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Instead of an Introduction: Archives as a Source of Inspiration

Razia Sultanova

Scholars from a variety of fields have reconceptualised the archive not only as a source of knowledge, but also as a site where knowledge is produced and negotiated. From this perspective, archives are seen as dynamic places, where memory is created, contested, recovered, and reinterpreted.

What is the significance of archive music collections for our ethnomusicological research?

First of all they give us a chance not only to enjoy the music of the past but also to compare it with modern traditional music, allowing us to draw inferences about the ways in which music has developed over the last century. Secondly such early recordings collections portray the truly indigenous music of Central Asian peoples: music that was not affected either by ethnic Russification or by ideological Bolshevisation. These musics and lyrics are representative of proper Sart, Kazakh, Kyrgyz or Tatar origins. There are no incursions of the Communist Party or verses devoted to Lenin or Stalin, as there are in all songs following the crucial dictatorship period of the 1930's.

When we briefly compare the music of the beginning of the 20th and the 21st centuries, for example, it is noticeable that the main feature of the musics recorded earlier is their simplicity in terms of both the music and the instruments used, smaller number of instruments involved, repetitive development of tune, restricted variations, etc. At the same time their extreme expressiveness and deep spiritual feeling are also impressive, as their texts are mostly religious and stem from the Sufi context.

Nowadays our music has become much more sophisticated. Generally a wider instrumental range is used (and more often displayed), and more variations and ornaments are added that are representative of local styles and schools of technique. In all, the modern music of Central Asia is more decorative and descriptive than suggestive, as it used to be. One can also observe that the influence of the Soviet regime was not the lone factor that has affected Central Asian music. A variety of factors have left their mark, some very significant, as for example the tendency toward globalization. The music of that region is now exposed to all kind of influences, ranging from pop music and regional exchanges in stylistic variation to the wide scale effects of the Indian, Arabic, Turkish and Iranian musical worlds. We can approach Central Asian music analytically from different perspectives, opening opportunities for the comparative study of music of Central Asia from the early 20th to the early 21st century.

In conclusion we can affirm that there are other important issues related to the situation that are of less theoretical nature. One could say that today not only the sound worlds of traditional music but even the languages themselves are endangered due to the vast harsh influences this world subjects them to. Nicholas Ostler states that today "there is nothing unusual about a single language dying. Communities have come and gone throughout history, taking their languages with them. According to the best estimates, there are now approximately 6000 languages in the world. Of these, about half are going to die out during the 21st century. This means that, on average, there is a language dying out somewhere in the world every two weeks or so" (Ostler, 1999:1; 2005:17). This speaks volumes. If this is the case with languages, it's not difficult to imagine that traditional music faces similar dangers. This emphasizes the need to think about systems which can effectively help with the task of conserving a rich cultural heritage of humankind. As for our musician recording collections, a dire need exists here as well for a comprehensive, classified catalogue to be compiled and for the majority of archives to be published in order to preserve the real sounds of the traditional music of the world and to let them be known.

For example, 25 years ago I began researching music in Northern Afghanistan using a collection of audio recordings from the Vienna Phonogrammarchiv, which covers its history from 1959 to the late 1970s. Analysis of this research spurred me on to visit the locality of Northern Afghanistan for myself, in order to meet the most prominent musicians and groups. Finally, in 2006, I had the rare chance to travel there to begin my personal collection of audio and video recordings of the most famous local musicians such as Usto Kamolliddin, Tadj Muhammad, and Sabzygul, amongst others, in Mazar-e-Sharif, Andhoy, Shoberghan, and Akcha. Afghanistan nowadays is a cultural hotspot, where the on-going war for the last thirty years has

thrown the country into a deep economic, social and cultural crisis. Since the 1970s the country has lived through a number of invasions and conflicts with various opponents - the Soviets, Mujahedin, Taliban and the Western Alliance, all of which have brought chaos and disorder into the daily life of its people. Therefore to meet few survived Afghani musicians whose performances were recorded many years ago and to make recordings with the new ones was a real advantage of the field work, of the discipline of ethnomusicology.

