of the Health Exhibition in 1884 is a piano arrangement of Hoa Tchou Ko (= Hua Zhu Ge) [华祝歌], the Chinese National Anthem. This is an extraordinary piece of music to include in the Catalogue and the fact that it first appears seems significant. Even as early as 1866 when Robert Hart[2] encouraged and facilitated the first Chinese Diplomatic mission to England with Bin Chun, he was continually advocating that the Qing Government pursue diplomatic channels to achieve national parity with European countries. His decision to publish the Chinese National Anthem in the International Health Exhibition Catalogue has to be seen in this context. It is clear that as compared to Japan, China was slow to see the advantages of having a national anthem.

First, the background to the writing of a Chinese National Anthem will be outlined and second, the significance of Hart including it here, is considered.

In the 1880s, a growth in the ‘'Self-strengthening’ movement in China was noticed. The idea was that by studying abroad and adopting Western learning, the Chinese could catch up with the West and still have a “Chinese” identity. There was a growing awareness of the importance of diplomacy. The benefits of encouraging ’nationalism’ was also getting recognized. However, there was also strong opposition to change at court and although there was much discussion, less was actually happening about adopting a Chinese National Anthem.

Comparing this with the situation in Japan, a very different attitude could be seen. From 1868, Military Bands were an integral part of the modernisation of the military, not only for practical purposes such as training, but also for creating international prestige. With their shiny imported instruments, powerful, potentially aggressive sound and handsome uniforms, bands enhanced the impression of a modern military power. The British Band master John William Fenton arrived in Japan in 1869 and was made Band master there (Gong Hongyu, 2016). Initially, Fenton

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[2] Robert Hart was a British diplomat and official in the Qing Chinese government, serving as the second Inspector-General of China's Imperial Maritime Custom Service (IMCS) from 1863 to 1911. Beginning as a student interpreter in the consular service, he arrived in China at the age of 19 and resided there for 54 years, except for two leaves.

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collaborated with Artillery Captain Ōyama Iwao, who was the son of a Samurai family of the Satsuma clan domain and an officer of the Satsuma military forces in composing the first Japanese National Anthem. It was performed in 1870 in front of the emperor.

Fenton's music was only the first version of 'Kimi Ga Yo'. This version is performed annually at the Myōkōji Shrine in Yokohama which is close to where Fenton was based as a military band leader (Fairbank *et al*, 1975 [1884]).

The German Bandmaster Franz Eckert (1852-1916) was invited to the Empire of Japan as a foreign advisor at the behest of the Imperial Japanese Navy. Eckert served as director of the Navy Band from 1879 to 1880. At the time, the need for an anthem was especially pressing in the Navy, as Japanese officers were embarrassed by their inability to sing their own anthem at flag ceremonies, at sea. The existing anthem was created by Fenton in 1869. Eckert rearranged the existing anthem per the Gregorian mode for Western instrumentation, making suitable modifications for playability at sea, including a four-part vocal arrangement. The new national anthem was first performed in the imperial palace on Emperor Meiji's birthday, 3 November 1880 (Anonymous. The British Newspaper Archive. The Morning Post Monday, 15 September 1884).

Gong Hongyu stated that while Chinese modernisers followed German advisors from 1885 in the development of their military bands, they turn to Japan for practical guidance rather than to the missionaries. 'As a cultural intermediary, Japan not only alerted the Chinese reformers to the instrumentality of music in promoting political and social reform, but also showed them how music could be used to address the more urgent issue of nationalism.' (Gong Hongyu, 2016: 461).

THE FIRST CHINESE NATIONAL ANTHEM 'PU TIAN LE'

Zeng Jize was appointed minister to the British Government in 1878. In his diary of 1883, there is a note 'According to diplomatic etiquette, sometimes we need to play the national anthem.' The Chinese government did not see the need to have a national anthem, therefore, he decided to write his own Chinese National Anthem because he was embarrassed by the lack of something that could be played on these state occasions. It is known that he made two attempts at writing an anthem. The first attempt was called 'Pu Tian Le'. He was as familiar with Western music as he was with what he got to know as Chinese music. The first mention of this tune occurs when 'The Musical Times' (1 October 1882) has a review of 'Poo Teen Loh' or the 'World's Delight'. The Chinese National Air arranged for the pianoforte by Sir Julius Benedict with whom he had a friendly relationship (Fairbank et al, 1975 [1884]).

Sir Julius Benedict, who lived from 27 November 1804 to 5 June 1885, was a German-born composer and conductor, resident in England for most of his career. What is interesting is that he learnt composition from Johann Nepomuk Hummel in Weimar and Carl Maria von Weber in Dresden. Indeed, for many years, in some colleges and educational institutions, his biography of Weber was considered the standard work on the composer (Fairbank *et al*, ibid.). Weber was especially famous because he used one of the 'Chinoises Airs' sent back to Europe by Joseph Marie Amiot (1718–1793) and then published by Du Halde in his encounters with Chinese Opera (Clarke, 2010). It is interesting to speculate whether it was this interest in Chinese music by his teacher that encouraged Benedict to get to know Zeng Jize. It was thought for a long time that the music for 'Pu Tian Le' was lost, however in 1899 HE Martin published the collection 'Les chants nationaux de tous les pays'[3], in which he had included the then understood Chinese National Anthem. He writes 'Does a Chinese National Anthem exist? There exist popular tunes collected by European musicians who have made dedicated compositions to the representatives of the Middle Kingdom. They are executed outside of China in official ceremonies – not in China. In honour of the Marquis de Tseng

[3] Les Chants Nationaux De Tous Les Pays – Adaptation Musicale of Rousseau, Samuel; Aquarelles of Job; Text of Montorgueil, Georges; Ornaments of Jacques Drogue (Rosseau et al, 1900).

[Zeng sic.], Minister of China in London, Sir Julius Benedict wrote the delights of the world, an amicable embroidery on a theme contributed by the Chinese diplomat Zeng Jize (曾纪泽, 1839–1890) while serving in Europe'. (Rosseau *et al*, 1900: no page).

It was played as Air Imperial, but only on the pianos of the Legation. The music of the Republican Guard, style by protocol, honours the envoys of the son of heaven with accents a little different, more original, of a more really local flavour[4], but whose improvisation did not boast flourished in Peking.

On this piece of music, there are no words. How would there be? The people have never seen the face of their king. Does he pass in the crowd, in a firm Palanquin, preceded by his men of arms, his ensign-holders' (Ibid.)?

THE SECOND CHINESE NATIONAL ANTHEM 'HUA ZHU GE'

The second Anthem seems to have been first created by Zeng Jize on 20 October 1883. On 27 July it was named 'Hua Zhu Ge'. On 31 January 1884, the 'rhythm of the palace merchants' was handed over to London Health Exposition on 23rd June of the same year (Gong Hongyu, 2016: 485-486). It is clear that this was the first time the Chinese National Anthem was played officially (ibid.: 6) and that six Chinese musicians performed it.

The melody is said to have been by Zeng Jize [曾纪泽] but with assistance from Sir Julian Benedict. The Chinese words were not printed in the Health Exhibition Catalogue and were also said to be by Zeng Jize [曾纪泽]. However, we have the lyrics for this song because they were written by Humphry William Freeland, (1814–1892) and he published them at his own expense in nine different languages including English, Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, German, Danish and Swedish. Freeland did not translate the Chinese into English word for word but Zeng Jize [曾纪泽] read it and approved it.

In comparison, the first national anthem is very pianistic which suggests the influence of Sir Julius Benedict and there are no words. Both these factors confirm HE Martin's comments that it was meant to be played on the piano, but was not recognised as an official Chinese National Anthem. The second version is very different, because it is marked 'slow'. It has a more vocal melody and has the English words. It is still written in a piano-playing way, but clearly the harmonies could be arranged quite easily for military band. We know that Freeland published the words in nine different languages. The implication is that Zeng Jize [曾纪泽] clearly felt that the Qing Government would back this version, and this may be the reason that Robert Hart included it in the Exhibition Catalogue.

Robert Hart's decision to publish the Chinese National Anthem as a harmonised piano arrangement is astonishing and is audacious when seen in the context of the time. The piano was the ubiquitous instrument of choice in England and it would have meant that households up and down the country could have performed it.

It is very difficult to find accounts of public events that Zeng Jize [曾纪泽] attended which also give details of the Household bands that played on those occasions. I have only found two so far. I think it is reasonable to assume that these bands also performed the then valid Chinese National Anthem on these occasions.

In the Morning Post Saturday, 26 July 1884, it is written that 'Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales gave a garden party at Marlborough House yesterday afternoon. The band of the 2nd Life Guards under the direction of Mr W. Winterbottom; the band of the 10th Royal

[4] It is nowhere explained what this attribution embraces.

Hussars under the direction of Benjamin Green[5], and the Chinese musicians, played in the garden during the afternoon. Zeng Jize was also there' (Anonymous, Morning Post Saturday, 26 July 1884, no page).

From other archived communication, it can be concluded that Benjamin Stephen Green MVO, was born in Ireland on 14 May 1851. He was a keen musician and started his career with the 8th Hussars on 14 October 1865, at the age of 14. Presumably, he had joined as a bandsman at this young age. A period newspaper report[6] states that he had learnt the clarinet at Kneller Hall and he was also a talented musician with multiple instruments. He became a trumpeter on 14 March 1869, followed by private on 14 June 1869, corporal on 17 December 1872, and band sergeant on 1 May 1874. He then transferred to the 10th Royal Hussars to take the position of band master on 22 February 1879. He was promoted to warrant officer on 1 July 1881, while still holding the position of band master, which he continued to hold until 11 February 1888. He left the 10th Royal Hussars to take over as band master of the Duke of York's Royal Military School. He was then appointed as a band master in the Royal Marines Artillery on 22 February 1897.

On 13 September 1911, he was promoted to Honorary Lieutenant in the Royal Marines Artillery, which was followed a few years later by the appointment of Director of Music on 14 May 1914. It would appear that he also produced a small booklet titled 'History of the RMA Band' in 1914. On 28 September 1917, he went to France as the Director of Music for the Royal Marines Artillery, returning to the UK on 28 November 1917. This was presumably a trip to entertain the troops on the Western Front. His final promotion to Honorary Captain was on 31 January 1918.

He retired from military service on 22 December 1919 and died on 21 October 1944.

There is no record of a Chinese National Anthem but it is possible Green took the music with him when he took up his post at the Royal Marines. He was a composer and 'The Hampshire Advertiser 1st September 1900' mentions he was well-known through his waltzes 'Eileen' and 'Memories of the Past' and his marches which were 'Sunny Southsea', 'Benin' and 'HMS Powerful'.

This next account is very good because it gives details of who conducted the band, which bands played, and what they played.

The Morning Post Tuesday, 15 July 1890, reports that their Royal Highnesses, the Prince and Princess of Wales gave a garden party at Marlborough house on 14th afternoon to meet the Queen. The Chinese Minister Sieh Ta-jen was present. Sir Halliday Macartney and Lady Macartney were present. The bands of the 1st Life Guards under the direction of W Van de Henval (?) and the Grenadier Guards under the direction of Lieutenant Dan Godfrey played the following selection of music in the garden that afternoon.

Overture 'Marco Spada' Auber.

Selection 'Marjorie' Slaughter.

Pizzicato 'Sylvia' Delibes.

Valse 'Dance tes Veux' Waldteufel.

Gavotte 'Queen Christina' F Schuld.

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[5] Details were provided by Elliot Metcalfe, Museum Assistant, Horse Power, The Museum of the King's Royal Hussars in Winchester in private correspondence.

[6] This periodical is unknown. On an online discussion site is mentioned: "6330 Benjamin Stephen Green's RMA papers amongst the Royal Marines' service records on the National Archives documents online service. His date of birth is given as 14 May 1851 and he enlisted in the Corps on 14 October 1865. One will find his RM Officer's papers amongst the Royal Navy officers' service records 1756–1931 as part of the same online service. He was awarded the 1911 Coronation Medal as the Bandmaster of the RM Band in London. He was subsequently appointed the RMA Director of Music on 14 May 1914 with the rank of Honorary Lieutenant." (https://www.greatwarforum.org/topic/227085-royal-marines-retirement-age/, last visited 16 January 2022).

'Selection 'Romeo e Guilette' Gounod.
Song 'The Message' Blumenthal.
Nocturno 'Bei uns z'Haus' Strauss.
Cossack Dance Ivan Tschakoff.
Conductor W Van de Henvel.
Fast March Dr Heinrich Marschner.
Overture 'The Golden Cross' Ignaz Brüll
Selection 'Lohengrin', Wagner.
Airs de Ballet 'Les Vespres Sicilian', Verdi.
Allegro Moderato from 'Unfinished Symphony' Schubert.
Jubilaume Marsch Voigt.
Componirt sur Feier des 75 jahrizen Bestchens des Konlgllchen.
1 Garde-Dragoner-Regiment Kenizen von Gross Britannian und Ireland.
Intermezzo 'Loin de Bal' Gillet.
Selection 'Les Huguenot' Meyerbeer.
Valse Espanole 'Christine' Dan Godfrey Jnr.
Overture 'Tannhauser' Wagner.
Hessen–Kessel Marsch (ans preciosa) Weber.
(Under the direction of Lieutenant Dan Godfrey)
The Royal Hand Bell ringers under the direction of Mr Duncan S Miller were also in Attendance' (Anonymous, Morning Post, 15 July 1899, no page).

Zeng Jize [曾纪泽] later presented his national anthems for the approval of the Qing Court who rejected them. At this time, he received no support from Li Hongzhang [李鴻章]. However, once he was made a diplomat and sent abroad in 1896, he quickly understood why Zeng Jize [曾纪泽] had so wanted a national anthem and he then wrote one of his own.

In 1896 (the 22nd year of Guangxu), Li Hongzhang [李鴻章], Minister of Baiyang and Governor of Zhili, paid a diplomatic visit to West Europe and Russia. As a national song was requested for the welcome ceremony, Li Hongzhang adapted a Tang Dynasty poem by Wang Jian for the purpose.

The Chinese Lyrics are as follows:

金殿当头紫阁重，
仙人掌上玉芙蓉，
太平天子朝天日，
五色云车驾六龙。

This is an English translation by the author of this writing:

In the Golden Palace, amongst the overlapping purple pavilions,
Like a jade lotus flower in an immortal's palm,
The Son of Heaven of Supreme Peace pays tribute to Heaven's sun,
In its five-colour chariot of clouds, drawn by six dragons.

In 2014, Professor Chen Yue, president of the Chinese Naval History Research Association, who visited the Chinese Embassy in London, discovered a copy of Li Hongzhang's Chinese National Anthem.

Interestingly, the words are slightly different than previously thought, but are very similar in meaning.

宝祚延庥万国欢，
景星拱极五云端。
海波澄碧春辉丽，
旌节花间集凤鸾。

A translation of this would be:

> Raising reflections, the joy of all nations,
> The king's star arches the five clouds.
> The waves of the sea are clear and the spring is bright,
> The phoenix gathers among the flowers of the festival.

Technical Analysis of the Baiyang Fleet Anthem

The key of this tune is G Major. The melody is mostly pentatonic[7]. It starts with a solemn sustained tonic note in an octave. This serves to draw people's attention to the fact that the anthem is about to be played and it also gives the Sailors their starting vocal tone for the song.

Phrase A starts on the tonic and ends on the submediant. Four-bars long.

Phrase B starts on the median and ends on the dominant. It is rhythmically similar to phrase A but the melody rises. Significantly, the last note is repeated with a decoration, which adds to the charm of the tune and emphasises the climax of the tune. Next, there are four quarter tones. I don't think these were intended to be sung but are an instrumental link to phrase A1. This would have sounded very effective when played with a Brass Band.

Phrase A 1 starts off similar to phrase A, but here, you get the introduction of western harmonic thinking because it introduces F#'s before ending on the supertonic. The score is clearly marked 'rall' meaning to slow down and each note has accents.

Phrase C is a different tune starting on the dominant and descending to end on the median. There are pause signs over the note before the penultimate note and the penultimate note but the last note is extended by making it having a longer time value. Repeat marks mean the tune was to be played again. I think, because there is only one verse, this was to make the melody longer.

There is a four-bar coda. The first two bars of the coda are marked 'forte'. The last two bars are marked 'pianissimo', which means, very quietly. This would have created a dramatic and unexpected ending, but it is also harmonised in a strikingly original way. I think in the last two bars, it is trying to indicate a Db, then Eb and then a D natural. This would be entirely consistent with song writing at this time, but I think it does show how Li Hongzhang [李鴻章] had understood some theories of Western music. Of course, it could have been harmonised by somebody else[8].

Here is a piano realisation (Figure 1) of how I think it might have been notated according to how it sounded.

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7 It remains unclear what this attribute means in practice.

8 This is entirely unknown.

Score

Baiyang National Anthem

K.Robinson

CODA

Figure 1: The anthem as imagined for piano by the author of this writing.

One possible explanation of why that music was in the Chinese Embassy in London could be the following:

On 5 August 1896, Li Hongzhang [李鴻章] was awarded the Ribbon and Grand Cross of the Victorian Order and the Badge of Knight Commander of the same order. I think that he probably insisted on playing the Chinese National Anthem. The Queen was at Osborne and hence, a few days later, Lord Salisbury awarded him the medal and in the evening at Hatfield House, he was guest at a garden party where 2000 people were invited.

The Dover Express on Friday, 14 August 1896, gives the best description of Li Hongzhang [李鴻章] going to the Marquis and Marchioness of Salisbury's Hatfield House. Crucially, it is stated 'on the East Terrace they had pitched a tent for the exclusive use of Ambassador Li Hongzhang [李鴻章] and in here he met all the important dignitaries'. It goes on to say 'The Band of the Royal Engineers, under the direction of Mr J. Sommer played on the East Terrace and in the West Garden the band of the 4th Militia Battalion of the Berkshire Regiment was stationed, while on the steps leading to the summer drawing room the Scandinavian Quartet played' (Anonymous, Dover Express on Friday 14 August 1896, no page).

The archive of the Royal Engineers could not find any record of the Baiyang National Anthem being performed but they found information on Mr Sommer.

One account states as follows:

'Mr. J Sommer then [1891] took over as Bandmaster and, before the end of 1891, had conducted the band six times before H.M. The German Emperor, being complimented for his performances. The first R.E. concert was held in London in 1892. A band had been started at Aldershot by one of the units, being maintained by the Officers and the proceeds of the Manure Fund ... In 1904 Mr Sommer retired due to ill-health, as a 2nd Lieut., having received the rare honour of the Queen's Commission in 1899 for his outstanding work to music, and awarded the M.V.O.' (The Archive of the Royal Engineers, last consulted in 2003, London/Aldershot, no page).[9]

The other account (Ibid.) states: 'On Mr. Sawerthal's retirement the appointment was conferred on Mr. J Sommer, the son of a German Bandmaster in our service. He received his musical education at the Cologne Conservatoire under Hiller. Coming to England he entered Kneller Hall and became Bandmaster of the 1st Leicestershire Regiment in 1866. Afterwards he held similar positions in the 16th Cameronians and the Hyderabad Contingent. When he was appointed to the Royal Engineers on March 1st 1891, he had the good fortune to take over a first-class Military Band and Orchestra. But it would not be saying too much that he not only maintained, but improved upon the reputation gained by the band under his predecessor. During the Diamond Jubilee celebrations, the band was selected to play at Buckingham Palace for the State Banquet, and Queen Victoria decorated Mr Sommer with the Jubilee Medal. He received his commission in 1899, and H.M. King Edward conferred on him the Royal Victorian Order in 1901. Mr Sommer's health began to fail in 1904 and he retired in 1905'.

First, it is interesting to read that the early days of the Royal Engineer's Band, was financed by the Officers themselves and by the sale of manure. In comparison, knowing Robert Hart was solely responsible for all the costs incurred in running his band, his commitment was commendable. Second, the Chinese Military Bands were often dependent on foreign advisors, so it is surprising to read that the British Army Bands also relied on foreign-trained Bandmasters, because Mr Sommer was trained at the Cologne Music Conservatory.

In fact, not until as late as 1911, 27 years after Robert Hart's publication, did the Qing Government finally publish an official Chinese National Anthem called 'Gong Jin Ou' that contained the typical military phrasing, in text and musical structure.