To close I'll recall Anthony Seeger's suggestion that archives can also be seen as storehouses of valuable cultural knowledge, preserving marginalized and forgotten voices and cultural practices. For communities that live by oral tradition like in Afghanistan then, archives can be sources of empowerment and resources for knowledge building understanding that "communities engaged in changing themselves often look to the past as a model through which to create a coherent future...archives become a resource for the recovery of history and the establishment or reestablishment of a degree of cultural autonomy" (Seeger 2002).

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FIND, GET, USE:

LESSONS FROM THE REPATRIATION OF

EARLY PAPUA NEW GUINEA SOUND RECORDINGS

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For over forty years, first as a graduate student and then as a public servant at a cultural research institution, I have been involved in various aspects of the repatriation of early sound recordings to Papua New Guinea. Consequently, the subject of this workshop in Shanghai was of great interest to me. I was honoured and thrilled to be invited back to Shanghai after visiting this city for International Council for Traditional Music Executive Board meetings (2012, 2013) and its World Conference (2013).¹

I particularly hope that some of our own experiences in repatriation will benefit those working on this subject in China and beyond. So let's move far to the south of China, and to quite a different time frame.

Papua New Guinea is located north of Australia and to the east of Indonesia. According to the most recent edition of *Ethnologue* (Simons and Fennig 2017), its approximately 7.6 million people speak about 840 living languages, making Papua New Guinea the most linguistically diverse nation on earth.

Since 1979, I have worked in the Music Department of the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, a cultural research institute funded by the Papua New Guinea government. One of our goals has been to make our Music Archive collection representative of all research that has been done on music in the country.² While we are well aware that this is something that must be an ongoing, never-ending task, it continues to motivate our activities on many levels. To achieve this, it has been vitally important to bring back early sound recordings to Papua New Guinea, where these recordings have the greatest meaning. We also feel very strongly that new research should be done with full knowledge of what has been done before. All research builds upon what others have done before, so Papua New Guineans must have easy access to such materials in Papua New Guinea itself. Hence, national repatriation of audiovisual as well as print materials has long been a key objective for the Institute.

Others Institute staff and I have written about such early recordings and our repatriation efforts (e.g., Niles 1992; 2000; 2002; 2012; Niles and Gende 2017; Niles and Schüller 2010; To'Liman-Turalir 2002). My article here concerns this work in general and is divided into what have been the three main tasks in repatriation for us.

Find

The first step is to find out what early recordings have been made, by whom, when, where they were made, and where they are presently located.³ For the early recordings, this work initially involved consulting published catalogues from major archives, corresponding with archivists, and canvassing all available early writings for any suggestions that recordings were being made. Locating more recent recordings combined these methods with communicating with those who may have made such recordings, in particular anthropologists, linguists, and other researchers and visitors. Although recording equipment was certainly readily available from the beginning of the twentieth century, I quickly learned that there were many factors determining whether recordings were made or not.

¹ I would particularly like to thank Xiao Mei and Gisa Jähnichen for involving me in the workshop. In preparing this paper for publication, I thank Gisa again and the anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments. I also very much appreciate the ongoing support I receive from the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies and the Australian National University.

² Although originally focussed on just music, the Music Archive has gradually expanded to include materials on dance as well.

³ I wish to acknowledge Gordon Spearritt for encouraging and stimulating my efforts to locate early recordings of Papua New Guinea music. His initial work on the wealth of materials to be found in the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv and our subsequent collaboration utilising them (Spearritt and Niles 1983) were essential to revealing to me some of the treasures to be found and the excitement of such research. I have maintained a frequently updated, yet incomplete, paper on such early recordings for the past few decades (Niles n.d.).

The first ethnographic sound recordings made in what is today Papua New Guinea resulted from the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait.⁴ In 1898, Alfred Haddon and other researchers from Cambridge took a break from their research on the islands of the Torres Strait (between Australia and the island of New Guinea) and visited parts of what was then the colony of British New Guinea to the north. They brought along their phonograph and recorded a number of wax cylinders.

These 1898 recordings are the earliest made in Papua New Guinea.⁵ While these were made by British researchers, this was atypical of most of the other early recordings of the country.

After these first recordings, the vast majority of other early recordings from Papua New Guinea were made by German visitors. By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a portable machine for the recording of sound (the phonograph) and the media for doing so (wax cylinders) were quite widely available. These technical advances plus the establishment of the Phonogramm-Archiv in Berlin in 1901 proved to be of great importance for the early recording of music in Papua New Guinea and many other parts of the world.

At this time, the northern part of Papua New Guinea was a German colony. The enthusiastic staff at the Phonogramm-Archiv, particularly Erich von Hornbostel, made sure that many expeditions to German New Guinea were equipped with a phonograph and wax cylinders.⁶

Unsurprisingly, many of the early recordings from Papua New Guinea now housed in Berlin were made by these German expeditions, such as recordings made by Adolf Roesicke on the Kaiserin-Augusta-Fluss Expedition (Sepik River Expedition), 1912–13 (e.g., Hiery 2001:Abb. 7; Kelm 2003:Abb. 16; Ziegler 2006:161, Abb. 40).

But as sound archives were quite rare at this point in time, the Phonogramm-Archiv in Berlin sponsored or attracted collections of cylinders made by non-German researchers as well, such as those made by Swedish researcher Gunnar Landtmann, 1910–11.

While German researchers certainly made most of the early recordings in Papua New Guinea, but after the end of World War I (1918), Germany lost its colonies in the New Guinea area. This meant a drastic reduction in German activity there; only slowly did researchers from other countries begin to show interest. For example, Australian Frank Hurley made cylinder recordings in the 1920s (Hurley 1924:photo following p. 172). Some of Hurley's recordings were transcribed and arranged for piano (Hurley 1921). While few of his original cylinders appear to have survived, the sheet music certainly does. (We wish it were the other way around!) But we keep hoping that the original recordings will someday appear.

In trying to track down early recordings, photographs can often reveal recording activity, but the research must also be done carefully. For example, a wonderful photo from 1933–34 shows people in the Hagen area *listening* to a phonograph (Leahy 1967:26; Connolly and Anderson 1987:229; Leahy 1994:dustcover, ii–iii, 218). But the machine portrayed could only playback previously recorded discs; as a result, no sound recordings were made on this first major expedition into the populous central mountain ranges of Papua New Guinea.

The technology for the recording of early recordings also changed over the years. Although most of the early recordings from Papua New Guinea were acoustically made on wax cylinders, by 1937 recordings began to be made on aluminium discs and with a separately powered microphone, such as during the Crane–Peabody Museum New Guinea Expedition of 1937 (Niles 2005; 2012:147–52).

This early recording from Papua New Guinea can perhaps best be illustrated on maps. I divide this recording of Papua New Guinea sound⁷ into three periods, based on a variety of historical factors.⁸

⁴ Recordings from this expedition are also the first made in Australia and the first made by British researchers. That the expedition also included recordings from Papua New Guinea was only clarified through the research of Alice Moyle (1983).

⁵ Although the nation of Papua New Guinea only became independent in 1975 and parts of it had a variety of other names before then, for the sake of simplicity I will mostly use the term “Papua New Guinea” here, despite its historical inaccuracy for many of the periods discussed.

⁶ For essential information about the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv and its cylinder collections, see particularly Ziegler (2006).

⁷ Mostly music, but occasionally spoken materials as well.

⁸ The original versions of these three maps were published elsewhere (Niles 2002:191–93, fig. 1–3). They have been revised and updated to complement discussion here.

In examining these maps, please note that each collection is identified by a dot—roughly varying in size to represent the number of recordings contained in it—plus the name of the collector(s) and the last two digits of the year of recording. Collection names in green are housed in the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv; those in black are located elsewhere; those in red are also housed elsewhere, but were recorded outside of Papua New Guinea. This latter case includes examples of Papua New Guineans being recorded overseas, as well as of expatriates performing songs or speaking texts in local languages overseas. Obviously these maps are only meant to give a general idea of recording activity.