The Confucian view was that music was not meant to please but educate (Kang 2014). If the correct notes were used in the correct combinations, then the Government would be in harmony and the people will be happy. A prominent Court musician Cao Xinquan argued that the melody that was published (in 1911) ignored these traditions and because it used certain notes, in fact it predicted the doom of the Qing Dynasty. Within six days of publication, revolution broke out and within a few months, the dynasty has ceased to exist (Ye Xiaoqing & Eccles, 2007).

CONCLUSIONS

Gong Hongyu (2016: 19) points out that this was neither the first, nor the last Exhibition to which Robert Hart would send a Chinese delegation, but it was the most successful. What makes it unique is that the Chinese musicians at the meeting were selected by Hart, who stayed in Shanghai, a foreigner who was in charge of the Chinese customs. It is not a simple troupe leader who takes the lead; they represent the culture of the wider country, not the pursuit of personal interests. But, the cultural background of the chosen person is different from that of his chosen music.

[9] London Military Museums Network, Sue Barber Curator of Museum of Army Music, CAMUS HQ, Kneller Hall, Twickenham, TW2 7DU, Private correspondence.

Robert Hart's choice of octagonal drum music from Beijing, rather than 'pure Han music' as favoured by Zeng Jize [曾纪泽] was because he was hoping this popular music might communicate more directly with the English audience. It was his deliberate choice and clearly baffled some of the elite Chinese.

It seems to have been the first time that the Chinese National Anthem was performed on traditional Chinese instruments abroad.

The Derby Telegraph on 5 July 1884 contains the following description:

'A native band played during the whole time of the luncheon commencing with "Hoa-tchon ko" Chinese National Anthem, followed by the "Wan-shou Hsaing" a chorus with bagpipes expressive of wishes of happiness; then the "Tapa pan" or the Eight Boards, and the "Chin lan fang" which details the tender wailings of a young wife whose husband is absent on military duties, but who suddenly returns to her joy and delight. The ta-ku pan or "Big Drum" and the "pa Hsien Chu His" a chorus with bagpipes followed. The Concert closing with "God Save the Queen" rendered with Chinese instruments in Chinese fashion, is described as a most extraordinary performance.' (Anonymous. 1884. The Derby Telegraph, 5 July 1884. British Newspaper Archive, no page).

It is an early example of Chinese musicians playing English songs on traditional Chinese instruments.

It is the first publication of the Chinese National Anthem in a piano arrangement. This is unprecedented. The piano was the ubiquitous instrument of choice in England. The repertoire shows that Robert Hart listened to traditional Chinese music a lot. Campbell's decision to teach the Chinese musicians how to play English songs on traditional Chinese instruments is unique. Campbell took the musicians to hear some of the English orchestral music of that time, which started a cultural exchange that was significant.

The decision to publish so much of the music, in so much detail, provides us with a unique insight into the music library of an ordinary octagonal drum ensemble's repertoire. This is only one ensemble, and the choice of music they were required to perform was obviously a reflection of what Robert Hart enjoyed listening to, but nevertheless it is the closest we can now come to understanding what a performance might have been like, because we know exactly the names of the pieces that they had to select their programme from. I cannot think of any other source that does this.

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THE MARAA-IPADDIMA RITUAL DRAMA IN SRI LANKA

Iranga Samindani Weerakkody [ඉරංගා සමින්දනී වීරක්කොඩි] [1]

Abstract

This article aims to study the ethnomusicological characteristics/expressions of a ritual drama in Sri Lanka that has lacked comprehensive research conducted about it so far; the *Maraa-Ipaddima* (Killing and Resurrection) ritual drama. This ritual drama is performed in reverence to the Goddess *Pattini*, who holds a special place in Sri Lankan culture and society for personal and social well-being such as fertility, health, and protection. The study employs a qualitative research method using both primary and secondary sources. The data has been collected through field observations, structured and semi-structured interviews, case study analysis, and literature reviewing. Study outcomes show that the ethnomusicological aspects of the ritual drama are expressed through *kavi* (poetic verses) sung while performing drama, traditional musical instruments, costumes, dance, and harmony. The study helped to understand the ethnomusicological expression of ritual drama performed, and it is also evident that the musical expressions performed in the ritual drama also work as a treatment in the collective healing of people (catharsis).

Keywords

Ethnomusicology, Group therapy, *Maraa-Ipaddima*, *Pattini* cult, Ritual Drama.

INTRODUCTION

Goddess *Pattini* is a well-renowned deity worshipped by the masses in Sri Lanka, revered for her divine ability to eradicate pandemics, diseases, and to bring prosperity. There is a subculture built around *Pattini* reverence among the folks using different rituals and practices. Several shrines also have been constructed around the country for the worshipping of the deity. The existing studies of *Pattini* have not been comprehensively studied with the ethnomusicological aspect of the ritual drama, *Maraa-Ipaddima* (Killing and Resurrection). Therefore, the study focuses on *Pattini* rituals and the music, melody, composition, instruments, casting, and performances attached to the folk drama, which mainly act on two folklores of "*Pattini.*" The following are some research questions to be asked:

1. What are the elements and nature of the ritual drama *Maraa-Ipaddima* (Killing and Resurrection) of folklore *Pattini*?
2. What are the Ethnomusicological characteristics expressed in the *Maraa-Ipaddima* (Killing and Resurrection) ritual drama?

Taking these questions as a point of departure, this paper derives the objectives as follows:

1. Understanding ethnomusicological perspectives expressed in the ritual drama *Maraa-Ipaddima* (Killing and Resurrection).
2. Knowledge dissemination and preservation of an intangible cultural heritage of Sri Lankan culture.

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Review of available Literature

"The Cult of the Goddess *Pattini*" by Gananath Obeysekara (1984) is a primary source that analyses the rituals form around *Maraa-Ipaddima* (Killing and Resurrection). Obeysekara describes how the *Maraa-Ipaddima* ritual drama is performed. The book also details the poetic verses and their interpretations of the ritual drama (ibid, 243-253). It cites that the *Maraa-Ipaddima* was performed in Matara and Rabaliya in 1956 (ibid, 29).

Sarachchandra's "*Sinhala Gami Natakaya*" (Sinhalese Folk Drama) also identifies *Maraa-Ipaddima*. The author provides a basic understanding of the rituals performed in the drama as well as includes a few songs of the ritual drama (Sarachchandra,1999: 68-72). The book contains a description of *Maraa-Ipaddima* written by Obeysekara, which had been sent to be published in the 1st volume of the magazine called "*Javanika*" (Sarachchandra,1999: 69).

According to legends described in daily sayings, it seems well-known that rice, the main staple food of Sri Lanka, was invented by the goddess *Pattini*. She is assumingly considered the goddess of prosperity. The legend states the story of cultivating rice and giving alms within seven hours after harvesting rice. Another source reveals that there are seven expressions of *Pattini* that comprise of *Paalanga Pattini, Thenda Pattini, Orupaali Pattini, Gini Pattini, Amba Pattini, Siri Pattini,* and *Mal Pattini,* all of which depend on the tale of her birth (Amarasekara, 2007:36-37; Rathnayaka, 2013). Alternative tales suggest that the seven expressions of *Pattini* classified based on the birth are such as from fire, wind, mango fruit, tears of the cobra, *Nuga* (Banyan) leaves, *Demata* flowers, and water (Amarasekara, 2007: 33).

There is a different story telling about the birth of the said deity. Epics such as *Cilapatikaram*, *Palaga Halla*, and *Pattini Halla* might have a compelling influence on these stories. The goddess *Pattini* is considered as a symbol of faith, loyalty, and extreme devotion to her spouse irrespective of his disloyal behaviour. Worshipping the Goddess *Pattini* is considered to have started in the reign of King Gajabha II (225-136 BC; Obeysekara, 1984). Literature suggests that Indian stories have impacted the further establishment of a *Pattini* devotion[2] in Sri Lanka. *Cilappatikaram*, a Tamil epic written by the poet Ilango Adigal, is the primary source that details the inception of goddess *Pattini.* The meaning of *Cilappatikaram* stands for the story of the Anklet. According to the epic, the main female leads of the poetry are *Kannagi,* eulogized as a great woman who later became the goddess *Pattini* (Amarasekara, 2007: 17).

Rituals worshipping the goddess *Pattini* can be seen in upcountry dancing, low-country dancing, and *Sabaragamuwa* dancing traditions of Sri Lanka. It can also be discovered that these rituals are also practiced in low-country folk dramas performed through dance. There are rituals related to worshipping deity *Pattini* that can be seen in performing *Shanthikarma* and folk games such as *Olinda Keliya* with the purpose of obtaining prosperity (Weerakkody, 2015).

The poetic verses of the lament of *Pattini* are sung in a slow tempo while performing the folk drama. Both Obeysekara and Sarachchandra admit that a similar performance takes place in Sinhala folk dramas that depict grief or lamenting which could have been influenced by the performances of *Pattini* lamentation in "*Maraa-Ipaddima*" (Killing and Resurrection). However, existing literature has not studied the ethnomusicology aspect performed in *"Maraa-Ipaddima."* However, it is noted that studies of a musicological aspect (music/melody, composing of *kavi* (poetic verses), musical instruments, casting, and costumes) used in *Pattini* ritual dramas lack a systematic exploration in the existing studies. This research aims to address these gaps.

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[2] It has been observed that parallel to Aryans that may have established their power in Northern India, people originating from Tamil speaking lines started to establish themselves in the southern region (south to the Vindya-mountain range), to develop the area socially and economically. There were three kingdoms named *Soli, Pandi,* and *Chola (Kerala)* in the southern region. Northern culture and their worship practices of deities, too, spread later in the southern region. Brahmins of the Northern region also have practised their Hindu culture in the southern region. Hence, Tamils have been able to protect their native cultural practices. The *Pattini* worship practice assumingly begins with the Tamil lineages.

Approach and Philosophical Assumptions

Allan P. Merriam was at the forefront of those who developed a theoretical framework for the systemic study of ethnomusicology. He views music as a part of the specific culture (Merriam, 1964:113). In his book "The Anthropology of Music," the author states that "Music is the product of human behaviour shaped by the people's values, attitudes and beliefs, belong to a distinct culture" (Merriam, 1964:33). The theory presented by Merriam has been partly applied to this study. The following represents the Merriam theory:

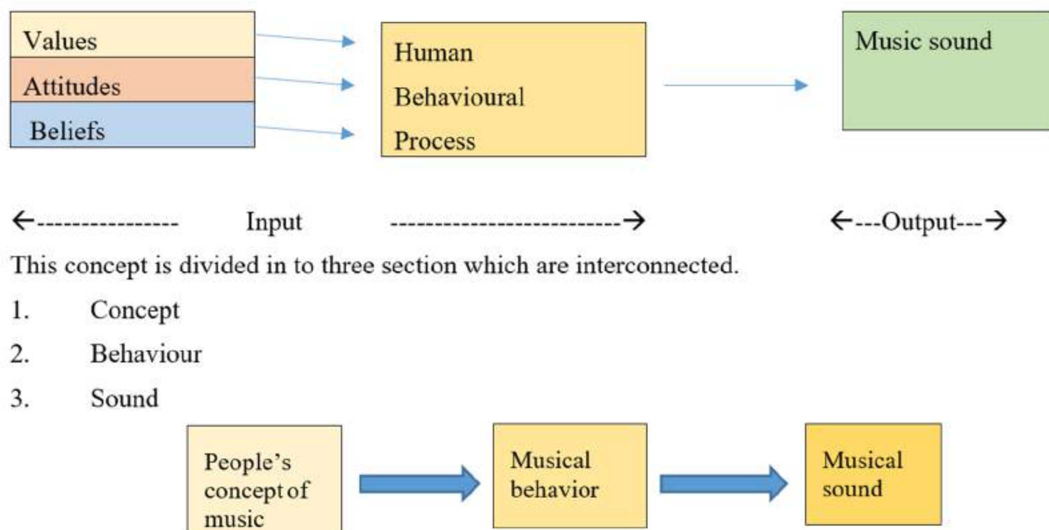

Figure 1: Simplified scheme of philosophical assumptions used in this article (scheme by the author).

According to the above illustration, people's attitudes on music shapes musical behaviour, and this leads to musical sound. This means that the musical sound of music is a product of human behaviour and all three aspects are interlinked. Alan P. Merriam has presented a structure to study ethnomusicology, but it is a bit outdated with regards to deeply rooted behaviorism and cultural dependencies that were often criticized for their ahistorical explanations.

Data Collection

Data collection was done mainly using the case study method, structured and semistructured interviews, audiovisual methods, literature review, and field observations. Review of literature on the existing knowledge regarding the practice of *Abhichara* (rituals) in the folk drama *Pattini* in different contexts, approaches used were referred to identify the contextual and methodological gaps in studying of *Pattini* devotion and practices/performances interlinked with *Pattini* reverence in Sri Lanka. Literature review of various primary, secondary, and electronic sources also provides the context to the study.

Structured interviews were conducted with *Kapu Mahathwaru,* who are the leading priests of the shrines established to worship the god/goddess and are called *devalaya* and traditional dancers and members of two separate families performing the ritual drama of *Maraa-Ipaddima* (Killing and Resurrection), which has been passed down through various generations in Sri Lanka.

The study is conducted based on two geographical areas as per the sampling requirements. The two study areas are as follows:

1. *Galkanda Pattini Devalaya*
   (*Minuwangoda* Divisional Secretariat–*Gampaha* District)
2. *Doonagaha Pattini Devalaya*
   (*Divulapitiya* Divisional Secretariat–*Gampaha* District)

The knowledge system of the *Maraa-Ipaddima* rituals belonged to a few generations of artists as currently in use. The rituals were performed by a few artists who were well-trained disciples of the *Raigama* dance tradition. Two *devala* that have traditionally been practising this specific *Pattini* devotion were chosen. Marasinghe Gunarathna is one of the traditional artists who has worked and is attached to several *devala*. Following is his generational tree.

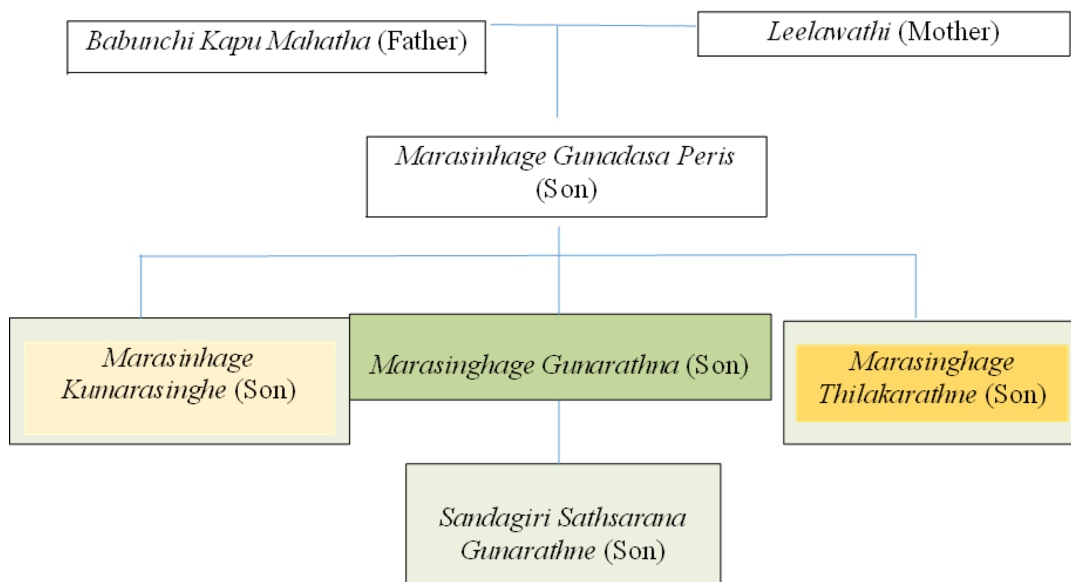

Figure 2: Generational tree of Marashinghe Gunarathna (scheme by the author).

The third generation of those who perform *Maraa-Ipaddima* is represented by Marasinghe Gunarathna. His two brothers also have been supported to perform the drama. Presently, Sandagiri Sathsara, son of Gunarathna, performs the *Maraa-Ipaddima*. This dance that is devoted to goddess *Pattini* was the only one protected and kept alive to the present day, solely because of the dedication and artistic capacities which has been given to the younger generation by the older generations of the same family.

Apart from the Gunarathna family, rituals related to *Maraa-Ipaddima* are also performed in the *Galkanda devalaya.* Janith Adhikari (*Kapuwa*/lead priest of a *devalaya*) performs as *Pattini* in this *Pattini* ritual drama at this *devalaya*. He is a university graduate and works as an executive in a private sector company as well while belonging to a traditional *Kapu* (*Devala* priest) generation (Adhikari and Weerakkody, 2016).

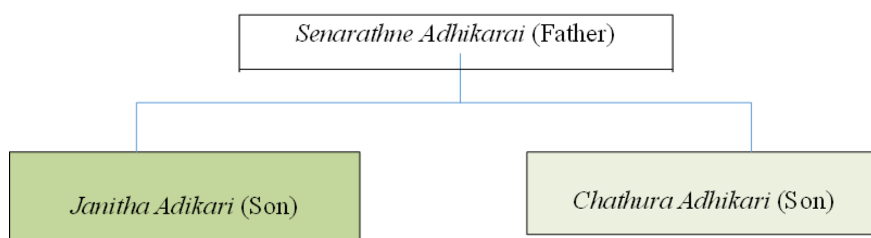

Figure 3: Generational tree of Senarathne Adhikarai (scheme by the author).

Unstructured interviews were conducted with devotees who visited the *devalaya* (temple) and the spectators who joined to watch the ritual drama performance at random. Data acquired from direct interactions with the interviewees was used for the discussion. The study uses participation observation to observe the dance's sacraments performed and dramatic movements in the *Gammadu Shanthikarma* (dance). Observations were done by observing the dance in the two selected *devalaya*. Mainly, dance and rituals practised in *Gammadu* were recorded as audiovisual support for the study.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

It is observed that there are various *Shanthikarma* (ritual dramas performed with the objective of healing) rehearsed in upcountry, *Sabaragamu,* and low-country dancing traditions to portray the devotion towards the gods and to portray devils and ghosts (*Devi, Yaksha,* and *Raksha*). The beliefs, rituals, and legends entwined with goddess *Pattini* can be observed similarly in every regional tradition, irrespective of the geography.

According to the field observation, several procedures were observed in the first part of the drama performance. They include rituals of *Abarana Wedammaweema* (bringing forth the divine ornaments ceremonially), *milla kapeema* (A fire-trampling ritual involving the cutting of a *milla* tree to be used as fuel for the fire), *Thel wedammaweema* (bringing forth the sacred oil), *Halan wedamaweema* (bringing forth the divine Anklet), *Paththini Pada Karadu Nateema* (dance reflecting the devotion to *Pattini*), and *Yahan Kavi*[3] (singing poetic verses expecting the goddess *Pattini's* presence before the beginning of the ritual drama). These poetic verses were sung for the presence of several gods and goddess, including *Vishnu*, *Kataragama*, *Saman*, *Pattini*, *Dadimunda*, *Devol,* and *Gambara*. It was followed up by performances of *Devol Eliya/Kala Pandam Eli Malawa, Pandam Paliya, Theme Neranama* (dance using the traditional lighting). The second half begins with the legend of the birth of *Pattini* as a drama called *Amba Vidamana* (shooting the mango), which details the birth of *Pattini*. The next was the performing of *Mara-Ipaddima* (Killing and Resurrection). The chief priest of the *devalaya* or the leader of traditional folk dancers comes to the theatre of *Gammaduw*a disguised as *Pattini*. This section of *Pattini* which comes in the epic, was not commonly seen in every *Gammadu Shanthikarma* in the present day. The two folklores connected to the birth of *Pattini* (*Amba Vidamana*) and the *Maraa-Ipaddima* (Killing and Resurrection) were identified in the field research. These two stories also have been cited in a few sources that was found in the literature review as well.

Gammaduwa is a traditional folk drama that reflects the rituals performed in worshipping the goddess *Pattini*. It includes a performance of two folk tales of *Pattini*. The shooting of the Mango *(Amba Vidamana)* is one of the two folklores of goddess *Pattini*. The performance of similar folklore is observed during the field research. Following are the two folklores connected to *Pattini* deity discovered from both literature and the field visits.