Figure 1 shows the period from when the first recordings were made (1898), up until 1904. During this time, recordings were an accomplishment of the British made, not surprisingly, in what was then British New Guinea.



FIGURE 1: Recording activity in Papua New Guinea, 1898–1904. [Recording on the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait (1898)].

As shown in figure 2, 1904 is also the beginning of the shift to recordings made by researchers from German-speaking countries: Austria and, slightly later and ultimately most significantly, Germany itself. In the case of the latter, the importance of the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv in sponsoring and promoting much of this activity is very apparent—just look at all the green identifications on the map showing recordings housed in Berlin. Notice also the general predominance of work being undertaken in the northern part of the country in what was then German New Guinea.

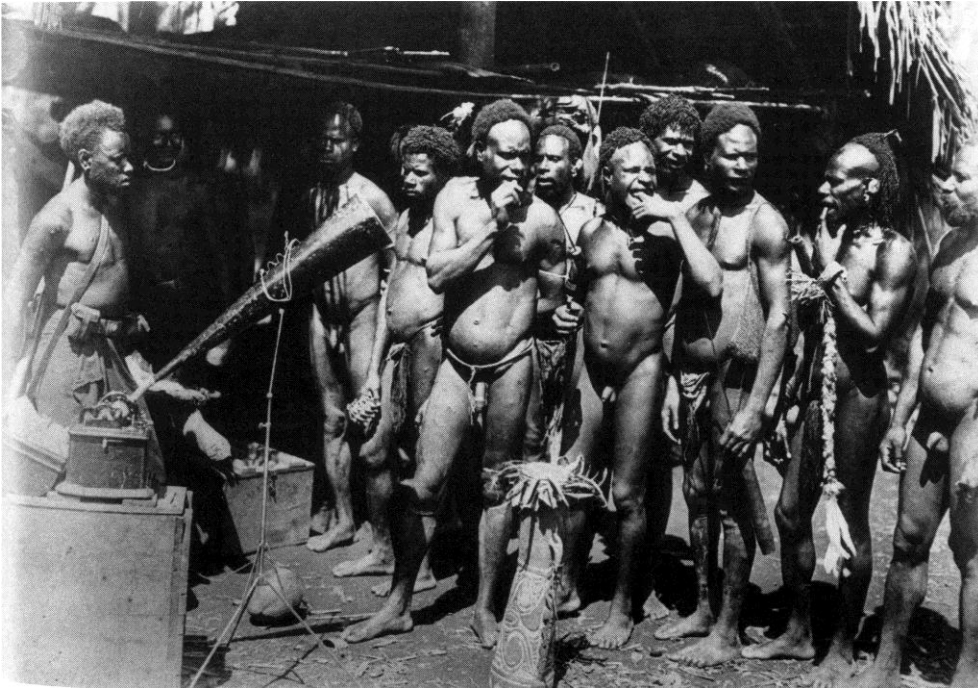


FIGURE 2: Recording activity in Papua New Guinea, 1904–1918. [German researcher Adolf Roesicke, Kaiserin-Augusta-Fluß Expedition, 1912–13].

Finally, as shown in figure 3, after World War I, Germany lost its colonies. In Papua New Guinea, Australia took over responsibility for the whole area. But Australian interests were different from those of their colonial predecessors; particularly it seems in relation to research.