EXAMPLE 1: AMBHA VIDAMANA (SHOOTING THE MANGO)

Tales of *Pattini* deities are usually performed in dramas. *Gammaduwa* (a dance ritual) is one of the rituals performed in worshipping the deity. It includes a performance of two legends of *Pattini*. The shooting of Mango (*Ambha Vidamana*) is one of the two (Sarachchandra, 1999). *Sinhala Gami Natakaya* describes it as follows. This was similarly recognized during the research in the field. The story reveals the following:

> A ripe mango fruit was seen in a mango tree at the garden of King "*Pandhi*," which was shining in gold and attracted many because of its precious shape. The gardener decided to gift the mango to the king hoping to receive valuable gifts in return. He attempted to pick this mango several times and failed and was scared. Then he decided to inform the king about the enchanted mango. So the king visited the garden with his ministers to see the enchanted mango. The people who came with the king also tried to pluck the mango and failed. So they tried to cut the mango tree, but when they used their axes, the axes turned back. The king commanded the archers to shoot the mango, but they also failed. God *Sakra*, disguised as an elder, declared the ability to pluck the mango. When the god *Sakra* shot the mango, it fell from the tree, making the king look up and lose the vision of one eye because of the milk from the stem of the mango. Scared, the king placed the mango in a boat and left it to sail in the

[3] Field observations.

river of "Kaveri." The mango which sailed in the river was found by a merchant prince called *Manahara* and his wife who were bathing in the river. They decided to keep the mango in their castle. After some time, God *Sakra* visited the couple disguised as a beggar saying that he was looking for a mango. When the merchant prince and his wife checked the mango, they found a gorgeous baby princess inside and named her "*Pattini.*"[4]

Example 2: Mara-Ipaddima (Killing and Resurrection)

Following is the second story related to *Mara-Ipaddima*, which is cited in the literature and was also found during the current field research.

> *Kannagi* was married to a merchant prince, *Palaga/Kovalan*. He was charmed by an actress called *Ma Devi/Madhawi* and spent all his wealth on her. Later, he was disappointed and returned to *Kannagi* again. Then, they both moved to the city called *Madurai*. They were thinking of restarting their lives there. *Palaga* thought of selling *Kannagi's* anklet to get some money and met a goldsmith. At that time, the queen's anklet was stolen, and royal forces searched for the lost anklet of the queen. It was described that the goldsmith was carrying hatred towards *Palaga* from their previous births. So, he handed him to the royal forces, and *Palaga* was taken to the King. Although *Palaga* denied stealing the queen's anklet, King *Pandhi* ordered to execute him. Meanwhile, *Kannagi*, searching for *Palaga* got to know from the King's two children that he was killed under a Neem tree. Her emotions of grief and anger seeing her spouse's death is expressed in the drama. She revives her husband from death by her determination and devotion towards him. Finally, she destroyed the city of *Madurai* and later became the goddess *Pattini*.

Casting

The main character of *Maraa-Ipaddima* (Killing and Resurrection) is *Pattini*, and is usually performed by a man disguised as *Pattini,* as women were denied from performing as *Pattini.* Therefore, the rituals depicting *Pattini* can be seen performed by masquerading men. *Kovalan*/Prince *Palaga* is another main character in this drama where all performers of the drama are restricted to a men-only cast (Gunarathne and Weerakkody, 2018).

Figure 4: An artist performs as *Pattini* at the *Doonagaha Devalaya*.Photograph by the author, 9 November, 2016.

[4] Field Observation *Ambha Vidamana* (Shooting of the mango).

It was observed that the costumes of *Kovalan* consist of a white *Sarong* and white vest. However, he was taken to be persecuted not by the King *Pandhi* according to the legend. This was performed differently in the ritual drama where *Maruwa* (a devil) takes *Kovalan*. *Maruwa* is conceptualized by the imaginary character of *Yaksha* who is seen in *Shanthikarma* (traditional ritual drama) and beliefs of people. The character is enacted in a way to generate an emotion of fear among the spectators.

Figure 5: A scene showing *Pattini*, *Kovalan*, and the two supporting drummers at the *Doonagaha Devalaya*. (Photograph by the author on 9 November 2016).

Figures 6 and 7: The scene where *Kovalan* enters to the *Gammaduwa* at the *Doonagaha Devalaya* [Photograph]. The entrance of the *Maruwa* to the *Gammaduwa* and the death of *Kovalan* at his hands (Photographs by the author on 9 November 2016).

It was observed in the field research that the spectators were invited to enact the roles of children and *Kali*. It is important to note that the *Maraa-Ipaddima* folk drama is a theatrical drama enacted by singing poetic versus according to the music. Use of dialogues are nonexistent in the ritual drama *Maraa-Ipaddima*, which is a unique characteristic of the drama. Dramas informed through poetic verses were also called as theatrical drama, opera, and so on in Sri Lanka and other parts of the world. Yet, *Maraa-Ipaddima* ritual drama was not identified as one of them, although it has similar characteristics.

Figures 8 and 9: A scene depicting *Pattini* searching for her husband. [Photograph]. Sri Palitha, G. A. C. Here *Pattini* selects children from the spectating audience and asks them whether they have seen her husband (Photographs by the author on 9 November 2016).

It was observed in the field that the ritual drama *Maraa-Ipaddima* provides a form of catharsis to emotions of fear and sympathy and acts as a treatment which contributes to psychological wellbeing of the spectators.

USE OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Gammadu Shanthikarma gets several drummer's services, and the main drum used is a low-country drum. It could be observed that *Maraa-Ipaddima* begins and afterwards the *Yadini* and *Kannalaw* who were requesting the gods and goddesses verbally, or at least, expecting their presence, permission, and security in order to proceed with the healing through Goddess *Pattini* that takes place inside the *Devalaya*. At the inception, sometimes there were six to eight drummers who used to perform in the first part of the ritual drama. It can be seen that drums such as the *Thammattama* and *Davula* are used here in worshiping and performing rituals towards gods and goddess. Use of "*Sak*" in rituals related to God and Goddess comes from ancient history which is also seen in contemporary practices.

Two drummers were observed serving for the ritual drama at the *Doonagaha Devalaya* and a single drummer served for the ritual drama at the *Galkanda Devalaya*. Drummers were also supposed to sing *Kavi* (poetic verses) as they played their drums. Poems sung by the person who is performing as *Pattini* is followed by the drummers for the second time in certain occasions. Drummers provide a unique contribution to the ritual drama and this was also highlighted in poetic verses sung to enunciate the lamenting of *Pattini.*

Playing of drum and its melody cased to demonstrate the climax of the drama through their melodies. It was also observed that the melody varied from poem to poem

Figure 10: The two drummers at the *Doonagaha Devalaya* playing low-country drums. (Photograph by the author on 9 November 2016).

Characteristics of Composing Poems

Although there were *Kannalaw* (poems/prose of weep or grief), *Sthrothra,* or *sanna, Gatha* (Chants) or *Kavi* (prose), used in *Gammadu* Shanthi Karama based on *Pattini* devotion, it was noticed in the field observation that *Kavi* or the poetic verses is used for *Mara Ipaddima* (Killing and Resurrection) ritual drama. The following three verses indicates the grief and suffering of *Pattini* caused by the loss of her spouse and her attempt to revive him from death.

පිරී කඳුළු ඒය වටින්

සියොගතැණුවේය නිතින්

බැරි ඉවසාගන්ට ඉතින්

ගරුතර මගෙ හිමි නැගි ටින් (මාත්‍රා 12)

(*Reveals of grief of Goddess Pattini who was in tears as she could not bear the death of Kovalan and pleads for his revival.*)

ඉහළින් ගඟ දය ඉහළට බෙදුනේ

පහළින් ගඟ දය පහළට බෙදුනේ

දෙගොඩ තලා මැද සුදු වැලි පිපුණේ

එතැනින් පත්තිනි සඳ වඩිමින්නේ (මාත්‍රා 16)

(*Depicts an appreciation of the environment creating a moment for entrance of Goddess Pattini.*)

බෙල්ලෙ ඉසිණු පෙති ගෝමර ළැමද සිට

කෙල්ලේ බලාපන් රුසිරු සොඳ රඟට

වැල්ලේ බොරාළු ගත ගන රන් නිද ඔබට

මැල්ලේ නොවී හිමි නැගිටන්න හනිකට (මාත්‍රා 18)

(*Depicts an appreciation of the beauty of Goddess Pattini and requesting Kovalan to revive from his death*).

MELODY

It is noticeable that the composing of the poetic stanza and musical sound is informed in three ways. There are several poetic stanzas sung in a single pitch. The above poetic stanzas are presented with a mix of acting performance, music performance, and dance performance.

මල් මද අනුරාග   මතින්

මම දුක් විඳ ආමි   රටින්

නුඹ ඉන්නේ මෙවැලි   පිටින්

රන්වන් මගෙ හිමි   නැගිටින්

Here, one line is sung by the person acting as *Pattini*, whereas the next line is sung by the person providing the accompaniment with drums. In certain instances, the same line is repeated again. It was observed that the same line was used melodically for the whole verse. The range of this verse is from B♭ to E♭.

Figure 11a: The notation to melody 01, which was heard at both the *Doonagaha* and the *Galkanda Paththini Devalaya* (excerpt by the author).

ඉහළින් ගඟ දය ඉහළට බෙදුනේ

පහළින් ගඟ දය පහළට බෙදුනේ

දෙගොඩ තලා මැද සුදු වැලි පිපුණේ

එතැනින් පත්තිනි සඳ වඩිමින්නේ

Figure 11b: Notation 02. This melody too was heard at both the *Doonagaha* and the *Galkanda Paththini Devalaya* (transcription by the author).

Unlike earlier, here one line is sung by the person acting as *Pattini*, whereas the repetition of the same line is sung by the person providing the accompaniment with drums. It was observed that at times, the opposite of this was sung with the person acting for *Pattini* doing the repetition. This is sung *madum thani thitha kadinam laya* or an approximate 6/8.

එදා සළඹ අරගෙන නුඹ මේ පුරට

ඔහු බලා ක්ෂමයි හිමියනි ඔබට

ආදා සිට නින්ද නැත රෑ තුන් යමට

බාධා නැතුව හිමි නැගිටින්න හනිකට

The melody starts in a descending order of notes, and a specialty here is the use of a D♮ note in contrast to the usual D♭ used in the previous melodies. In Eastern music notations, the previous melodies employed the use of the scale B♭-C-D♭-E♭ for the range was seen, whereas here it switches to a C-D♮-E♭. As in earlier melodies however, it is the same pattern of notes that are used for all the lines in the specific *kaviya*. These lines are sung alternatively by the person portraying *Pattini* and the drum player. Considering the supporting notations, we can discover the following characteristics which are unique to the discussed music.

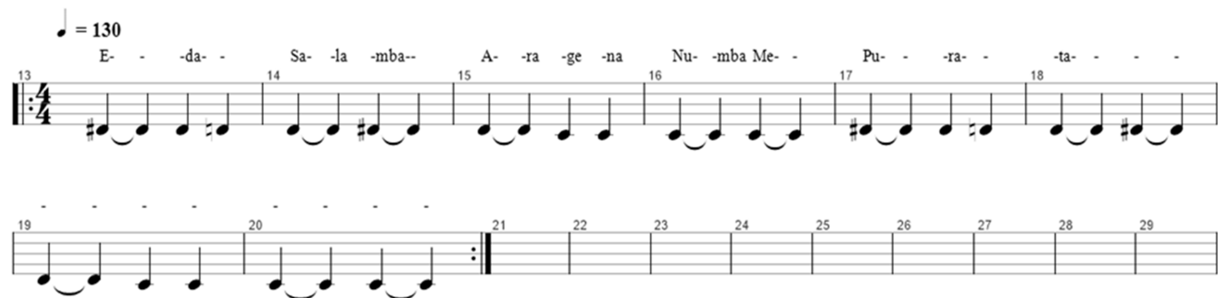

Figure 11c: The notations to melody 03, which was heard at the *Doonagaha Paththini Devalaya* (transcription by the author).

Figure 11d: A scene from the *Galkanda Devalaya* where *Pattini* is lamenting the loss of her husband. (Photograph by the author on October 9, 2016).

Figure 12 and 13: Depiction of *Pattini* lamenting her husband's death seen at the *Doonagaha Devalaya*. (Photos by courtesy of Sri Palitha, G. A. C. on 9 November 2016).

The poems along with the music being performed, describe the lamenting of a devoted wife who lost her husband. The poetic verses sung reflected the grief, anger, and pain imparted in the mind of *Pattini*. It is not rare in a society that lamenting is used to manage grief. Therefore, *Maraa-Ipaddima* (Killing and Resurrection) can be seen as an opportunity to advance grief and reduce the pain of someone who had already lost or someone who will experience such losses. It is observed in the field observation that the spectators were trying to engage with the drama as people had experienced grief and sorrow at various times.

Figures 14 a-d: The spectators of this ritual drama, and their expressions of grief in response to the drama of *Pattini* that is played out at the *Galkanda Devalaya*. (Photographs by the author on 9 October 2016).

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

Figure 15 a and b: The environment, or the open theater *Maduwa* of the *Doonagaha* (left) and *Galkanda* (right) *Devala*. (Photographs by the author on 9 October and 9 November 2016).

The creative process involved in ritual drama expressing one's self artistically with its creativity in preparing the environment helps people resolve issues, develop and manage their behaviours and feelings, reduce stress, and improve self-esteem and awareness. One doesn't need to be talented or an artist to receive the benefits, and there are some professionals who can work with everyone to dive into the underlying messages communicated through art, which will aid in the healing process.

It was observed that decorations using young coconut leaves, flowers, and banana trunks was used to create a calming environment to the spectators. In the early days, the outdoor theatre was lighted with

"*Coppara*" (a dried coconut used to get the lights) which created a soothing lighting environment that helped the spectators to calm themselves. Unfortunately, the current practice of using high-resolution lights, seems not to be supporting the objective of performing ritual drama.

Buddhist literature reveals the emotion of lamenting/grief using women roles. *Jathaka Katha* such as queen *Mandhri Devi* in *Dharmabala Jathakaya,* and daughters *Krishnagina* and *Yasodara* in *Wessanthara Jathakaya*, *Sanda Kiduriya* (Mermaid) in *Sanda Kiduru Dha kawa* are some of the emotions of weeping revealed in Buddhist literature (Weerakkody, 2021). In addition, the expression of weep/ grief also can be found in Sinhala literature and "*Shanthi Karma.*" For example, the weeping of *Kuweni, Dasiya* in *Huniyam Kapilla*, also expresses emotions of lamenting/grief centralized around women (Ibid). These are examples that expressed women's emotions. We can see that women lament over the loss and distancing from their loved ones. Lamenting is a medium of releasing the emotions of pain and suffering and is evident in society. Emotions of lamenting expressed in *Pattini* ritual drama is a unique cultural character as it is linked to the countenance of pain from death. We can identify several categories of tools that have been used to manage grief.

Traditional Methods

- Crying and lamenting

Workmanships linked to traditional physical engagement

- Dancing, Playing the drums, singing, chanting, knowing the text patterns

Performing religious rituals

- *Pooja* (offerings). *Kap Situweema*
- Poetry, drama, *Gok Sarasili* (decorations done using young coconut leaves and trunks of banana trees)

Performance of the ritual drama *Pattini* reflects the use of music by melodies generated through singing, playing, and dancing to heal people. Music is a treatment and a healing method practised and linked to various cultural events in Sri Lanka. Evidence of the practice of musicological treatment also not novel but can be found in the ancient history of Sri Lanka. They are mainly mirrored through folk drama, *Bali, Gammadu* (ritual drama) performed among the people of the country. Music is the most significant factor of the drama. Music acts as a powerful medium to connect with people who suffer from severe mental conditions where the gods and ghosts and any kind of black magic are involved. It was evident that the musicological treatments link better communication and balance the spectators' physical and mental conditions. Therefore, it is proven that the musicological aspect of ritual dramas acts as a medium of healing or treatment.

Current Sri Lankan society is living under alarming pressure, which has caused an increase in mental stress among people. It was identified in the studies that one among the many reasons for increased child abuse, rapes, criminal activities, addiction to alcohol and drugs is that people try to uncontrollably satisfy their never-ending desires and their impatience to achieve them. In such context, catharsis could be one of the instruments that can be applied as a treatment to the psychological issues of stress and depression which rise from the above discussed conditions. It is a well-recognized phenomenon that the current Sri Lankan society is primarily affected by environmental disasters such as droughts, floods, and landslides, which causes loss of loved ones and property. Furthermore, the questions of unemployment, changes in consumer patterns, and complex lifestyles cause stress among people. According to psychologists, these issues could also lead to severe mental problems if left untreated. Studies show that most of our health issues, such as headaches, rashes, and sometimes nonpandemic diseases such as diabetes, arise from stress. Therefore, it is believed that such diseases cannot be treated only by medications, but the treatment should focus on the patient's physical and mental well-being.

Emotions which arise from social depression and leading to social unrest can be relaxed through innocent folk dramas that help to liquidize the strong emotions of social oppositions.

> Production of grief is a way of releasing emotions and revive emotions more satisfied. Therefore, this can be called a "Homeopathy Treatment (Suraweera 2001:54).

Sri Lankans have their traditional ways of coping with grief which are bound to their culture and religion. Rituals such as chanting and listening to *Pirith* as a collective*, Bodhi Puja, Perehara* are some methods used to release the emotions. Such methods are used to discharge emotions used in agricultural societies of Sri Lanka engaged in paddy cultivation. Performance of folk dramas such as *Sokari* and rituals *Gammadu Shanthi Karma* performed during New Year celebrations occur in Sri Lankan society. Masses were taught about tragedies through *Jathaka Katha* such as *Sanda Kiduru*, *Wessanthara*, *Dhahamsoda*, *Maname* that also act as a method of discharging emotions of grief among people, by purifying grief that leads to mental healing. Unfortunately, these cultural characteristics are not often being applied anymore in society and are not commonly seen in present-day life. However, the *Gammadu Yagaya* performed in *Maraa-Ipaddima* (Killing and Resurrection) performed in the ritual drama, which helps to collectively heal people become more applicable, considering the mental issues faced by the people in present-day societies.

Maraa-Ipaddima performed today seems to be a single act of the ritual drama by forgetting its value of healing the people. Even the traditional dancers highlight the exhibiting value of the drama compared to the aspect of purification of the emotions. According to the observations in the field, it was noticed that the exhibitionist nature of today's performance is impacted by the competition among *Pattini Devala* (Shrines worshipping the Goddess *Pattini*) operating in the country. It also seems that the purpose of drama performance is to attract more audience and, in the process, forget or provide less attention to the traditional rituals and customs. It is observed that the performing ritual drama in contemporary Sri Lanka has become a highly commercialized project. The aim of performance has shifted from healing to a profit-making production. This was proved in the field observation where the stage and the area are filled with high-resolution lights. Using high-resolution lights restrict creating the ideal environmental background that supports healing. These practices lead to deviation from the purpose of performing the ritual drama, which is to purify the emotions leading to healing. The changes and commercialization of performing the ritual drama *Maraa-Ipaddima* and other ritual dramas seem to compel people of contemporary Sri Lankan society to detach themselves from the value, acceptance, and taking part in these traditional ritual dramas.

CONCLUSION

The field research identified that the performance of ritual drama *Maraa-Ipaddima* (Killing and Resurrection) consists of rich characteristics. The study of the music applied poetic verses, singing, playing musical instruments (mainly the drums used), costumes, performance, casting, and creating an environment all add to this richness. Apart from the importance of the ritual drama to society, it was also observed in the field study that the performance of *Maraa-Ipaddima* contributes towards collective healing of people because of its ability to engage people, open up their grief and help to reconcile with their conflicted feelings. Some characteristics used in the ritual drama have had a significant contribution towards creating the necessary condition for the mental healing of the spectators.