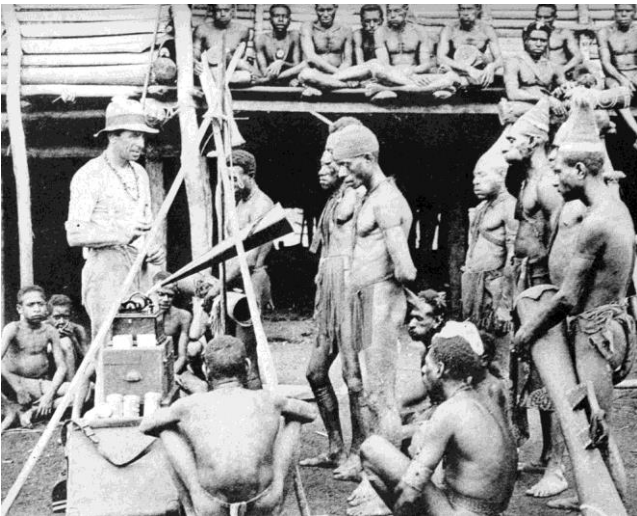


FIGURE 3: Recording activity in Papua New Guinea, 1921–1944. [Australian Frank Hurley recording in the Gogodala area, Aramia village, 1922–23].

Until the end of World War II—when technological advances increasingly brought recording technology into the hands of individuals, instead of mostly being bound to government institutions or government-sponsored research trips—recording activity was present, but never of the same intensity as shown at the beginning of the century.

Discovering what recordings were made, by whom, in what location, and where they might presently be located is a fascinating research project in itself and really requires considerable detective work. This can be greatly aided today by Internet resources, but still requires a lot of digging through scores of documents, some in the languages of the visitors. Of course, early writings give some indication as to what was done and contacting the main archives is an obvious way to being. But we have also located early Papua New Guinea recordings in other parts of Germany, as well as in the United Kingdom, Finland, Hungary, France, the United States, and Australia. I'm sure there are all sorts of possibilities for each country's cultural heritage in sound.

But what are “early” recordings in the Papua New Guinea context? While my original maps of recording activity ended with World War II, our definition of “early” recordings of Papua New Guinea music certainly extends beyond that time. Although Anthony Seeger suggested in the course of this workshop that “early” could well include anything recorded before “today,” our definition is still not quite as liberal. Presently, I suppose it would encompass anything recorded before the establishment of the Institute in 1974.

This would include quite a range of technologies. For example, radio journalists made wire recordings in 1949, ultimately resulting in one of the first commercial recordings of Papua New Guinea music (Simpson and Cunningham 1950). And by the mid-1950s, tape recorders were being used by many researchers of different nationalities and with different interests. To mention just a few: in 1949–56, Swiss ethnologist Paul Wirz and his son, Dadi Wirz, using a Nagra I recorder (Niles 2012:152–54); in 1952–57, US priest/anthropologist Fr. Louis J. Luzbetak (Niles 2011:45–46); in 1953–54, US anthropologist Theodore Schwartz in collaboration with Margaret Mead (Niles 1980:1); in 1955, US ballerina and dance researcher Beth Dean and her husband, Victor Carell (Dean and Carell 1958:142; Niles 2012:154–56); and in 1958, German anthropologist Hans Fischer using a Butoba recorder (Simon and Wegner 2000:6, 146). The introduction of tape certainly made recording in Papua New Guinea a much more commonplace activity, undertaken by an even greater international audience.

Recordings from the period following World War II are probably the ones that need to be focussed on now for the purposes of archiving. I would imagine that few collections of Papua New Guinea cylinders, early instantaneous discs, or wire recordings have not found their way to archives by now. But certainly many early collections on reel-to-reel tape remain with collectors or their descendants. With the approaching obsolescence of this medium and the machines to play it, digitisation of such tapes has now become critical.

But locating the recordings, regardless of how “early” is defined, is only the first of my three-part process.

Get

After identifying early recordings and their present-day location, they need to be brought home. For my discussion, “home” is Papua New Guinea, specifically the archive at my institute (figure 4). Where possible this also includes repatriation to a village or region, but most often it is national repatriation. For a variety of reasons, it is often more difficult to return early recordings to villages. We are constantly trying to overcome this problem, but for the moment it remains.



FIGURE 4: Outside of the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies.