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Glossary

Term	Definition (loosely based on translation)
Abhichara	Traditional Sri Lankan ritualistic "white" magic.
Bali	A type of Sri Lankan ritual held to balance the effects of the planets according to astrology.
Bodhi Puja	A form of *Abhichara* used in Buddhist culture for millennia to signify the importance and reverence towards the Bo tree that gave shelter to Lord Buddha when he attained enlightenment.
Dasiya	Helper/servant.
Davula	A traditional Sri Lankan percussion instrument (drum/memranophon) prominently seen in Sabaragamuwa dancing traditions, played with a stick in one and the palm of the other hand.
Devalaya	A structure built to house statues and other paraphernalia used in ritualistic practices to worship various gods. The plural of the word is Devala. It can be seen that some Devala are built for one particular God, and some to house more than one God.
Devi	Goddess.
Gammadu	A type of ritualistic dance and drama.
Huniyam Kapilla	A low-country ritualistic dance held for devils.
Jathaka Katha	A Buddhist literary text that depicts Buddha's previous births and life spent as the Bhodisatta. These are represented as stories (katha).
Kannalaw	A salutation to the Gods that is sung in a prose style or chanted in a verse style in rituals.
Kapu Mahathwaru	The priest in the *Devalaya* who coordinates the timings for the rituals according to auspicious times and performs chanting. At times, this position is passed down based on caste.
Kavi	A poem that usually consists of four lines.
Kuweni	The first wife of King Vijaya and a tribal leader in Sri Lanka.
Maraa-Ipaddima	Ritualistic drama that revolves around the idea of killing and resurrection (literal translation: Killing and Resurrecting).
Olinda Keliya	A game that is played by (mainly) females during the time of the New Year in Sri Lanka.
Pattini	The only Goddess in the Parthenon of Gods worshipped in Sri Lankan Buddhist culture and represents fertility. As Sri Lanka has an agriculture-based lifestyle and daily practice historically, Goddess *Pattini* plays a large role in Sri Lankan culture.
Perehara	A procession held by Buddhist temples in Sri Lanka as a form of worship.

Pirith	Buddhist chanting form used to talk of the Dharma in the Sutra Pitaka of Theravada Buddhism in Sri Lanka.
Raksha	A type of devil worshipped in Sri Lanka.
Sabaragamuwa	A province of Sri Lanka where a traditional form of dancing and percussion had been passed down from for centuries.
Sanda Kiduriya	Mermaid.
Sarong	A lengthy fabric that is used by men (mainly) that is wrapped around the waist.
Shanthikarma	A ritual which can be seen in various parts of Sri Lanka with identifying factors according to the area which it is conducted in. Used in both white and black magic.
Sokari	Oldest drama tradition found in Sri Lanka which symbolizes the Goddess Pattini and is done to obtain her favor in crop and sexual fertility.
Thammattama	A traditional percussion instrument in Sri Lanka that is played with the use of two stick-like structures. Used greatly in the functions of temples and Devala alike.
Wessanthara Jathakaya	One of the more famous Jathaka Katha that signifies the fulfilment of the Dana Paramita by the Bhodisatta.
Yadini	A request to the Gods that is sung in a prose style in rituals.
Yaksha	A type of devil worshipped in Sri Lanka.

JAZZ HISTORY IN THAILAND: FROM PROFESSION TO MUSIC EDUCATION

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Abstract

This qualitative research has collected exhaustive data on topics ranging from the history of jazz in Thailand to the genre entering the realm of music education. Cassettes, CDs, gramophone records, online databases, research articles, and extant documents form the basis of the investigation. Observations and in-depth interviews with seventeen key informants—jazz teachers, jazz event organizers, jazz musicians, and business owners—were conducted. The study shows that initially, jazz in Thailand was inextricably linked to the entertainment venues in which Siamese aristocrats dined and were entertained. The subsequent growth of a jazz society involving musicians, music activists, jazz writers, jazz businesses and foreign-trained graduates became the catalyst for the development of a system that did not rely on formal education. Later, jazz big bands in government organizations, high schools, and universities came into existence. Presently in higher education, the three giants of Mahidol University, Silpakorn University, and Rangsit University offer outstanding music programs. Once considered a singular entity, the growth of jazz education has caused Thai jazz society to spread into various dimensions, including jazz in businesses and activities, performances, and education.

Keywords:

Jazz history, Thailand, Jazz profession, Music education.

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

It is said that the enslavement of the Black Africans in the United States during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, resulting in the cult of the African singing and playing, instigated the emergence of jazz (Burnett, 1985; Lertsatakit, 2014). Black Africans taken into the New World included the Senegal, Yoruba, Amiens, and Ashanti, all of whom sang while working in cotton fields and agricultural areas (Luepradit, 2002). Later, jazz took form as a new musical genre, and was adopted into use in dance sessions, films, and the recording industry. From its provenance in the town of New Orleans, jazz spread to many other major cities such as Chicago and New York, and it diffused all over the world, including to the land of Siam, where it was particularly found in Western entertainment venues as music for dance (ibid.).

The emerging trend of jazz in Siam began in the reign of King Chulalongkorn (King Rama V) as a form of dance music in hotel ballrooms. Later, almost at the end of the era of King Vajiravudh (King Rama VI), there was a full-fledged acceptance of jazz, with Luang Sukhum Nai Pradit acting as a patron of the first Siam jazz band, the Rainbow Club (Napayon, 1996). Aside from live performances, people enjoyed dancing to music from vintage vinyl records. During the reign of King Prajadhipok (King Rama VII), there emerged additional entertainment venues such as bars and ballrooms for dancing enthusiasts. Consequently, the growing popularity of jazz attracted shop owners and Filipino musicians: The former wanted to open businesses and the latter to earn a living (Amatyakul and Duangchantip, 2006). At that time, many jazz big bands, such as *Sri Krung* Sound Film Company, Thai Film Sound Company,

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Wong Dontri Krom Kosanakarn, Military Band, and *Duriyayothin* Band, were in competition. The reign of King Bhumibol the Great (King Rama IX) can be treated as the Renaissance of jazz in Thailand: The monarch was a jazz musician. He composed 49 songs in many forms such as New Orleans Jazz, Latin, March, Walt, and Ballet, ensuring the unstoppable popularity of jazz and making staunch jazz listeners out of a proportion of the Thai people (Srikranon, 2016).

Despite the growing popularity of the royal compositions and his patronage, jazz in Thailand has not been a mainstream music genre and it is limited to a small number of dedicated followers. This is combined with the unfortunate circumstance that, in the past, jazz was banned from being studied. Phra Jenduriyang, an acclaimed Western music master, stipulated to his pupils that no one should be allowed to practice jazz. The rationale behind the stipulation was that jazz was the music of the slave and that it would tarnish a classical music career (Kuabutr, 2016). At present, however, these sentiments are thoroughly outdated, and jazz has become highly recognized by the music society; it attracts committed professional musicians and benefits from status as a major subject in higher education.

The rise and fall of jazz in Thailand have captivated music educators, especially with its path from a forbidden musical genre to a hugely in-demand subject in universities. In this article, we will provide historical background on the development of jazz in Thailand, and then a detailed investigation of how jazz permeated into the university education system, first centered in Bangkok and then becoming widespread to other provinces of Thailand.

RESEARCH DATA COLLECTION

I collected data from both primary and secondary sources relating to jazz in Thailand. The secondary sources comprise pamphlets, photos, tape recordings, CDs, online databases, and previous scholarly works. The gathering of the primary source was carried out through observation and interviews. I focused the study on Bangkok as the center of jazz activities in Thailand, and where its histories and movements were easily traced. Nonparticipant observation revolving around jazz music activities were conducted in various areas. Furthermore, using a purposive sampling method, 17 key informants involved in jazz in Thailand were interviewed in depth —these included jazz teachers, jazz music organizers, jazz business owners, jazz professionals, jazz artists and professional musicians, and jazz writers. Before conducting research, research protocols and research tools were obtained through the Human Research Ethics Review Board of the social sciences Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, Mahi University. To collect exhaustive data, I used observations and interview questions. I categorized the collected data into themes and analyzed the themes by using descriptive analysis. The purposes were to narrate jazz history in a chronological order and to investigate in detail how jazz as profession has asserted itself in the Thai music education system.

THE HISTORY OF JAZZ IN THAILAND

The reign of King Rama V (1868–1910) is considered the beginning of jazz in Siam, with the use of manual turntables to play music for foreigners to dance to in luxury hotels such as the Oriental and the Trocadero. Dancing to a small band—with the piano and the violin as the main instruments in Ballroom Dancing, Slow, Waltz, or Quicksteps—permeated the Siamese upper-class circle (Amatyakul and Duangchantip, 2006). During the reign of King Rama VI (1910–1926), there was an emerging recognition of a Western classical music band called *Wong Kraung Sai Farang Luang*, which was administrated by *Phra* Jenduriyang (Napayon, 1996). Segregated religiously from classical music, Khun Saman Siangprachak (1918–1925), one of

the students of *Phra* Jenduriyang, was barred from playing jazz. Reluctant to follow this order, he and others chose to become jazz musicians, this giving birth to the beginnings of jazz as they began earning extra money by playing jazz at nighttime venues such as Siam Hotel, Jasmine Beer Hall, and Oui Lee. All these places were full of people seeking entertainment and alcoholic drinks. The band serving in such places usually consisted of piano, saxophone, trumpet, banjo, tenor, bass, and drumkit. It was from these shows that jazz bands for dancing began to emerge.

During the reign of King Rama VII (1925–1934), there was a famous entertainment venue called "Beer Hall" selling Western liquors, cigarettes, and cocktails with a regular band playing international songs for Westerners to dance in quickstep or foxtrot to a piano along with two violins and sometimes a drumkit. The electric atmosphere resulted in jazz becoming more popular in Siamese society in tandem with a growing demand for such musicians from the Philippines. In addition, *Luang* Sukhum Nai Pradit, a foreign-trained graduate, was an important patron of jazz after his return from the United States. He formed Siam's first Dixieland style jazz band in Rainbow Club, serving *Wang Phayathai* Hotel, Spot Club, Europe Hotel, Polo Club, and Oriental Hotel. Following his example, later "Yasband" of Tor Ngek Chuan, Pranboon, Manit jazz band (Siam's first female jazz band), and *Ke Ta Se Wee* band became known. It was during the reign of King Rama VIII (1934–1946), when Siam became known as Thailand (in 1939) that a starting point of Thai democracy was heralded (Dantragoon, 2002), and this made Thai people keener to dance in lively nightclubs and entertainment venues. In 1935 and 1937 respectively, two more jazz bars—Ballroom Ballroom, and Oui Lee (at Wang Burapha)—came into business and started to attract wealthy people. In addition, big bands had started playing for Thai films: Sri Krung Sound Film began to thrive between 1936 and 1938, and Thai Film Sound Company in 1936. Also, many more bands such as the Army Jazz Big Band (1938), the Band of the Advertising Department (1939), Duriyayothin Band (1939), the Crown Property Band, Wayubut Band, and an unknown band that played in the theater troupe on the radio, were also operating at the same time (Napayon, 1993). The establishment of these bands added to the musical atmosphere after the inception of a number of jazz bands in government agencies.

The reign of King Rama IX (1946–2016) was an era in which jazz in Thailand dramatically developed, punctuated by the birth of Suntharaporn Band on November 20, 1939. Suntharaporn Band, as a big band, lent itself well to serving dances including the Waltz, Slow, Tango, Quick Step, Rumba, Bolero, Begin, Cha Saharanpur Cha, Mambo, and Samba, all of which gained immense popularity throughout the country. In the years of 1943–1947, there were no limits for the many more jazz bands that emerged, including the Nakhon Sawan Band, Luk Fa, Luk Thale, Sam Som, and Luk Pradu. There were also private agency jazz bands gaining popularity, including Phantreesilp Band, Por Chuen Prayot, Bangkok Cha Prayut Cha, Chang Dang, Ketawat, and Prasanmit. King Bhumibol Adulyadej, a jazz lover, laid important foundations underpinning jazz in Thailand. He began to compose his first song, "Candlelight Blues," in 1946, and subsequently there were other 49 melodious royal compositions in various styles, including New Orleans Jazz, Swing, Latin, March, Waltz, Ballet, and theme songs (Srikranon, 2016). To popularize those compositions and to spend his leisure time, he established Or Sor Wansuk Band, the band that allowed royal family members and government officials to play music on Fridays. The name of this band was originally Lai Khrram Band, and it played various songs, including international songs, popular songs, and jazz songs. In 1952, he established a radio station at *Amporn Sathan* Hall called "Or Sor Radio Station" and allowed the Lai Khram Band to broadcast at the station on Fridays. Aside from this royal favorite, in the business realm after 1957, Thai jazz musicians diversified greatly in the types of music they played, blending different musical styles into new entities. This led to the expansion of the Thai jazz circle as it

became involved in the music business sector. All of these vibrant activities and the growing popularity of jazz laid a foundation for an initial jazz education movement in 1998.

Despite initial social disapproval of jazz's involvement in the education system in Siam, nowadays, jazz in Thailand has become an important part of the study of music in higher education, with courses akin to bachelor's, master's, and doctoral degrees in the United States. Today's jazz education is a byproduct of a dynamic, multidimensional jazz society featuring foreign-trained musicians, jazz writers, local musicians and artists, jazz businesses, various jazz activities, and jazz listeners. At present, three university giants, namely Mahidol University, Silpakorn University, and Rangsit University, have supported jazz music education as we recognize it today.

EARLY JAZZ EDUCATION IN THAILAND

As we have seen, jazz entering Siam during the reign of King Rama VI as music for dancing in entertainment venues was a catalyst for the social gatherings of professional musicians in entertainment venues that laid a foundation for an early jazz society in Thailand. Although jazz barely featured in the realm of education, it continued to exist as a form of popular music, and it became a valuable art that gained greater acceptance in society. The first jazz band, Rainbow Club, was a small jazz band founded by *Luang* Sukhum Naipradit in 1926. He collected musicians from *Wong Kraungsai Farang Laung* and later chose to collaborate with his friends Prince Panuphan Yukol, Pot Sarasin, and Chan Bunnag to form a new big band called Thai Film Sound Company and appointed Aua Soonthornsanan to be the band leader (Napayon, 1996). Initially, jazz was a music not considered suitable to be studied. In the past, jazz learning was associated with thorough listening and memorization, and it paid no regard to music notation. This put limits on organizing or distributing musical ideas, an obstacle to formal educational processes (Tolson, 2013). In the eyes of music educators, jazz was unequal to classical music, and this translated into it being marginalized from education. However, *Luang* Sukhum Nai Pradit brought jazz notation from abroad along with three Filipino musicians Billy Flores (Keti Ketakorn), Pe Peng (Piya Watittakom), and Joe (Pinyo Surawat) to eventually underpin jazz education in Thailand (Napayon, 1996). Billy Flores played a critical role in early jazz because Eua Soonthornsanan Group wanted to learn jazz from this Filipino guitarist. Later, he became an arranger, giving songs a jazz accent for Suntaraporn Band and providing professional comments on the royal compositions to make them jazzier. Within early jazz society, the knowledge of the seniors was transferred to the younger generations in various ways. Eua Sunthorn Sanan proposed that Nart Thavornbut was a senior among Phra Jenduriyang's disciples and mentioned that he taught him jazz (Obituary of Aue Sunthornsanan. n.d.).

As jazz began to spread into the film business and government organizations, it too began to permeate Thai music society and the people more widely. The rapid spread of jazz came with an unstoppable demand for education. The royal compositions not only allowed the Thai people to gradually get to know and absorb the accents of jazz, but they later came into play in education; for example, in art learning groups in Grade 3 of the Core Curriculum of Basic Education 2008, it is compulsory for children to learn royal songs. Suntharaporn Band was a role model exemplifying the demand for jazz big bands in universities. Jazz began to be a must-have in every educational institution in Bangkok, including the big bands of Kasetsart University, namely KU Band (Music Club, Kasetsart University) and CU Band (Music Club, Chulalongkorn University). These are the first two university jazz bands in Thailand. The bands were also encouraged by King Rama IX to play on the radio station that he founded. The late

King was pleased to permit bands from different universities to play music at the radio station on Fridays (Workpointtoday, 2021).

School of Jazz: Nonformal Education System

Jazz diversified markedly from a confined jazz society to wider public recognition as professional jazz musicians and artists began exhibiting their talents in jazz restaurants and business activities. These account for all of the major stimuli for jazz in Thailand that brought about the initiation of jazz music education. Following social acceptance for informal educational institutions, foreign-trained jazz musicians started to open jazz music schools: Pratak Faisupakarn of Supakarn School of Music and Arnon Sirisombatwattana of Anon School of Music in Bangkok, Ittinan Intharanan of Woranan Music School in Chiang Mai province, and Samran Thongton of Tritone Music Studio in Phuket Province. In addition to these privately owned music schools, Manrat Srikranon, a jazz master who graduated from Berkeley College of Music, USA, is believed to have laid a foundation for jazz education at Silpakorn University. Another important figure is Asst. Prof. Dr. Den Euprasert, who created the first jazz course in Thailand. These individuals are gamechangers—they were professional jazz musicians who turned their focus to music education.

The first jazz music school was Supagarn Music School, found by Pratak Faisupakarn in 1983 on his return from Berkeley College of Music. Knowing that there were no jazz music courses in universities, he spearheaded jazz activities, wrote articles and books on jazz, as well as opening of his school. His involvement in such creation gave birth to an expansion of jazz society and created many professional jazz musicians, including Nakarin Teerapinan, guitarist of T-Bone Band. Pratak is now a jazz guitar teacher at Silpakorn University. Anon School of Music, Thailand's second nonformal jazz school was founded by Anon Siri Sombat Wattana, one of the most prominent Thai jazz guitarists. He also returned to Thailand after studying jazz in the United States and was committed to providing his exhaustive knowledge and experience in jazz to Thai musicians. He taught a number of professional Thai musicians and artists, including Wuttichai Leasathanakij, a jazz guitarist and currently the Dean of the College of Music at Silpakorn University, and Jeerasak Panpum, a well-known guitarist who possesses an enviable versatility in playing various genres, particularly jazz.

There are two major jazz music schools based in provincial areas. First, Woranan Music School in Chiang Mai was founded by Ittinan Inthanan, and this was followed by Tritone Music Studio Phuket School of Music in Phuket, which was founded by Samran Thongton—the person responsible for spreading the glory of jazz in southern Thailand. All in all, Thai musicians graduating abroad and returning to associate with others in Thai jazz society brought about the expansion of jazz in wider society. Not only does jazz serve revelry in entertainment venues, but now it also underpins the future of music education in Thailand.

Jazz in the Thai Education System

Jazz and the craze for big bands precipitated the first two Thai universities establishing KU Band and CU Band, respectively, ensembles that play music at university events with a repertory revolving around the royal compositions and *Suntraporn* popular dance music (Faisupakran, interview). Nowadays, many universities have a jazz band of their own, whether small or large. Universities offering music education have also introduced jazz-related courses into their curriculum, covering jazz theory, jazz ensemble, jazz history and improvisation, and so on. Since these jazz courses began to be of importance in educational institutions, leading universities—College of Music, Mahidol University, Faculty of Music, Silpakorn University,

the Conservatory of Music Rangsit University and their counterparts—all decided to bring jazz programs into their institutions.

The Jazz Program of College of Music, Mahidol University started in 1998. Sukree Charoensuk, the Dean, ordered that the first jazz music program in Thailand must be taught at bachelor's degree level. With the help of Den Yuprasert, a famous jazz pianist who was responsible for academic affairs at the time, they engaged qualified jazz musicians Noppadol Tirataradol, Krit Buranavittayawut, and Darin Pantoomkomol to teach at degree level. Following its successful implementation, the jazz degree was extended to master's degree level in 1999 (College of Music, Mahidol University, 2011). Later, the expansion of jazz education also spread to upper secondary education when the College of Music established its Precollege and a jazz major for high school students was established in the Music Preparatory Course in 2001. The College of Music has provided numerous jazz musicians—either professional players or teachers—to Thai society. Some of them now work as jazz professors in Silpakorn University, Rangsit University, and Bansomdet Chaopraya Rajabhat University. Among such people are two particularly prominent jazz musicians. The first is Kom Wongsawat, the first doctoral candidate in jazz music. After graduating, he went on to study for a master's degree and then he earned a Doctor of Musical Arts in Jazz Performance—Instrumental from Frost School of Music at the University of Miami, Florida, USA. The other is Pamai Cherdkiatisak, the first Thai guitarist to have been honored at an international jazz contest (winning 3rd prize). Nowadays, many jazz musicians still desire to pursue the Doctor of Music (DM) International Program, the first doctoral degree in jazz education in Thailand.

The Faculty of Music at Silpakorn University became the second institution to offer an undergraduate jazz program in 1999. With knowledgeable lecturers such as Manrat Srikanon, professor in Jazz Composition between 2009 and 2012, it offered a master's degree in music (Music Research and Development) in five subjects, jazz being one. Besides Manrat Srikanon, today there are many famous jazz teachers and artists teaching at this university, including Nakarin Teerapenan, Daniel James Phillips, Saksri Vongtaradol, Wootichai Lertsatakit, and others. The university has produced jazz musicians, artists, and teachers such as Passakorn Morasilapil, an outstanding Thai jazz saxophonist, Dan Phillips Trio, and Sunny Trio.

The College of Music, Rangsit University was established in 2002, run by Den Yuprasert, and later a bachelor's degree and a master's degree program in jazz music ensued. Currently, support to the college has been given by famous jazz teachers such as Den Euprasert, Teerus Laohverapanich, Nop Prateepasean, Changton Kunjana, and Jetnipith Sangwijit. This is also the third university to produce jazz students with recognized skills in Thai jazz society. Other universities such as College of Music, Bansomdejchaopraya Rajabhat University; Faculty of Fine Arts, Srinakharinwirot University; Payap University; Burapha University; and Thaksin University (Kuabutr, 2020) are higher institutions that offer a bachelor's degree in music with jazz courses for students to choose from.

The increasing popularity of jazz and the growth of jazz education are connected. Students from the upcountry began to study jazz in universities in Bangkok and brought burgeoning knowledge and practices back to the provinces. In addition, with the growing number of jazz students and intensive rehearsing, more jazz bands were formed in provincial universities and high schools, resulting in the organization of the annual International Jazz Conference, which has seen increasing participation of bands from every corner of the kingdom. When educational institutions produce more jazz musicians for society, new generations of musicians show that they are ready to follow them into the profession: artists, music business owners, and jazz music teachers.

Educational gains in today's digital world are not only classroom based—a myriad of jazz music material is readily accessible online. Knowledge is shared via media channels such as Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube. Facebook pages called Jazz Jae and The Woodshed, for instance, provide updated information. The growth of Thai jazz music education has also resulted in an increase in the writing of textbooks and research articles for university classes and public usage.

JAZZ ACTIVITIES IN THAILAND AND THEIR KEY FIGURES

Music education has not single-handedly propelled the jazz movement in Thailand. Other factors contributing to jazz culture in the kingdom include multidimensional factors such as jazz festivals, the first of which was held in 1995 at *Suan Amphon* Hall. Such music festivals continue up to today—examples include the Bangkok Jazz Festival at *Sanarmsuepa* between the years of 2003 and 2007 and Hua Hin Jazz Festival from 2003. Currently, jazz activities are held continuously—Hua Hin International Jazz Festival in Hua Hin, *Chom Wang Fang Plang Banlang* Jazz at Chao Samran Beach, Phetchaburi province, Chiang Mai Jazz Festival, Thailand International Jazz Festival 2018 in Chiang Rai Province, and Saraburi International Jazz Day Music Festival 2019, Saraburi Province. Other impressive activities include various workshops and mini concerts, and those of Bangkok Swing Dance group, which organizes dances using jazz. The jazz activities in Thailand reflect the expansion of jazz society. Supported by event organizers, musicians, media organizations, and listeners, these events have increasingly spread to provincial cities, with the growing acceptance of jazz in Thai society. The flow of such jazz activities sets an example for similar activities to be held in educational institutions that go on to play a crucial role, contemporary to those held outside universities.

First, a jazz activity that enthralls many jazz musicians, amateurs, and professionals alike is Thailand International Jazz Conference (TIJC), which is run by College of Music, Mahidol University. It has been held annually since 2009. All activities in the festival, such as jazz camps, workshops, a jazz contest, and performances by world-class jazz musicians, are aimed at supporting educational achievements. In 2018, for example, Mike Moreno, Will Vinson, Kevin Hayes, Orlando Le Fleming, and Henry Cole were exclusively chosen to exhibit their musical talents in front of 245 concert participants (College of Music Mahidol University, 2018). Such activities have proved attractive to music institutions across the country because they also provide opportunity for jazz bands in various educational institutions to demonstrate their skills.

Second, Thailand Jazz Competition (TJC) has been run by the Faculty of Music Silpakorn University since 2005. Jazz musicians come to the competition with the aim of taking home the King's Cup Jazz Contest. The purpose of the event is also to honor King Rama IX, a royal patron of jazz in Thailand. It is clear that this activity can boost academic standards of jazz in Thailand.

Finally, Thailand Jazz Workshop, run by The Conservatory of Music Rangsit University since 2013, is a project and activity whose purpose is to enhance educational standards. The workshop includes coaching on playing, practicing, and understanding jazz, on the appreciation of theory and practice, jazz history, listening, improvisation, and jazz combos and big bands. In 2018, it involved a total audience of 212 people; participants were mostly students (Rangsit University, 2018). These activities show that there is a correlation between jazz music activity and education, as more young people are becoming jazz enthusiasts. It also shows that jazz creates common interest within the jazz musician world, as players often become listeners and vice versa, generating a strong driving force.

The awakening of jazz education since 1998 has established long-lasting standards in the profession, enabling jazz musicians and students to gain higher skills. Those groups therefore go on to create more jazz works, most of which are connected with the institution's own jazz teachers and students—for example, Passakorn Mora Artist, Natt Bantita, Pomelo town, Sunny trio, and Dan Phillip have created their own albums. Nightclubs, especially in Bangkok and surrounding areas, are where jazz students, alumni, and university jazz teachers come together to play. Venues in the capital include Bamboo Bar, Brown Sugar, Saxophone Pub, Witch's Tavern, Smalls, SoulBar, FooJohn Building, and Alone Together. There is also a wave of scholarly work by jazz teachers—teaching material and books for sale outside these educational institutions. This increases the volume of publications that contributes to the creation of a new body of knowledge about jazz, accessible in a public space.

Conclusion and Discussion

The thriving of jazz in Thailand was a corollary of a social dancing craze during the reign of King Rama VI. As a result, most Western-minded aristocrats who had a propensity for drinking, dancing, and listening to music in entertainment venues became prime targets for shop owners seeking to open businesses that catered for these lifestyles. Jazz was one of many mechanisms to fulfill these needs (Phiphawakorn, 2009; Choksuansap, 2011). The royal compositions of King Rama IX imbued Thai people with appreciation for the beauty of jazz, and they have been an invaluable source for the growing number of jazz listeners in Thailand since 1946. Thai people have gradually and unconsciously internalized the accents of jazz. In addition, the royal compositions are a source of study embedded in the core curriculum of middle school education. This shows that the unquestionable talent of King Rama IX has contributed greatly to the underpinning of jazz education in Thailand.

In addition to the royal compositions, songs of Suntaraphon Band also played an important role in music for dance, leading to the musical ensemble called the "big band" becoming so trendy that it was hard for a number of universities in Bangkok, such as KU Band (Kasetsart University) and CU Band (Chulalongkorn University), to resist joining with their own bands. KU Band and CU band were among the two big bands playing jazz on King Rama IX's radio station on Fridays (Workpointtoday, 2021). Pratak Faisupakran (interview) noted that it was the royal compositions and the popular dance songs of Suntaraphon Band that beckoned the emergence of big bands such as KU Band and CU Band.

This all comes despite *Phra* Janeduriyang's derogatory remarks on jazz and him forbidding his disciples to play, considering it a negation of the standing of decent classical musicians and at odds with the profession. The situation was similar in the United States during the 1930s and the 1950s, when jazz was bitterly opposed by educators. Jazz practices were barred from music curriculums or banned from being rehearsed in high schools, colleges, and universities (The Herbie Hancock Institute of Jazz, n.d.:1). Two decades later, however, the bitterness towards jazz eased, with it becoming widely accepted by the educational community. First, jazz was regarded as a legitimate musical genre. Second, it is undeniable that extracurricular jazz activities in the mid-1970s and the early 1980s were such a huge success, and as a result, a new wave of music education began to embrace jazz into its territory. It was not until the very end of the twentieth century that jazz education started to become a vital element of music education in the United States as well (The Herbie Hancock Institute of Jazz, n.d.: 64).

Here, jazz programs in higher education have become commonplace since the 1990s, working alongside traditional training in classical music. Some of the most prestigious American universities and music schools—Eastman, Indiana University, Juilliard, and New England Conservatory—provide jazz courses, along with 120 other colleges and universities (The

Herbie Hancock Institute of Jazz, n.d.). Parallel to this growth, nowadays, jazz in Thailand has become subsumed into the educational realm in the form of jazz music programs at bachelor's degree, master's degree, and doctoral degree levels.

After 1957, jazz's fusing patterns in Thai society were an important impetus for its growth in education, when jazz musicians who had graduated from abroad started to open informal music schools (see also, Opapant, 2015). That resulted not only in jazz diffusing into wider society but also in the genre, which had previously only been listened to in restaurants and hotel entertainment venues, being allowed to project itself into education.

At present, it is not unusual to find jazz bands, both large and small, in universities. Also, some universities with music programs have jazz-related courses, such as jazz theory, jazz band performance practice, jazz history, and improvisation, in their curriculum—this marks the onset of the formation of jazz in academia. Later, the study of jazz in the university became full-fledged. Three leading universities drive these jazz-education activities: College of Music, Mahidol University; Faculty of Music, Silpakorn University; and College of Music, Rangsit University. The growth of jazz education has created jobs for music educators, including in the provision of private lessons, the creation of online teaching materials, and the writing of new books and jazz compositions. In addition, students from upcountry have begun to come to study jazz in universities in the capital. On graduation, they bring their knowledge and jazz culture back to the provinces, becoming professional jazz musicians and private teachers, or opening jazz bars. On their return, jazz bands are also created in provincial universities and high schools. Finally, these research findings reveal that annual jazz festivals in Bangkok, such as Thailand International Jazz Conference, usually enjoy strong student participation, with learners coming from every corner to organize jazz band performances with energy and increasingly impressive ability.

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The quality and Stature of Soviet and Post-Soviet Musical Education: an Analysis of Music Conservatoires

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Abstract

This paper addresses the modernisation of musical traditions in Soviet and Post-Soviet states, by assessing the development of particular conservatoires as proxies for the dominant discursive and political paradigms of the era. While a prominent historical purpose for the establishment of these musical institutions was for the successful introduction of the Western style of education to the Soviet Union, the situation has seen a marked change since the fall of the USSR. Much of this transition is closely tied to concepts of social and legal sovereignty, with many conservatories struggling with the political and economic transformation in the post-Soviet era, due to cultural, religious and social policy. Three particular conservatoires are used to illustrate this hypothesis: the Moscow State Conservatoire (founded in 1866), Kazan Conservatoire (founded in 1945) and State conservatoire of Uzbekistan (founded in 1936).

Keywords

Music education, USSR, Post-Soviet era, Conservatories, Central Asia.

Introduction

The aim of this presentation is an investigation into the practice and epistemological approach that arose from the institutionalised study of music in the USSR and post-Soviet conservatories. Drawing on more than thirty years of first-hand experience at various levels of music education in school, college and conservatories; as well as comparable literatures and scholarly analyses from the Western tradition; I would like to propose modernisation as the main phenomenon, principal in the establishment and the development of music education bodies all over the country.

The word 'Conservatory' is derived from the Italian word 'Conservatorio', a word initially used to refer to orphanages that safeguarded children and trained them to sing for the church, a practice that started in 1537 (Campbell & McCarthy, 1996: 60). It took several centuries for conservatories to become the prominent institutions of higher musical education, as we currently know.

Indeed, Anton Rubinstein founded the St. Petersburg Conservatory as a formal successor to the Russian Musical Society, an organisation that was created in 1859 to promote musical excellence and raise the standard of musical education in the country. A few years later, Pyotr Tchaikovsky established the Moscow State Conservatory in 1866 (Figure 1).

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Figure 1: The Moscow State Conservatory named after Pyotr Tchaikovsky. This, and all following pictures are freely available in the public domain.

The high level of interest in music in Russia also produced conservatories in Voronezh (1867), Kazan (1864) and Kiev (1863) and Sergeant (2005: 245).

Figure 2: Kazan state Zhiganov Conservatory.

MODERNISATION

The popular view of the modernisation process of musical traditions is that typically, it involves the introduction of notation, the standardisation of instruments, the establishment of concert life with distinct and attentive audiences and the institutionalisation of music teaching. However, all those features were already part of the Russian music world and some republics beyond the Russian area, both before and during Soviet times.

Modernisation in Russia was a particularly multifaceted and complex phenomenon, owing to the breadth of diversity in ethnonational identities and established cultural heritages. Rather than the broadly linear modernisation that was experienced in the more homogeneous and stable European societies at the time, modernisation in Russia was closely tied to the drastic politico-economic transitions encountered during and after the Soviet era.

According to the sociological approach to the study of Russian modernisation, 'By the time of the collapse of the Soviet system in 1991 it had become increasingly accepted that the modernisation of society effected by Soviet communism had reached its inherent limits and, in particular, that the

increased complexity of an industrialised society had exhausted the capacities for change of the centrally managed "planned" economy and the rule of a single party claiming superior scientific knowledge of the management of society' (Kivinen & Cox, 2016: 1).

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1990s, academic opinion has reflected Russia's unique path of transformation, with a particular recombination of Soviet forms of rule with a distinctly Russian historical and cultural identity. According to David Lane, 'In terms of political economy Putin moved Russia away from a chaotic economic formation in the direction of a state-led form of corporatist economy ... [while] politically the country moved in the direction of competitive authoritarianism' (Lane, 2014: 291).

In this context, Russian modernisation is understood as developing into a combination of economic, political and technological changes, 'building a high-tech, great power Russia relying on lessons and technology borrowed from the West, and political modernisation based on Russia's own national political culture' (Pursianinen, 2012: 5).

The most influential social theory scholar, Talcott Parson, whose work laid the foundations for later structural functionalist arguments, argues that 'in the Soviet system the function of goal attainment is emphasised too much which means that political institutions are playing too large and economic institutions too little a role; this also implies that because of the lack of market economy power is playing too large a role as a generalised medium, and money is not significant enough; and on this basis Soviet modernisation can be characterised as infrastructural modernisation (urbanisation, industrialisation and increasing literacy) and not as institutional modernisation where the social institutions (RS: social institutions – is a historically established form of organisation of joint activity of people, whose existence is dictated by the need to meet the social, economic, political, cultural or other needs of society as a whole or its part) would have been properly differentiated' (Parsons 1967, 1970, 1978).

AUTO-ETHNOGRAPHY

Uzbekistan, where I grew up, had a wide network of musical schools and colleges which have existed in abundance since Soviet times (every major city of the 12 provinces plus one autonomous republic in Uzbekistan has a Music College and several music schools plus great many music schools in the capital Tashkent). In addition, in the capital Tashkent, there are the Uzbek State Conservatory, Philharmonic orchestra, Opera house and various dance ensembles, TV and Radio committee and the Melodia Company that produces LPs to promote local musical culture. The Tashkent State Conservatory of Uzbekistan after Mukhtar Ashrafi (Uzbekistan Davlat Konservatoriyasi 'M Ashrafi'), the oldest musical institution in Central Asia, was founded in 1936.

Figure 3: The Tashkent State Conservatory of Uzbekistan after Mukhtar Ashrafi.

The Tashkent State Conservatory occupies a new building erected in 2002. In this building, there are four concert halls, 305 rooms for teaching, rehearsals and general classrooms, and four sound recording studios. The Conservatory houses a Museum of national instruments, a research centre, the music library (with a sound archive of Uzbek musical heritage), and a publishing house 'Music'. There is an associated Academic Lyceum for talented teenagers offering a three-year foundation-course program.

Figure 4: The new building of the Tashkent State Conservatory.

I came to study music at a later age than is usual for children in the USSR: at the age of eleven. When my younger sister Goulnara was seven-years-old, she passed all entry exams, and was accepted to study piano in a famous musical school in Andijan (Uzbekistan), where we lived at that time, and my parents had to buy a piano. They had not been able to afford it when I was seven – the age when children would normally start learning music in the USSR. My sister's teacher, who I met during her piano lessons, as it was my duty to accompany Goulnara for all music-school lessons, immediately recognised my thirst to play piano and suggested that my parents should find me a class for 'latecomers', which they did. My first piano teacher enthusiastically recommended that I apply to study at the College of Music, where I was finally accepted after eleven entrance examinations that I passed with distinction. So, I was accepted into the Faculty of Musical Theory, which had been my real dream.

The Soviet Union was renowned for its well-established institutional approach to the teaching of music. The subject was taught not only in comprehensive schools as chorus singing, but also in various music schools (entailing seven years of study, including an instrumental specialism that was tutored weekly, alongside weekly lessons in solfeggio, the theory of music, the history of music and others), music colleges (four years of intensive training in various subjects), conservatoires (five years) followed by study for doctorate degrees (three or four years).

As a result, the massive hours of music education had borne fruits, producing an army of excellent musicians. According to the world-famous Lithuanian violinist, conductor and orchestra leader – Professor Saulius Sondeckis (1928-2016) with whom I had the great honour of working with in Brandenburg in 1997: 'The Soviet Union's music education was based on a system similar to a military drill'! (Sondecki & Sultanova, 1997).

The model of teaching music was based on the extensive repetition of playing-pattern techniques and strict discipline in both practice and theory, in preparation for competitions, submissions and examinations. Education was a euphemism for instilling discipline through the new subject of musical performance, or the study of music as a theoretical, academic subject. It meant long hours of practising piano, even at the Faculty of Musical Theory. As our Ansijan State Music College was relatively new, we also had to sing in a choir for two hours every day due to the shortage of choral students. It was our responsibility – and even duty – to participate regularly in city, regional and republic choir competitions, as well as performing Uzbek songs for local radio recordings.

For me, my piano lessons in Music College served as a gateway into another culture. It was not an easy task for students to learn to analyse and perform Western music without any practical experience of listening to an opera, a symphony orchestra or chamber music performed live in front of us. After all, there was no opera house, philharmonic orchestra or concert hall where I studied in Andijan – which was also true for the majority of the Soviet Union, while excluding metropolitan hubs or republic capitals.

The Western music that we learned about was listened to on LPs, of which our Music college had a shortage. I had to ask my parents to order LPs from Leningrad, spending a great amount of money on such a collection. Fortunately, my father was a great enthusiast and motivating force in helping me with these studies, but this scenario was also a common one.

As students, however, we learned to perform genres of classical music and were able to comment with confidence on major Western music genres. Our favourite music, during the time of my education, was the 18th to 20th century piano music, which we loved and could play for hours. Uzbek music had very little place in the musical curriculum of colleges and conservatoires of Uzbekistan. Inevitably, that was one of the key reasons as to why it was so commonly found as the subject matter for our dissertations and theses.

For example, in my last year of study at the Tashkent State Conservatory, this same duality impacted me further. According to the Music Faculty's rules,

I had to choose the subject for my dissertation and discuss it with my supervisor and the Dean. My choice was Prokofiev's music, which I loved very much, and I proudly announced it to our Dean, Professor Ilyas Akbarov. His response was unexpected: 'Sultanova, are you mad? What are you talking about? Why Prokofiev? As an Uzbek, with the family name Sultanova, you must do your research only on Uzbek music'!

I had to change my mind, and redirected my attention to the crown of Central Asian court music, the genre known as *shashmaqam*. The Republic's policy at that time was to concentrate on the study of local culture and traditions, and unwritten rules required Dean Akbarov to 'advise' students to concentrate on their own local culture.

Figure 5: At the defence speech of my thesis, Tashkent State Conservatory, 1979. (Photo by Photo by Elena Temina).

THE SURVEY

To determine the personal perceptions and experiences of the modernisation of musical traditions in Soviet and post-Soviet states, I surveyed five colleagues who, like myself, studied in the USSR, but are now working in various conservatories in Russia or in the new independent republics like Uzbekistan.
The Survey's focus was to understand the precise quality and perceived stature of Soviet and post-Soviet musical education, when compared with the corresponding musical education of the present post-Soviet state.