Luckily, of course, repatriating recordings does not mean the return of the original recordings (if they continue to exist at all). We certainly do not have the equipment to play cylinders or discs recorded at nonstandard speeds. Rather, we want *copies* of those recordings on whatever medium is appropriate: reels, cassettes, DATs, CDs, or as digitised sound files. In many cases we seek financial assistance from embassies

and high commissions for such work. Almost invariably we get what we ask for—not vast amounts of money, but just enough to copy the recordings and notes, and ship them to us. Such activities are generally seen as very good things, beneficial to both the donor and recipient archives and countries.

If the collections returned were substantial, we hold events at our institute, inviting ambassadors, our minister for culture, other VIPs, the media, and supporters. For example, newspaper articles about the repatriation of recordings from Berlin being presented to us by the German ambassador in 1987, where produced by the local media and also resulted from our own press release on the event (e.g., see Niles 2012:148, figure 3).

Materials received are then added to our Music Archive at the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, which was established in 1974, one year before independence. Master recordings are kept in a temperature- and humidity-controlled, insulated shipping container: not luxurious but functional and quite secure (figure 5).



FIGURE 5: Music Archivist Gedisa Jacob outside shipping container that serves as storage for master recordings.

We have about 12,000 master recordings in our collection (figure 6). This includes repatriated recordings, plus those made by staff, overseas researchers, commercial recordings, and a few radio programmes. We aim to make the archive as representative as possible of all types of Papua New Guinea music; therefore, it includes traditional, popular, and church music, as well as that performed by brass bands and bagpipe bands of the disciplined forces.



FIGURE 6: Music Archivist Gedisa Jacob with master recordings.

Everything is catalogued in our on-site database, but nothing is accessible through the Internet. Our technician maintains the recordings in our archive. He received training on digitisation techniques at the University of Auckland, New Zealand—a rare programme that combined such training along with a donation of digitising equipment (Moriguba 2010).

Use

As the early recordings have now been returned to Papua New Guinea, perhaps one could say that the repatriation is complete, but we feel there is another essential step in this process: using these recordings. I mean “use” in very broad terms because the aim is to make people know about these recordings and what they mean to people today. This can be accomplished in newspaper articles, radio and TV interviews, academic papers, commercial recordings, and so forth.

One of our own efforts to make early recordings more accessible concerns three important collections of early Papua New Guinea recordings housed at the first sound archive in the world, the Phonogrammarchiv in Vienna.⁹ One of these collections was made by a Dutch Catholic priest (Josef Winthuis) in 1908–9. Another was made of Boniface (Tamatai) Pritak-Mawi, a teenage Papua New Guinean brought to Vienna by priests in 1907 and recorded there under the direction of Fr. Wilhelm Schmidt—these latter recordings were the first overseas recordings of a Papua New Guinean.

The most extensive and well-known collection, however, was made by Austrian ethnologist Rudolf Pöch during his travels to what was then German and British New Guinea, 1904–6.

I was responsible for documenting the recordings by translating, editing, and annotating any existing notes of the original collectors and supplementing this information wherever possible. The result was a set of six CDs plus a 223-page booklet of translated notes, background information, bibliography, and music transcriptions

⁹ I follow the convention adopted by other scholars (e.g., articles in Berlin and Simon 2002) of writing the name of the Berlin archive as “Phonogramm-Archiv” and the Viennese one as “Phonogrammarchiv,” although there has always been considerable variation in spellings, even in publications from these archives.

(Niles 2000). This work also enabled us to provide further documentation on the recordings that we had received—a very important part of the collaborations we have developed with archives. We are very fortunate indeed that the staff of the Vienna Phonogrammarchiv were so generously supportive of this work to allow such a complete publication (figure 7).

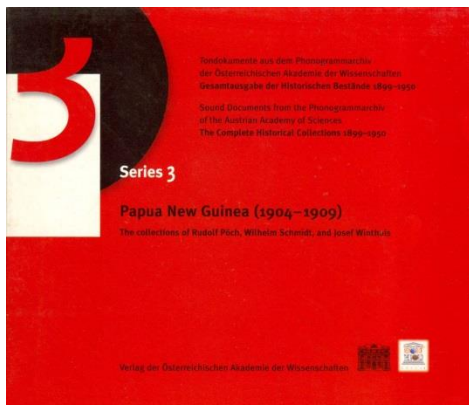


FIGURE 7: Publication in 2000 of early recordings of Papua New Guinea music from the Vienna Phonogrammarchiv.

My Institute has also used our archival recordings in a publication called the *Papua New Guinea Music Collection* (Niles and Webb 1987). This consists of eleven cassettes of over 300 examples of music from many parts of Papua New Guinea, accompanied by a book of documentation (figure 8). It was compiled in collaboration with a lecturer at Goroka Teachers College (presently, University of Goroka) to meet the demands of teachers in Papua New Guinea who lacked materials about Papua New Guinea music to use in the classroom. While focussing primarily on more recent recordings, some early examples are also included to indicate the historical depth of sound recordings to students.

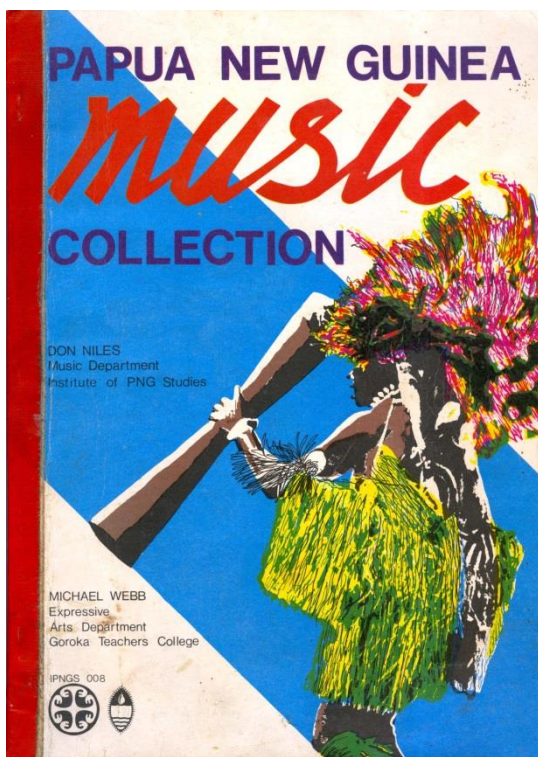


FIGURE 8: Book cover of the *Papua New Guinea Music Collection* by Don Niles and Michael Webb (1987).

Of course, repatriation is not just limited to our own efforts. As another example, ethnomusicologist Kirsty Gillespie included some century-old examples from the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv on a CD of music from the Lihir Islands, in New Ireland Province. As part of her project, these recordings were played to stimulate new performances (Gillespie 2008; 2017).

It is likely that such archival materials will add dimensions to research already being undertaken.

Conclusions

In summary, I see three steps in repatriation:

1. **Find:** who did what, when, where, present location, etc.
2. **Get:** arrange for copies to be made, traded, bought, etc., so that these can be returned home, wherever that may be
3. **Use:** publicise these early recordings, get people to work with them, return information to source archive and communities, etc.

I hope by sharing our experiences in repatriation readers will gain some understanding of how we have approached the subject and the great importance such recordings have for the people of Papua New Guinea.

Early recordings might reconfirm or conflict with notions of performance today, represent now-forgotten or vaguely remembered genres, or stimulate discussion on aspects of present-day practice. They are vital elements in our cultural heritage. I very much hope that the search for early recordings, followed by their acquisition and multiple uses will be as exciting for others as have such activities continued to be for us.