All of the questions are considered for two distinct time periods: before and after the collapse of the USSR. This is intentional, in order to discover the different factors in the chosen conservatories that are as follows: educational (for instance, subject preferences); related to nationalism (for example, a preference of studying Western music above national music or the language for education); politically motivated (the approval of certain curriculums) and so on.

The colleagues who were surveyed include well-established Professors, Associate Professors and Lecturers from Moscow State Conservatory, Kazan State Conservatory, Tashkent State Conservatory. They answered my questions about their past studies and their current situation in those conservatories.

My colleagues who answered our Survey's questions were Professor Dr Violetta Yunusova, Moscow State Conservatory (studied at the Ufa State Institute of Arts); Dr Zilya Imamutdinova, Moscow, State Institute for Art Studies; Dr Rezeda Khurmatullina, (Kazan State Conservatory, Tatarstan, Russia); Dr Elnora Mamadjanova (Associate Professor of the Faculty of History of Music, Tashkent State Conservatory, Uzbekistan) and Dr Alexander Djumaev (Union of the Uzbek Composers, Tashkent, Uzbekistan).

Figure 6: Professor Dr Violetta Yunusova, Moscow State Conservatory (Photo by Angelina Alpatova); Figure 7: Dr Zilia Imamutdinova, Moscow, State Institute for Art Studies[2].

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[2] All photographs with depicted persons are by the author. Other pictures are open source and free pictures for promotion.

Figure 8: Dr Rezeda Khurmatullina (Kazan, Tatarstan, Russia); Figure 9: Dr El'nora Mamadjanova (Tashkent, Uzbekistan).

Figure10: Dr Alexander Djumaev, Tashkent, Uzbekistan (Photo by Shavkat Boltaev).

As some of those colleagues had studied in other conservatories, or are working in institutions that have been recently established, a few new institutions are evident in the survey (Ufa Institute of Arts, for instance, was created in 1968 as a branch of the Russian Gnesins Academy of Music, a prominent music school in Moscow).

The Survey's Questions and Queries

A. Studying

1. Which subject did you enjoy the most?
2. Which subject did you enjoy the least?
3. Who was your favourite teacher, and for which subject?

4. Who was your least favourite teacher?
5. Which lectures do you remember the most?
6. Which lectures were the least important to you?
7. Which practical supervisions (tutorials) were the most important for you?
8. What was the balance between Eurocentric and ethnic subjects in your conservatory?
9. Was the Curriculum in your conservatory set up according to the governmental departments of the Ministry of Culture of the USSR?
10. What was the main advantage in the system of conservatory education of the USSR? What were the benefits? What were the shortcomings?
11. In provincial conservatories, were national music and instruments studied?
12. Did study in the conservatory take place in the local language or Russian?

B. **Working**

1. What is your point of view on the current state of conservatories after the collapse of the USSR?
2. How have things changed in terms of teaching subjects?
3. What are the most popular subjects these days?
4. Has the number of hours dedicated to the study of the main subjects been changed?
5. Has the number of textbooks or related educational aids changed?
6. Has the number of teachers/students changed?
7. Has the cost of education changed?

Summarising all their answers, one can see the picture of music education in the Soviet and post-Soviet times.

The results of the survey were as follows:

The most-enjoyed subjects were:

a) History of Foreign Music, History of Soviet music, History of Music of the Peoples of the USSR and Analysis of Musical Forms.

The Less-liked subjects were:

b) Marxism–Leninism related disciplines: History of the Communist party, Scientific Communism, and Political Economy, English language; Military training courses: Basics of Life Safety, or Civil Defence when we were made to wear military gas masks.

The basis of the musical system of education was the following:

c) A preference for European music (Tatar music for example had no place in the curriculum of the KSC); The whole system of academic music education was focused on studying Western music, Theory of music and History of Russian music of the 19th century. For instance, at the Tashkent Conservatory, twelve modules were devoted to the study of European system of music education (piano, orchestra instruments, opera singing, history and theory of Western music, choral conducting, composition and so on) and very few to the study of local music.

At the Tashkent Conservatory, which opened in 1936, the historical–theoretical faculty was established immediately (along with composition, performance and music pedagogy), whereas the Maqam-based teaching was established much later in the 1990s.

d) A distinct diversity within Soviet music education: both performers and theorists received versatile knowledge not restricted to their own discipline, but in general in the field of musical art, visual arts, theatre, cinema, aesthetics and so on.

Inappropriate educational curriculums designed by the governmental departments or in the Soviet Union's Ministry of Culture were as follows:

e) A strong focus on ideological disciplines (History of the Communist Party, political economy, Scientific communism);

f) Disproportionately scarce studies of national music and instruments;

g) Dependence on the approval from the governmental departments above,

h) All subjects were studied in Russian.

Post-Soviet changes:

i) Some republics developed their new curriculums with a reduced Western component. For example, Tatarstan, Kabardino-Balkaria and other conservatories are currently teaching classes related to national instruments and national singing.

j) This is also evident in a new discipline appearing in curriculums on Bashkir music – such as the art of concert performance, where students are taught to play Kurai (a flute, and the most popular national instrument among Bashkir and Tatar nations).

k) In Tashkent, the new national music modules were established which included traditional singing and folk instruments. This includes Traditional Musical Theory and History of the Art of Maqom and others.

l) The Soviet ideological corpus of subjects was dropped, though in some post-Soviet countries they were partly replaced by the local ideological subjects (such as the Works of President Karimov in Uzbekistan).

CONCLUSION

The Russian (or Soviet) conservatory – as a site of higher musical education – was loaded as a mechanism through which the political and ideological agenda of the state could be culturally expressed, and imbued with a sense of political and ideological function. The anecdotal and popular view that Soviet conservatories were unmatched in the excellence of their teaching, can be reconciled with the competitive nature of ideological beliefs, during the existence of the Soviet Union. The conservatory was a site at which Soviet excellence could be culturally demonstrated, exhibiting both the breadth and diversity of regional and ethnic cultural existent under the banner of the Soviet Union, but also the strength and might of the ideological backbone that had initiated modernity and united these peoples. The rich musical tradition of Imperial Russia transitioned itself from a privileged enclave of Russian high culture, into a functional apparatus for competitive cultural dominance. The conservatory, as a model for both teaching standardised discourse and elevating regional traditions into a united Soviet cultural wealth, was beneficial to the modernising intentions of the Soviet political machine, as it combined musical education and excellence with a deeper political and social purpose.

One overarching conclusion is that the foundation of musical education that was created and imposed universally as a standard during Soviet times, remains, to a certain degree, unaltered. There is still an understanding of a conservatoire as a site with a sociopolitical function, in expressing the national, ethnic, and in some cases, ideological, narratives. While 'Soviet' lessons and teachings have been removed, the approach to musical education has in many instances remained disciplinarian and reliant on a firm theoretical grounding.

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World Music Cultures in Russian Musical Education

Violetta Yunusova [Виолетта Юнусова][1]

Abstract

The article is devoted to the analysis of the history and the current state of the study of World Music Cultures in the Russian higher musical education. The article mainly took into account the experience of St. Petersburg and Moscow as the most indicative. The process of introducing World music in training courses in Moscow and St. Petersburg included four stages.

Within the framework of the first stage, ethnomusicology, the history of music was coordinated. Some problems of World music were highlighted by Russian scientists MI Ivanov–Boretsky and B Asafiev.

In the second stage, RI Gruber's multilateral activities stand out, whose course, History of World Musical Culture included extensive material on musical cultures of Ancient East, including Iran, India, China, as well as medieval Chinese and Arab cultures.

The third stage is characterized by the separation of World Music Cultures into a separate area of research and training courses. This process is demonstrated with the example of the creative activity of the composer and scientist JK Mikhailov. He based his approach on the positions of musical cultural studies and combined with a training course with several scientific directions: the history of music, music Oriental studies, and ethnomusicology.

The modern stage parameters of the course, of nonEuropean musical cultures, are indicated. The spread of the course in Russia and neighboring countries, the republics of the USSR, is shown. The author gives examples of the programs and the manuals for this course, and indicates the position of training in the field of postgraduate and doctoral studies. This direction is developing in four modern schools of Russian musical Oriental Studies: Moscow, St. Petersburg, Novosibirsk, and Far Eastern.

Keywords

World music, Moscow State Conservatory named after Tchaikovsky, Music history, Methods of world music studies.

Introduction

Since the beginning of the last century, music education in Russia began to combine deep development of musical specialties and the broad humanitarian outlook inherent in university education. Music history courses wherein the musical cultures of the Ancient and Medieval East and also separate traditions of the music of Africa, Australia, and Latin America were studied and included for this purpose.

According to the Western historiographic model and views of music history present at that time, these cultures were studied as predecessors of the Western academic music. But by then, they were already considered an important part of musical–historical process. Study of World Music Cultures started anew in St. Petersburg and then in Moscow.

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THE FIRST STAGE: THE BEGINNING

As a part of a subject of music history course, 'Culture of the Ancient World and Antiquity' was read by MI Ivanov–Boretsky (1874-1936) in Moscow State Conservatory in 1922. He made a significant contribution to Soviet and Russian musicology in general, to the study of the history of music, and the development of a comparative musicology. Since 1921, he worked at the State Institute of Musical Science (GIMN = Russian abbreviation) created by the Russian scientist Garbuzov (1955-1980), in which historical, theoretical, ethnographic, and philosophical associations functioned. Their work was devoted to the study of domestic and foreign classical music and folklore and theoretical and experimental studies. Ivanov–Boretsky organised in the Research Department in 1923 at Moscow Conservatory, where for the first time Russia began to train professional musicologists—historians and theorists. Among the topics of his research can be distinguished the culture of the Ancient World and the minstrel culture of the Middle Ages (Yunusova & Alpatova, 2017: 32-33).

During this time, the activities of the Russian scientists BV Asafiev (1884-1949) and RI Gruber was of particular importance. In the year 1920, Asafiev included in the Department of History and Theory of Music of the State Institute of Art History in Leningrad (now, Russian Institute of Art History, St. Petersburg), courses which can be considered a source of historical, musical, and oriental studies: 'Evolution of folk musical art', 'Evolution of musical language at various tribes and the people', 'From history of comparative musicology' (Asafiev, 1987: 9, 210).

THE SECOND STAGE: CONTINUATION

The Russian scientist Roman Ilyich Gruber (1895–1962) gave a course of General history of music (including World music cultures) in Leningrad (St. Petersburg) and then in Moscow conservatories (since 1941). Staying on the positions of the Western historical model, in the year 1930, he created the textbook on History of World Musical Culture (published in 1941; Gruber, 1941) where he designated these parameters. He showed music in the context of culture, and stories of the countries and insisted that music cannot be studied in itself. Possessing encyclopedic knowledge in different areas, he used in the books on archeology, history, linguistics, anthropology, and other sciences. He also used works of the famous Western European scientists of that time, such as Sachs (1881-1959) and Adler (1855-1941). Gruber also included in student teaching seminars, reports and term papers on World Music Cultures within history of foreign music.

The course 'History of World Musical Culture' presented musical cultures of Ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, Judea, Phoenicia, Palestine, Iran, India, China, as well as medieval Chinese and Arab cultures beside Europe. It is noteworthy that the musical examples in the music of Gruber were taken from the contemporary traditional music of China.

The course was formed at the intersection of several scientific areas: history of music, ethnomusicology, oriental music studies and also used the methods of these Sciences. Gruber was one of founders of the scientific direction of musical oriental studies in our country. In the formation of musical oriental studies and student teaching music, a significant role was played by Asafiev, Gruber, Mikhaylov, Shakhnazarova, Eolyan, Galitskaya, Plakhov (Panteleeva, 2019), and many other domestic scientists. Four main schools of the modern Russian musical oriental studies existing to the present moment: Moscow, St. Petersburg, Novosibirsk, and Far East, differ in their peculiar specialization, methodology, and regional coverage of World music cultures. In a different degree, they are also connected with folklore studies. This communication is most expressed at the St. Petersburg school, whereas in others, it is less essential. The musical oriental studies generated by ethnomusicology, but having wider object of a research seems the most fruitful direction in studying of World Musical Cultures.

About 1941 materials on music of the Ancient and Medieval East were included in the course of foreign music history—the discipline read in MK by professors Gruber and Tsytovich (1907-1992).

She not only kept Gruber's traditions, but also was invited to give a special course of Mikhailov. She later supported the creation of the first research group and then the Department of World Music Culture, headed by Mikhailov.

THE THIRD STAGE: WORLD MUSIC CULTURES

In 1976 to1995, the famous Russian composer and musicology expert Mikhailov (1938–1995) gave the separate course ‘Musical Cultures of the Foreign Countries of Asia, Africa, Australia and Oceania’ developed by him (since the beginning of the 1970, it was read by him in Russian Academy Music of Gnesiny in Moscow). He sought to expand the framework of a special course for higher education institutions, including technical matters.

Mikhailov developed his theory of musical–cultural tradition (Mikhailov, 1986: 3-20), which included, in addition to the music itself, all its context: the training of musicians, acoustic environment, types of musical grammar, criteria for evaluating musical texts and other parameters. He rightly believed that World Music Cultures consisted of such musical–cultural traditions. He also showed the dependence of sound ideals and the nature of traditional music on the geographical environment and the type of economy.

He divided the whole World Musical Culture into zones (he called it a musical globe), which sometimes did not coincide with geographical boundaries, but reflected musical and cultural ties. For example, the countries of North Africa, he attributed the type of music to the Middle East region. Apparently, he knew well the works of American scientists in musical anthropology, ethnomusicology, and World music, but never referred to them, which was in the traditions of the Soviet time. The course was read for musicologists, as well as foreign students of all specialties. Topics on the Ancient East were read by other teachers in the course of the history of foreign music. In addition to the main course in the schedule, occasionally, there are many optional courses on music of individual regions and eras. A lot of help in the educational process and popularization of World music was played in a series of records of the company "Melody," the music and comments on which were created by J Mikhailov himself and his students. For some issues, the composer used his expeditionary materials in old Africa.

MODERN STAGE: FOUR SCIENTIFIC SCHOOLS IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Since 1995, the course “Non-European Musical Cultures" is taught by Yunusova. It is based on both Mikhailov's tradition, and that of his predecessors—Asafyev and Gruber, and also takes into account the modern world experience in the study of World Music. The course is guided by methodological provisions of dews musicology, ethnomusicology, and oriental studies, and also achievement of foreign science, including scientific traditions of the studied regions. Historical approach is the basis. The course also uses data from computer studies of Asian music, made by AV Kharuto (1948–2020), according to his author's computer program sound analysis Spanx for Windows, together with the author of this article (Yunusova & Kharuto, 2016: 136-145).

The main purpose of this course is to expand the musical horizons of the student, his ideas about music in the modern world, from traditional to national forms of avant-garde and postavant-garde. And many students after the end of the course said that their idea of even Western academic music was changed after meeting with the World Music Cultures. It had become much deeper.

The course is given to all musicologists and ethnomusicologists, music journalists, and critics in the 8th semester. Some topics are also given in the 1st and 4th semesters for composers, in the 1st semester for all specialties including groups of international students. Some topics of the course were previously given as the themes of term papers on the history of foreign music and, as a rule, are

popular with students. As part of the specialty musicology, training of highly qualified personnel specializing in this field is also carried out, as well as the preparation of master's and doctoral theses in graduate and postdoctoral studies. Such training is also carried out in a number of conservatories and research institutes in our country.

The course presents musical cultures of Asia, the former USSR, North and partly Central Africa, and Latin America. Students also prepare reports on the musical culture of Australia and Oceania. A distinctive feature of my course is the inclusion of religion, musical traditions, and modern composers' music of the studied regions and countries. Therefore, some topics were also included in another training course— contemporary music, because it is impossible to understand modern music without taking into account the work of composers from around the world and interaction of cultures.

Since the training of specialists in this course is very important, the Faculty of Advanced Training of the Moscow Conservatory for Teachers and other conservatories and institutes teach a number of special courses on World Music and contemporary music in Asia, such as "Modern music of the East and West."

The course released a detailed program manual in 2006, a number of tutorials, for example, a large section of Music in Asia and North Africa in the manual of foreign music XX century history (Yunusova, 2005: 518-573). Recently, a joint Russian–Kazakh manual on this course was released: Music of the peoples of the world published in 2019 in Kazakhstan (World Music, 2019). The first issue was devoted to traditional music of the peoples of the world. This is the first international training project to publish this course in our country (Appendix).

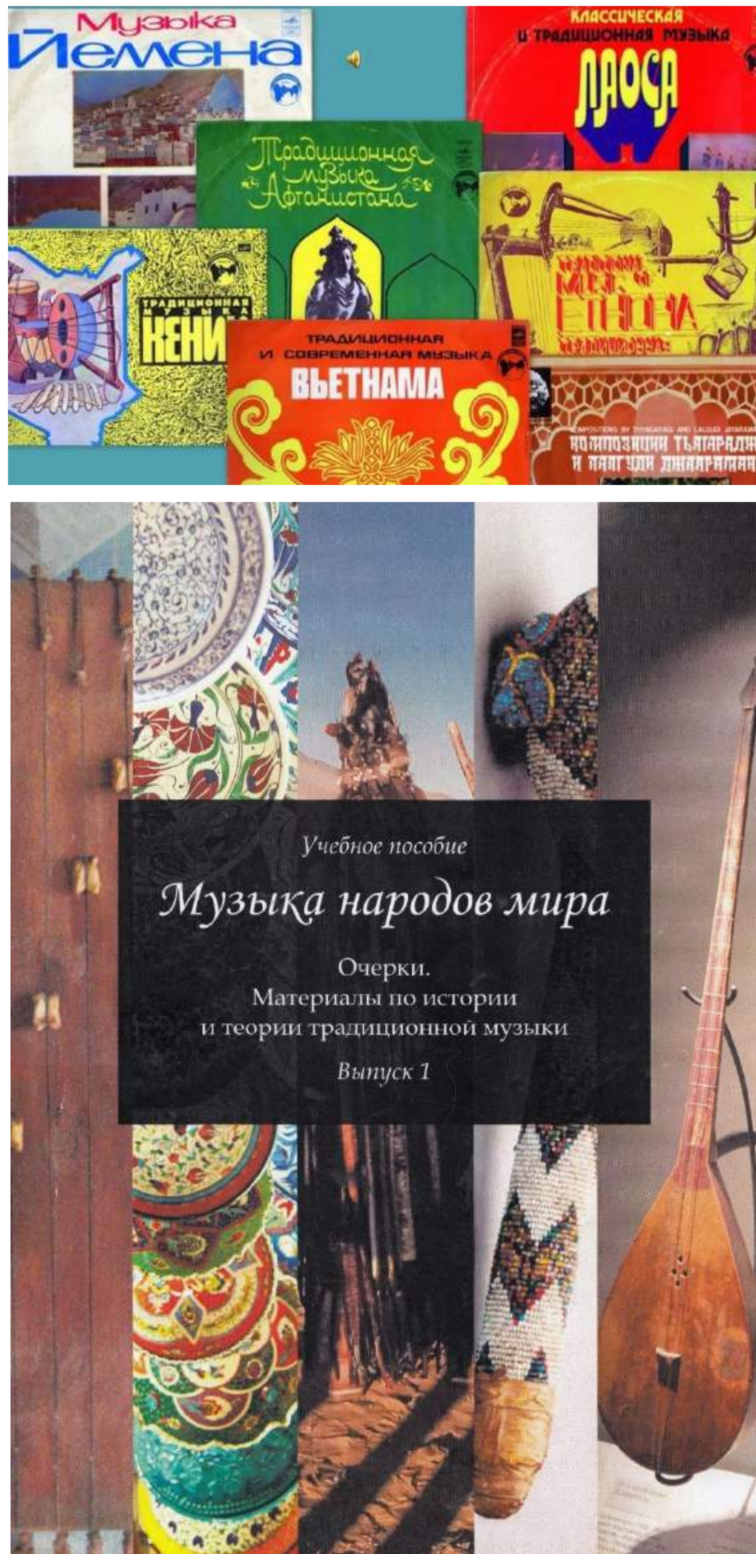
Development of this direction in special music education was continued in Russian Gnesins Academy of Music, the Novosibirsk, Kazan, Saratov conservatories, Moscow State Institute of Music named after Schnittke, Far East Art academy (Vladivostok), and some other institutes in Russia and Central Asia.

CONCLUSION

Thus, the study of World Music Cultures began in Russia with the section of music of the Ancient East in the course of the History of foreign music, gradually combined different eras and cultures, stood out in a number of independent training courses, as well as partially included in the course of modern music. The experience of St. Petersburg and Moscow was the most indicative. They remain general centers of study and training in this field. However, the current situation shows the expansion of the boundaries of the development of this course in different regions of Russia. The development of the World Music Cultures direction was facilitated by the experience of studying the music of the peoples of the USSR in the Soviet period, whose history of music can be presented as a certain model of Global music history. The process of interaction of musical cultures of different ethnic and religious traditions during the Soviet period made it possible to develop a number of most adequate methods and approaches. In this context, access to the space of world culture was organic for domestic scientists. Modern educational practice includes the study of both traditional and composer music from different regions of the world as a single system.

APPENDIX

Two illustrations on book covers edited and printed in the respective time period and containing collected materials on music cultures, not known to Russian people, such as Yemen, Laos, Afghanistan, Kenia, Vietnam, Ethiopia, and one book by the author with a compilation of key features. All book covers are in the public domain and freely accessible.



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INDUS BLUES: A SHORT COLLECTION OF IMPRESSIONS ON AN ETHNOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTARY

Shubha Chaudhuri, Joe Peters, Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda [චින්තක ප්‍රගීත් මැද්දෙගොඩ], **Fulvia Caruso, Sukanya Guha [सुकन्या गुहा], Mu Qian** [穆谦], **Gisa Jähnichen, Andrej Kocan, Matthias Lewy**[1]

Abstract

This is a spontaneous review discussion about the ethnographic film 'Indus Blues', produced by Jawad Sharif in 2018 and it has won many awards on several occasions. Nine reviewing persons were asked to write some lines about their first impressions, which were then discussed and summarized. The review discussion mainly contains the data provided.

Keywords

Ethnographic film, Pakistan, Film aesthetics, Musicians, Instrument makers

INTRODUCTION

The ethnographic film 'Indus Blues' was watched and widely discussed as a potential contestant to be shown at a local festival in China, the 2nd Exhibition of Ethnographic Films that was conducted in China's Fuzhou Province, in December 2021. The following views were collected and then analysed. Every participant of the review discussion was asked to jot down in short, their first thoughts about this ethnographic film, and whether the film made them reflect on the presented issues. The ethnographic film itself was a documentary about traditional musical practices, being presented in an attractive way to visitors. It was shot in 2018 under the leadership of Jawad Sharif at approximately 15 different locations in Pakistan (https://dafilms.com/film/11632-indus-blues). The underlying concept was the controversy of Islamic fundamentalism and the viewpoint towards music and dance. Here are the impressions of the colleagues who were asked about it in an overview of data.

1. SHUBHA CHAUDHURY

"It's a nice one, musicians and the makers together. I appreciate especially the instrument makers and the film producers trying to get space for themselves and the musicians. Unfortunately, nothing much about the music and thin on ethnographic details, for specific reasons. It is good for information but not on plans and further engagement. For me interesting as I have worked on the border areas of Kutch and Western Rajasthan with people who share instruments and the Sindhi culture."

2. JOE PETERS

"I watched the documentary. I suppose journal you refer to is for musicologists? My voice disappoints the majority. Anyway, here it is: "Music outside the simple major-minor tertian system has to find new routes through the vast and complex digital technologies to provide instruction to listeners at the very point of the sound timeline. Early musicologists like Jose Maceda (Philippines), Tran Van Khe (Vietnam) and Jaap Kunst (Indonesia-Holland) dedicated their lives to capturing (meticulously)

[1] The authors are as listed members of the International Council for Traditional Music and connected institutions, they have different professions dealing with sound, media, and popular cultures spread over the entire world. They are all interested in ethnogrpahic anthropology of the given region and the study of different societies. Corresponding author and convenor of this review essay is Gisa Jaehnichen (reachable via gisajaehnichen@web.de).

Chaudhuri, Shubha, Joe Peters, Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda, Fulvia Caruso, Sukanya Guha, Mu Qian, Gisa Jähnichen, Andrej Kocan, and Matthias Lewy. 2022.
Indus Blues: A Short Collection of Impressions on an Ethnographic Documentary. *AEMR*, 9: 109-112.
DOI: 10.30819/aemr.9-9

sound and data for the generations that followed them. We too have to follow-up by going beyond tangential articles or documentaries that do not pontificate the same survival banter all the time. World music-systems need expert attention – much like climate change and other similar pending disasters. Artificial barricades between musicology, pedagogy and technology must be broken down. And journals must write about real work – like they do in medicine, engineering, law and more disciplines.”

3. Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda [චින්තක ප්‍රගීත් මැද්දෙගොඩ]

“I watched the documentary ‘Indus Blues’. It is a very good film from the viewpoint of making a film. Very lively and imaginative. Some critical remarks: I am wondering why only the poor and middle-class people are shown. It indicates somehow that only they want this music to survive, which is questionable. There are rich bureaucrats, aristocrats who love music and think that this music should survive. They may have different reasons though.

Also, I am wondering why so many people in Pakistan enjoy music and dance by watching them through smart phones, cinema, and TV. The religious upper class wants Muslims to not make music but obviously they are allowed to watch others doing that. Isn’t it?

I think the documentary has chosen only the down side, of which many complaints are made. The film makers have hidden many good things that Muslims may do for music. This hegemony over practicing music is a good thing on one hand. Music lovers tend to find different ways to do music. There will be new music practices created. On a second note, the more the musicians are restricted to do music, the more they want to do music. That might be the message and that is what I have to say about that documentary ‘Indus Blues’.”

4. Fulvia Caruso

“Shot in over 15 locations across Pakistan, the documentary Indus Blues consists of two sections. The first intends to present the richness of Pakistani folk artist, through an overview of the diverse musical instruments present in the country, while the second deals with the struggle that musicians and artisans wage daily to preserve their art from Islamic fundamentalism.

Interestingly, the documentary is built on interviews to both musicians and instrument makers, as both are part of a unique and inter-related system.

Although the instruments and their construction, and even more the musics related to them, are presented in a rather superficial way, the documentary returns an incredible musical richness through a magnificent shooting and an outstanding photography.

Also, showing the variety of Pakistani real life, the documentary clearly denounces how much the music crisis in Pakistan is linked not only to fundamentalism, but also to issues of globalization and national identity, which bear with difficulty the cultural diversity present in the country.

In their webpage, Jawad Sharif Films, declare that “We aim to make a significant social impact with our films”. Indus Blues goes in this direction.”

5. Sukanya Guha [सुकन्या गुहा]

“The legion culture of Sindh where the folk musicians and their craftsmen rapidly being eradicated from today’s society is a concern. It seems that in spite of the uniqueness of thriving cross-culturalism across the Indus-river and the deep roots going back centuries, the present generation is not interested nor inclined to learn the music or the craft of constructing music instruments. Some say that if they can learn to play keyboard, guitar, drum or other similar instruments then why to learn complex instruments like sarangi, suroz, boreendo or banjo? It seems less significant. The income is also meagre. The musical feature documentary Indus Blues as I understand is that folk musicians and

craftsmen of Pakistan are at peril and at the state of dying especially when today's modern musical instruments are dominating and most influential."

6. Mu Qian [穆谦]

"Indus Blues provides a rare chance for people outside of Pakistan to look into the situation of traditional folk music, especially of ethnic and social minority groups, in a society that has been suffering from Islamic ideologies intolerant of music. The film becomes even more pertinent today, as the Taliban takes over Afghanistan and poses greater threats to the region's musical traditions. As a researcher of Uyghur music, I can relate to stories told by musicians in the film, as some Uyghur musicians are facing similar problems. Thanks to the filmmaker Jawad Sharif for the documentation. Ethnomusicologists share this obligation of documenting endangered musical traditions, if we cannot do more than that."

7. Gisa Jähnichen

"Indus Blues meets the right atmosphere and expectation among the audience that might know a bit, not too much, yet still has some preconceptions of musically intolerant administrators and state officers, about the hard life among musicians and instrument makers and about the unimaginable beauty of landscapes that are not widely shown around. Sindh is beautiful once people can read the signs of beauty. It is not a movie that invites to travel or to deal with cultural features. It is to satisfy aesthetic expectations and moral justifications of outsiders. I feel that all things have to be questioned, also the purposeful settings of recordings, the interwoven pictures and the ambitious claims being made by the people. Why then, one may ask, they still try to do it, if it is so difficult? Why is there still a need for this music? Why not just putting down the instrument, the woodwork, the bow? Why not turning to the agrarian fields and office halls, if that would be so much better? The movie creates more questions than answers in me. One is, what if all so called ethnographic films would have this kind of purpose-driven background? What if these professional movies, made by professional ethnographers and music knowers, would be just similar romantic justifications? The movie made my vision skills more realistic. And this is a good point of it."

8. Andrej Kocan

"In the documentary we follow the musicians of the traditional musics of Indus valley, which is a huge area, with many different local 'cultures', mostly unconnected with each other, but we could position them into one greater 'cultural area', and what does connect them is among other things Islamic culture. However, we find out that the radicalization of the religious life is threatening the original music heritage. The musicians are also threatened by the dire economic situation that is worse compared to the musicians who are willing to 'modernize', or 'westernize'? We do not learn whether those musicians who take the 'easy' route do face the same threats against music. The director chose to focus on the traditional musicians who, I am convinced, are in the worst situation. In the beginning I had the feeling I will be served the romanticized version of 'reality', but as the film progresses and we get to hear the musicians' stories I did get the feeling that we, the viewers, are being shown the real-life situations, although we are jumping quite fast between the characters and are not able to catch the full depth of their life stories. But we do get the point. The cinematography is beautiful, catching many details of 'life as it is' and I thoroughly enjoyed the pace, and I especially enjoyed that the quality of recorded music is on a high level which is very rare in a documentary genre that we could call ethnographic. Of course, we see that many scenes are staged, with dancers in beautiful dresses dancing in the middle of the desert with shots made through drones. I see this as the intention of the director to strike a balance between an overly monotonous hard core ethnographic film and a film that looks like a documentary, but is a fiction in reality. It is intended for a general audience who wants to see and hear the joy of local musics and be entertained at the same time. However, we do get to see the glimpses of the hard reality. And since the whole movie team is basically made of locals

who have to live in the country, where situation might get worse very quickly, long after the movie is made and received all the possible awards on the international stage, I understand that they did not wish to go into more confrontation with the authorities. They showed quite clearly the situation and made a movie that is also very enjoyable to watch. And I think they deserve all the praises and awards. The movie opens many questions and they should be further addressed in the discussions with the makers of the movie, with anthropologists, with local people, and in the classrooms. And as it seems, by reaching a wider audience, the makers have succeeded in doing that."

9. Matthias Lewy

"The pictures are of course very impressive, the sound and music are also wonderfully recorded, so, everything is professional. Those who like drone videos are sure to get their money's worth. Sometimes it is a little too much film aesthetics for me, so that the musicians and one dancer are a little neglected, but that is certainly a matter of opinion. The topic of the conflict between music and haram issues would certainly have to be dealt with in more depth, but it is well presented so that an initial understanding can be quickly conveyed. All the interviewed people have their say. Here too, I see it from the intermediary side. If one wants to know more, they have to go deeper into it because one can't explain everything in an hour and 15 minutes."[2]

Discussion and Summary

In summary, most observers claimed that the adapted aesthetics of the ethnographic documentary enhanced the likability. At the same time, doubts occurred whether the documentary documented the things that were needed most. If criticism of inappropriate dealing with music, musicians, and instrument makers due to lack of understanding their human potential seen through a hostile ideological gaze was at the heart of the documentarists, the documentary was a success. If the expectation was a multi-perspective review of stimulating events and behaviours within this society, the documentary was incomplete and less informative. Each of the answers could have given a hint of exactly that outcome. Nevertheless, all statements given show an interesting mosaic of approaches and expectations. One single view could not suffice.

Finally, what all would agree to is the fact that not only the musicians, instrument makers, and dancers, but even the documentarists themselves have shown their deep love for music. The spectacular scenes and possibly arranged appearances did not harm this basic idea of the documentary. It is an art work about art work. The documentary may have given a signal to always be alerted towards beauty and immediate categorizations that are always under discussion, when addressees occupy similar knowledge cultures and assume to understand each other. The discussion and collection of impressions also show that an academic dealing of all the issues named may have to leave more space for differences in the whole, or to be more precise, academic writing needs to be more inconclusive in order to become more inclusive.

References

https://dafilms.com/film/11632-indus-blues, last accessed February 19, 2022.

[2] Original text: Also die Bilder sind natürlich sehr beindruckend, auch Ton und Musik sind wunderbar aufgenommen, also alles sehr professionell. Wer Drohnenaufnahmen mag, kommt sicher auf seine Kosten. Es ist mir zuweilen etwas zu viel Filmästhetik, so dass die Musiker und die eine Tänzerin ein wenig zu kurz kommen, aber das ist sicherlich Ansichtssache. Das Thema Musik-Haram-Konflikt wäre sicher noch tiefergehend zu bearbeiten, aber es ist gut dargestellt, so dass ein erstes Verständnis schnell vermittelt werden kann. Die interviewten Leute kommen alle bestens zu Wort, auch hier sehe ich das von der Vermittlungsseite. Wer mehr wissen will, muss sich halt tiefergehend damit beschäftigen, denn in einer Stunde und 15 Minuten kann man nicht alles erklären.

THE FIRST USA PERFORMANCE OF TUVAN THROAT SINGERS

Bernard Kleikamp[1]

Figure 1: Sunset silhouettes of the Tuva Ensemble during performance at the Vancouver Folkfestival main stage, Jericho Beach Park. Saturday 18 July 1992. Photo by Bernard Kleikamp.

Abstract

Until the 1990s *khöömei* or throat singing from Tuva[2] was virtually unknown outside the then-USSR. Russian researchers like Aksenov and Shchurov had published the results of their fieldwork in Tuva, but their work was hardly known outside the USSR. In the 1980s researchers from outside the USSR like Tran Quang Hai and Ted Levin started paying attention to the subject, but it took until the early 1990s before a Western audience could make its acquaintance with Tuvan throat singers on stage.

I ran the Paradox concert agency from 1978 until 2003, and it so happened that Paradox was the first to bring Tuvan throat singers to Europe and to North America in the early 1990s. The Iron Curtain had just fallen and it became possible to invite musicians from behind the Curtain without assistance from state agencies.

Paradox had ample previous experience with state agencies in visa and work permit procedures. and that expertise proved very useful in dealing directly with musicians and music ensembles and their representatives then.

My essay presents the story of the first concert of Tuvan *khöömei* singers in the USA in 1992 to which I was an eye witness (and also shortly explains the process of throat singing). This is an iconic story, because not only it describes how concert tours were organised in an age before the internet but also it documents the start of a hype. After that first concert in just a few years bands from Tuva were travelling all over the world and many audiences got to experience the phenomenon of throat singing. But in 1992 it was all new.

Keywords

Tuva, Throat singing, Ensemble music, Concert organisation, Traveling musicians

EPILOGUE

In August 1991 I was given a tip by Diana Kadota whom I had just met at the Vancouver Folk Festival, suggesting me to contact Marty W. Merkley, the program director of the Chautauqua Institution[3], as he might be interested in ethnic and traditional music, the kind of music that I represented with my concert agency Paradox. It appeared that he did have an interest. Diana had been

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[1] Bernard Kleikamp is an independent ethnomusicologist and scholar, working at Pan Records, Netherlands.

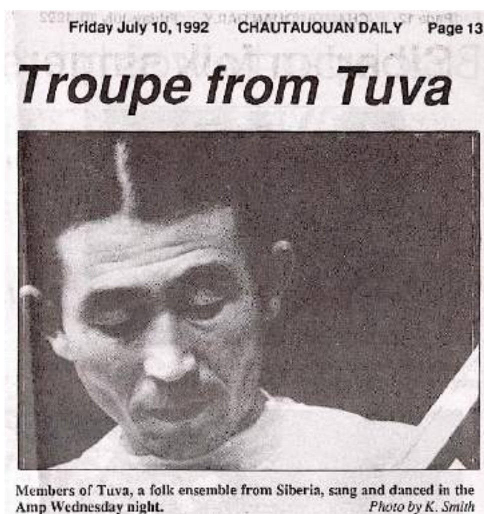
[2] Tuva was an autonomous republic in central Siberia in the ex-USSR. Today it is an autonomous republic inside the Russian Federation. It had a brief period of independence, 1921 - 1944.

[3] The Chautauqua Institution is a non-profit education center and summer resort near Jamestown, NY, USA.

Kleikamp, Bernard. 2022. The First USA Performance of Tuvan Throat Singers. *AEMR*, 9: 113-118.
DOI: 10.30819/aemr.9-10

performing with her ensemble Uzume Taiko at the Chautauqua Institution that summer. Uzume Taiko had just licensed their CD to Pan Records which I also ran.

The internet, smartphones, apps, and social media didn't exist in those days. Computers barely did. I had just bought my first Apple computer, the Mackintosh Classic, that ran on three-and-a-half inch floppy discs, and that I mainly used as a word processor. Business contacts were kept via letter, telephone, and telefax[4]. I used fax in the Paradox office since the mid-1980s. Before that I used telex and telegrams next to post ("snail mail") and telephone calls.


Friday July 10, 1992 CHAUTAUQUAN DAILY Page 13

Troupe from Tuva

Members of Tuva, a folk ensemble from Siberia, sang and danced in the Amp Wednesday night. Photo by K. Smith

Figure 1: Sergey Ondar, member of the Tuva Ensemble. Chautauquan Daily, 10 July 1992. Newspaper clipping. (Photograph by courtesy of K. Smith).

I had started to work with the Tuva Ensemble in Netherlands in March 1991 through their management Tuvavostok in Kyzyl, Tuva. The Tuvan musicians were sensational on stage with a program of traditional music, of which *khöömei* (throat singing, also called overtone singing), was a major part. Overtones are created when a singer simultaneously generates a fundamental (also called drone, or bourdon) and a natural overtone through a special vocal technique. The melody is conveyed by overtones in a low or a high register, that can sound as bird's whistling or low grumbling, with the drone as the fundamental. Many styles of overtone singing exist in Tuva. It is said that overtones are imitations of sounds in nature, like the wind in high mountains or the water in fast-flowing rivers.
Audiences in Netherlands were flabbergasted at experiencing the musicians' otherworldly sounds, and I was confident that people in other territories would also be baffled. I decided to try and organise concerts for the Tuva Ensemble in North America in the summer of 1992. The Chautauqua Institution was one of the potential venues in that concert tour, and that concert-to-be of the Tuva Ensemble was the very first concert of *khöömei* (throat singing) in the USA.

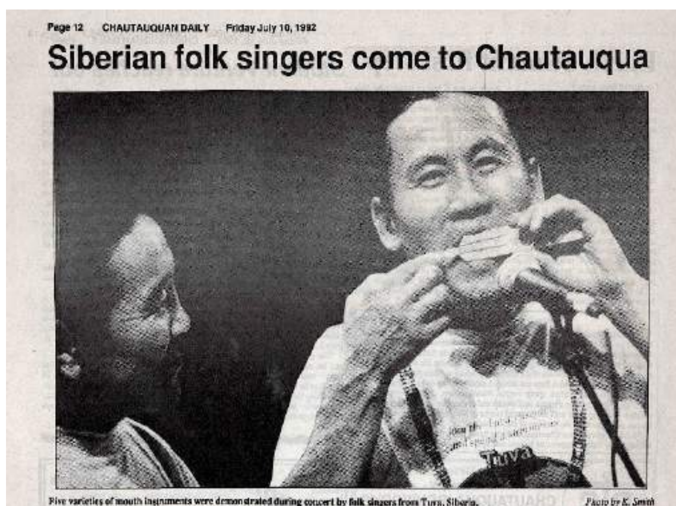
The first letter to the Chautauqua Institution was sent on 20 August 1991, and a total of 55 faxes and an estimated 10 more letters by mail were sent back and forth relating to the Chautauqua 8 July 1992 concert, the last one dating from 26 August 1992.

In their 1992 summer tour the Tuvan musicians were scheduled to travel via Moscow (to arrange for visas for Netherlands, Canada, and USA), followed by a two-week stopover in Netherlands for concerts and other activities. But somehow the musicians were not able to get or were denied Canada and USA visas[5]. Both embassies agreed to send the eventual visa permission to their respective embassies in Netherlands, as they couldn't process the paperwork in Moscow in time. But the musicians did get their Netherlands visas and the ensemble arrived at Amsterdam airport on 21 June

[4] Telefax or simply fax is/was a means to send text and images via telephone line from scanner to printer and vice versa.

[5] Probably they or their management made the visa applications too late.

1992 for four concerts[6], embassy visits, editing work for their second CD, and some touristic sightseeing in the following two weeks. I expecteed there was plenty of time to pick up the USA and Canada visas in that period and I had scheduled embassy visits accordingly. On 24 June I sent the Paradox' roadmanager with the ensemble to the USA embassy in Amsterdam to pick up the USA visas. Visa permission had not arrived from Moscow yet, and the ensemble was advised to pick up the visas


Page 12 CHAUTAUQUAN DAILY Friday July 10, 1992

Siberian folk singers come to Chautauqua

Five varieties of mouth instruments were demonstrated during concert by folk singers from Tuva, Siberia. Photo by K. Smith

Figures 2 and 3: Stas Danmaa and Ivan Saryglar. Chautauquan Daily, 10 July 1992. Newspaper clipping / Stas Danmaa in shaman costume. Chautauquan Daily, 10 July 1992. Newspaper clipping (Photographs by courtesy of K. Smith).

in Toronto, their port of entry in North America. The staff of the Amsterdam USA embassy promised to process the paperwork timely and have the visa permission sent to the USA consulate in Toronto.

A few days later, on 2 July, I took the Tuvan musicians to the Canadian embassy in The Hague. That went smooth. We were given what felt like a special audience with the visa officer. He wanted to know what the Tuvan musicians were going to do in Canada. I had already handed in all relevant paperwork including a full itinerary with dates of performances. But apparently the officer wanted to hear it from them personally. Now that was a problem, because only one of the musicians spoke a bit of English. Then the visa officer asked if they could give a sample of their music. Two or three of them started singing overtones. The visa officer seemed quite pleased and immediately after the impromptu two-minute concert the Tuvan musicians were given their double entry Canadian visas.

Eventually we took flight CP91 from Amsterdam to Toronto on 7 July, where we arrived at 4:35 pm. The luggage of the Tuvan musicians had not arrived with our flight and arrived only two days later. My own luggage had arrived though. I picked up the rental van at Thrifty's airport office and we checked in for one night at a downtown Toronto hotel. We planned to have an early breakfast and report at the USA consulate at 9 am sharp to pick up the USA visas. The distance from Toronto to Chautauqua was 280 km, an estimated 3 hours drive with a possible delay at the border crossing. If possible I wanted to be on the road before noon, so as not having to drive in a nervous rush.

CONCERT DAY 8 JULY

After breakfast we went to the USA consulate for the visas. We were asked to wait in an antechamber, it was not expected to take long. But we were kept waiting and waiting. Around noon I went out to get lunch for the musicians and to make a phonecall to the Chautauqua Institution, to inform them that we would arrive later, as the visas had not been processed. It got later and later. The musicians seemed quite relaxed and I got more and more nervous. Finally, at around 3 pm, an official sauntered

[6] Among those concerts were the renowned festivals of Oerol on the island of Terschelling (22 June) and Documenta in Kassel, Germany (25 June).

by and asked what we were doing there. I explained the urgency of the matter. He seemed genuinely surprised. "I am supposed to be handling this and nobody told me you were here. I'll see what I can do." Twenty minutes later we received the USA visas, and ten minutes after that we were driving, after another phonecall to the Chautauqua organisation that we had received the visas and were on our way. We had four hours left for the trip, including the border crossing. That crossing went smooth, and I managed to take only one wrong exit before we arrived at the venue at 7:30 pm.

Figure 4: Breakfast in Jamestown Holiday Inn. From left to right: Stas Danmaa, Gennadi Tumat, Anatolii Kuular, Ivan Saryglar (with hat), Sergey Ondar. Photograph by the author, 9 July 1992.

The performance was to start at 8pm and would take place in the Amphitheater, "The Amp", a hall with a capacity of 4000. In my memory a crowd of around 2500 spectators showed up. The evening was to be presented by Ted Levin, professor of music at Dartmouth College in Hanover NH, who would give an introduction on Tuva and the music of Tuva. Levin had produced a CD on the Smithsonian Folkways label in 1990 with recordings from his 1987 and 1988 fieldwork trips in Tuva[7], so he could be considered an expert. It marked the first time that we met.

The Tuva Ensemble, under the leadership of iconic *khöömei* singer Gennadi Tumat[8], with Stas Danmaa, Anatolii Kuular, Sergey Ondar, and Ivan Saryglar as further members, needed almost no time to change costumes, as their luggage with the costumes in it was still in limbo between Amsterdam and Toronto. Instead they performed in promotional T-shirts with an image of Tuva on the front[9], and were wearing the colourful conical fur-rimmed Tuvan hats that they had always on their heads anyway. Stas Danmaa, who would do a five-minute shaman impersonation in the program, for some reason had brought his shaman costume in his hand luggage, so he was ok for that.

The program was 75 minutes long with a break halfway. and consisted of seven songs, eight overtone songs, three instrumentals, and a shaman healing session. Seven of the pieces had been released on Pan Records' first Tuva CD[10], and another twelve would be released later that year on Pan Records' second Tuva CD[11].

The evening was a huge success. The Chautauquan Daily, which already had published lengthy previews in their issues of Spring (covering the period 27 June to 30 August) and of 8 July (see appendices 1 and 2), after the concert published a few photographs of the concert in their 10 July

[7] Tuva. Voices from the Center of Asia. Smithsonian Folkways SF 40017.Washington DC, 1990.

[8] Gennadi Tuma founded his own ensemble Ay Kherel (Moonlight) in 1994. I continued to work with Gennadi until his death in 1996. In the year 2000 Pan Records posthumoiusly published Gennadi's solo-CD "My Homeland Övür". Pan Records no. 2090, Leiden, 2000.

[9] I had 200 promotional T-shirts made for the tour with the aim of selling these at performances. I had given the musicians two each..

[10] Tuva. Voices from the Land of the Eagles. Pan Records no. 2005. Leiden, 1991.

[11] Tuva. Echoes from the Spirit World. Pan Records no. 2013. Leiden, 1992.

issue but unfortunately neglected to write a full review (photos 1—Sergey Ondar, 2—Stas Danmaa and Ivan Saryglar, and 3—Stas Danmaa in shaman costume).

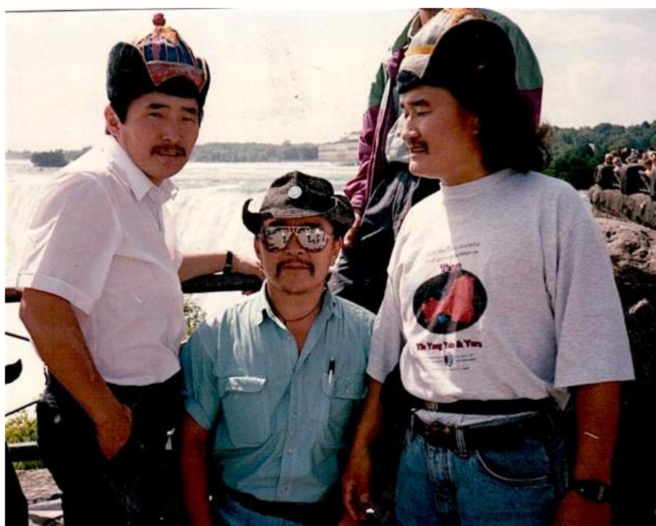


Figure 5: Niagara Falls (Canadian side). From left to right: Gennadi Tumat, Anatolii Kuular, Ivan Saryglar. Photograph by the author, 9 July 1992.

AFTERMATH & CONCLUSIONS[12]

After a hearty breakfast in our hotel, The Holiday Inn in Jamestown NY (photo 4), we drove back to Toronto airport to catch flight CP929 at 2:45pm to Winnipeg. Halfway, after we had crossed the border, we made a short stop at the Niagara Falls, where I heard the Tuvans sing *khöömei* with the Falls (photo 5). They seemed quite stimulated by the sounds of the cascading water. At the airport we picked up the lost luggage that had arrived in the meantime. This trip would further bring the Tuva Ensemble to the folk festivals of Winnipeg, and Vancouver before they would return home to Tuva via Moscow. The Tuvans were to be invited back the next summer to both festivals because of their great success. This was quite an unusual feat as these festivals would not normally invite t he same act in two consecutive years.

Figure 6: Edmonton Folk Festival. Top, from left to right Kaigal-ool Khovalyg, Sayan Bappa, Anatolii Kuular, Kongar-ool Ondar. Bottom, from left to right: Radomir Mongush, Sayan Bappa. Photo by Bernard Kleikamp, 7 August 1993.

[12] The information in this essay, unless otherwise attributed, comes from the private archive of the author in Leiden, Netherlands.

Friends of Tuva, an organisation of Tuva aficionados with its own newsletter[13], run by Ralph Leighton, jumped in to organise future concerts of Tuvan musicians in the USA. Ralph Leighton lived in the San Fransisco area and came to meet the Tuvan musicians at the 1992 Vancouver Folk Festival, whom he befriended and subsequently invited to the next Rose Parade in Pasadena on 1 January 1993, after which followed a six-week tour in the USA with Anatolii Kuular, Kaigal-ool Khovaly, and Kongar-ool Ondar[14]. Leighton continued to promote and work with Kongar-ool Ondar for many years to come[15]. The 1993 USA & Canada summer tour brought the Tuva Ensemble in a completely different line-up, that later was to become known under the name of Huun Huur Tu, to the festivals of Winnipeg, Edmonton (photo 6), and Vancouver in Canada again, and in the USA to the Ann Arbor folk festival and to the World Financial Center in New York. The Ann Arbor festival was organised by the Concerted Efforts agency, and they continued to work with Huun Huur Tu in the USA for several years. A demand was quickly growing for Tuvan throat singing on the world stages and to fill up that demand many more bands and soloists emerged from Tuva to conquer the world, like Chirgilchin, Shu De, Ay Kherel, Tyva Kyzy, Yat Kha, Sainkho Namchylak and the already previously mentioned Huun Huur Tu and the Tuva Ensemble.

Ron Gaskin, Toronto-based manager of experimental folk band Rare Air, in the mid-1990s labeled me as "The man who brought Tuva to the world". Of course I'm not the only such person, but I'm happy to have been given that epithet anyway. But indeed, my Paradox concert agency was the first to bring Tuvan throat singing musicians to the USA.

And the rest is history.
25 years later the Tuvan Ministry of Culture and the Center of Tuvan Traditional Culture in retrospect recognized the importance of Pan Records and the Paradox concert agency in the global dissemination of Tuvan overtone singing and invited me to write the story of my involvement with music from Tuva in the 1990s. This is part of that story.

APPENDICES

The illustration on the first page are sunset silhouettes of the Tuva Ensemble during performance at the Vancouver Folkfestival main stage, Jericho Beach Park. Saturday 18 July 1992. Photographs by the author.

Appendix 1. The Chautauquan. Summer Program 1992 June - August. Clippings.
Appendix 2. Chautauquan Daily. 8 July 1992. Clippings.

The Chautauquan

Chautauqua • An American Institution — Spring 1992 — Season: June 27-August 30, 1992

So, what is Siberian overtone singing?

THE Chautauquan DAILY

Wednesday July 8, 1992

Volume CXV — Issue 10 — THE OFFICIAL NEWSPAPER OF CHAUTAUQUA INSTITUTION

Siberian folk singers in Amp

Appendices 1 and 2.

[13] The Friends of Tuva newsletter was published from 1991 to 1999. Their 20th and final issue dates from 9 January 1999.

[14] The Friends of Tuva Newsletter, Fifth issue, Fall 1992, for info on the 1993 Rose Parade and the full itinerary of the concert tour.

[15] Resulting in at least three CD productions, that drew wide attention and got high sales figures.

Review of "Jim Sykes (2018). The Musical Gift: Sonic Generosity in Postwar Sri Lanka." New York: Oxford University Press

[ISBN 9780190912024 0190912022]

Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda [චින්තක ප්‍රගීත් මැද්දෙගොඩ][1]

Abstract

The author's efforts to draw a cartography of music practices in Sri Lanka and proposing terms such as musical gift, musical giving, and sonic generosity using the views and practices of Sri Lankan drumming, ritual singing, and dancing is impressive and should be widely appreciated. In her review, Gamburd (2019) provides an impressive summary about the entire book together with some remarks on the author's political bias and missing content in his fieldwork experience, particularly with informants and his teacher. However, I do not fully agree on Gamburd as Sykes has shared some remarkable fieldwork experiences. He really tried to highlight these experiences as a necessity in order to gain insights into his topic.

A large amount of scientific literature, newspaper articles, and other sound and audiovisual sources are referred to describe various elements of the music practices, their ethnic, religious, political, economic and social conditions and relations starting from the Era of Ravana up to the year 2018.

Keywords

Book review essay, Postwar situation, Sri Lanka, Research methods, Descriptive styles.

The book is structured in four parts and six chapters plus four "checkpoints" between the original chapters of his writings. Each part is dedicated to a specific process. Part One (I) is about "Finding Musical Gifts." It comprises a general introduction and a first chapter about Sonic Generosity that factually describes the author's understanding of terms. The terms *musical giving* and/or *musical gift* have not been widely discussed previously, but the concept of it has been negotiated in similar studies (recently Hauptmann-Fischer, 2016; Villegas Vélez, 2017).

It is an interesting take to discuss the validity of these terms and to combine them in this framework of music research. However, the use of terms already well-known in official languages of Sri Lanka must be considered critically. The term *berava*, for example, names the caste that most of the traditional drum players of Sinhala religious and ritual practices belong to. The author's translation in brackets denotes "drummer" although the author tells us it is a caste. He often mentions berava drumming, berava drums, berava ritual and refers to berava as Sinhala ritual drummers in general. In this sense, Sykes' usage of the term is not common. Furthermore, it is grammatically questionable, so it may cause confusion. In Sri Lanka, berava is understood as a culturally sensitive term. It is deemed to be ethically not appropriate to use it among artists and in the general public. The way the author mentions and uses the term all throughout the book makes it a keyword of the study.

This book is not meant to explore the musical content too thoroughly, although, some headings suggest such an intention. For example, in the second chapter, the author has not explored the repertoire of drumming whereas he outlines the chapter as though it tackled "Sinhala Buddhist music-making, focusing on the domain of drumming in religious ritual" (p. 68). In Chapter 4, some paragraphs include mentions of music scores used for percussions and playing techniques, but still

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very little exploration is done in order to reveal the predominantly musical substance. However, some similarities among different drumming genres are explained to illustrate interrelated musical features between different cultural zones.

Some Sinhala terms that are explained in brackets in English and vice-versa are not fully precise. Others contain spelling errors. The usage of brackets is rather confusing. Is it translation, extended elaboration, or what the author actually means by the word following in brackets? Some stereotyping can be noticed such as “Hēvisi drummers are usually poorer, less educated, and looked down upon by other ritualists” [p. 70], which from my point of view is not the case in current times. Generalizing statements can also be found, such as, “They also alternate with a gäta beraya drummer at the Temple of the Tooth (Dalada Maligawa) in Kandy, Sri Lanka’s most famous Buddhist temple” [p. 70]. An etymological shortcut comes down rather as an unsubstantiated guess: “The Sinhala version is called horanäva; the Tamil version is the sornāli (clearly, one of these words is derived from the other)” [p. 146].

Chapters 3 and 4, both of them found in the second part, deal with “Sri Lankan Tamil Music Givings” and the “Cartography of Cultural Zones.” The term *cartography* was initially coined by a few scholars who were connected to Collaer's (1958) and Nettl's (1960) musicological studies. In recent times, an entire school of ethnomusicologists in China exist, who are working on “Ethnomusicological Geography” (Xiao Mei, 2013).

Syke's clear description of cultural divisions of dance and drumming in Sri Lanka is very useful, more so as it helps to understand main differences as well as intracultural differences of their overlapping artistry. The author’s learning experience stems from residing with his guru in Benthara where the Pahatharata tradition is popular. Descriptions of the hard work of learning and playing the yak beraya indicate that the author is passionate with his learning experience. This tradition and the ritual drumming itself are broadly described. These elaborations deserve to be studied deeply, more so as they may even serve as a model for further studies in this regard.

The author assumes cultural migration or exchange among Tamils, Sinhalas, and other Southeast Asians to have fostered the dissemination and adaptation of Sinhala drums. Of course, there are many other possibilities of exchange to think of, like from Middle East, north India, or through the European colonizers (Portuguese, the Dutch, and the British including some of their slaves brought from places in the South of Africa). Seemingly, the author rather believes in geographical closeness than in culturally motivated interaction as a source of exchange patterns.

Part three (III) of the book is titled “The Discursive Erasure of Musical Giving,” which comprises Chapters 5 and 6. Chapter 5 discusses a rather narrative approach to facts. The author gives voice to reports of musicians that recall the situation of war and the tsunami that hit Sri Lanka in 2004. This approach is meant to go “Beyond the Musicology of Disaster.” A musical document is presented. It is a page of a score composed by Eshanta Peiris about the tsunami (Figure 5.1). The document serves to prove the existence of a musical tsunami response among Sri Lankan musicians. Other reports read a bit like newspaper articles on various interrelated events. However, they do not really give evidence of something that can be called “beyond” unless the deliberate way the author gets on the path of political discourses is counted into this process.

He may not clearly investigate music practices as an ethnographic chapter. The author is rather describing it in an agitating tone. It also remains unclear whether this is on purpose or not. However, there could have been given space to a broader spectrum of different voices instead.

Many of the activities the author has taken up, such as hip-hop, the national anthem, posttsunami mixtapes for charity, well-publicized peace concerts, or a Sinhala-led charity bringing European classical music to a symbolical Tamil school, are treated with little consistency towards a musicological approach. Moreover, as music is understood as interchangeable, they do not significantly relate to the initial concept of musical gifts.

There, readers can see a clear shift as music became merely items that happen to have been produced musically and that transform away from musical gifts in the definition of the author toward being simply products that are not gifted. This shift appears not very well substantiated through detailed musical investigations. Chapter 6 then discusses the history of Sri Lanka and the role that music might have played in the past two centuries. Taking the Caribbean as a comparison in order to explore special features of islands, the author follows other research examples in this regard. Nevertheless, the fact of being an island cannot really justify the way of comparison between Sri Lanka and any other geographical island in the world. Whereas many historical events are freshly approached by the author and made digestible for a wider audience, that way, the level of investigating musical expressions is either unstable or not of a very high degree.

Chapter 6 tries to attack the complexity of Sinhala people's activities by approaching cultural causations that have been seen from many different perspectives even within the country. Alongside the author's discussion, I feel the evidence a bit distorted, as he just picks things that fit his arguments without consulting the wider horizon of diverse scholars working within Sri Lanka (Manoj Alawathukotuwa, 2018; Meddegoda, 2017). However, this provoking approach is a key feature of the book that makes it discursive. It surely initiates a wider frame of thinking the entire discipline of ethnomusicology.

The fourth part (IV) titled "Rediscovering Musical Giving" consists of an elaborated conclusion. Here, the author tries hard to return to his initial concept of musical gifts, mainly taking music videos into consideration. He discusses partly the different opinions about these videos as if they were definitely representative. This comes down as an impulsive assumption that an arbitrary collection of YouTube-links with none of these examples presented or described any further in their productive context, let alone analyzed, served a postwar reconciliation. The author's acceptance of website authors and bloggers is admirable as it has some very good points. However, these sources do not get bundled in a proper way to support his arguments. Sykes maintains that he aimed at showing "liberal aesthetics are ipso facto not correct" [p. 239] and that liberal aesthetics and the security mindset in Sri Lanka, for example, are reinforcing each other mutually. That should be worth a wider discussion.

However, liberal aesthetics are served in large parts throughout the book, which makes it a good and a widely attractive read. However, the remaining impression is that the author set out to break up ethnomusicological practices and conventions. As such, his book is an interesting attempt to overcome learned academic behavior and to look forward into future possibilities of ethnomusicology.

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