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Learning from Experience: Returning Music to Circulation in Local Communities

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Introduction

In the 21st Century it is easy to make early recordings widely available to the general public. Digitize them and post them to an Internet site and some people will find them. But if the objective is to make them available to the communities where they were recorded, that may not be a suitable approach. Furthermore, ethical and legal considerations sometimes require that recordings not be made available to a general public. During the past 30 years, ethnomusicologists have discovered that repatriation is not as easy as we initially thought it would be. But Ethnomusicologists and others involved in returning early recordings to communities are also getting better at ensuring that recordings are returned in such a way that community members know about them and can use them as they wish. We have also gathered information on how successful repatriation can benefit individuals and communities as they use the returned recordings to revive or transform local musical traditions. This paper argues that the most successful repatriation projects are those where local community groups or individual community members are actively involved in all stages of the process. Since I am unfamiliar with early Chinese recordings or previous repatriation efforts in China, this paper will cite experiences from other parts of the world. Instead, I suggest that lessons can be learned for the future by examining earlier repatriation projects.

I use two terms in this paper that require clarification. I use the term “repatriation” to describe the process of returning recordings to the individuals and communities who were originally recorded for them to use as they wish. It is not an ideal term, as I discuss below, but it is the most commonly used one. I also use the word “community,” which is also hard to define. By “community” I mean to refer to individual members of groups and also to groups that are identified by themselves as a group. In some traditions an individual performer is the appropriate person to receive the copies; in other traditions a family, clan, locality, or ethnic group might be more appropriate recipients. To avoid naming every possibility each time I refer to the recipients of repatriated recordings, I use the word “community” for all those possibilities and others that might prove to be appropriate.

This paper begins with a discussion of some of the limitations of what can be returned to communities, then discuss three examples of ways they have been returned, and finally make some suggestions based on the earlier sections.

What is being repatriated?

When communities are contacted to collaborate with other organizations in locating, obtaining, and returning early recordings to them, it is important to advise them that what will be returned will be incomplete recordings only of some of their earlier traditions. This is because audio recordings are shaped by the perspectives of the person doing the recording about what to record, as Gisa Jähnichen observed in one of our discussions during the workshop, and the technology used, the quality of the storage of the recordings, and decisions made about their preservation, cataloguing, and digitization.

Miguel Garcia suggests that archived recordings are not “sets of objects” but rather “discursive knowledge” shaped by multi-sourced, fragmentary, and unfinished discourses (Garcia 2017:11; see also Zeitlyn 2012). Sometimes the very things the community hopes will be returned were never recorded, or only partially recorded. Early recordings could only capture a few minutes of sound, while the performances often lasted for hours or days. Only recently, with digital equipment and teamwork, is it possible to record very long events. But even so, decisions about where to place the microphones or video camera will shape (and limit) the recording of an event. Sometimes errors in cataloging and storage result in an inability to find and identify the recording. The essay by Don Niles in this volume describes how peoples in Papua New Guinea were recorded by visitors of different nationalities under different colonial administrations and how difficult it was to locate some of them.

The earliest sounds that can be repatriated were recorded on wax cylinders using an Edison phonograph. The first ethnographic field recording was probably made by Harvard University Anthropologist J. Walter Fewkes among the Passamaquoddy Indians in Maine, USA, on 13 March 1890. Many thousand more field recordings were made around the world using cylinder technology in the ensuing decades by anthropologists, folklorists, missionaries, explorers, and travelers. But cylinders could only record two or three minutes at a time, and could not capture quiet sounds or those at a distance from the recording horn. Later technologies slowly improved the sound quality and length of recordings, but field recordings rapidly increased after 1945 with the development of battery-operated reel-to-reel tape recorders. Today almost anyone can make a high-quality recording on a smartphone, but essential contextual information required for later use of those recordings is usually completely absent.

In addition to sounds and information, recordings contain performances of music and speech that are usually owned or controlled by some person, group, or type of being (animals, spirits, etc.). These rights, whether they be local practices or national legislation, cannot be separated from the materials and should not be ignored. Sometimes there are a variety of rights over a recording, including those of the performers, a larger group that controls what is performed and when, the person doing the recording, the institution where it is housed, and national legislation. Among the Suyá/Kĩsêdjê, an Indigenous group in Brazil, animals may compose the song, which is taught to a group of men by someone who can hear the animal singing it. The men perform the song during a ceremony that they must get permission to hold from one of the male ceremonial moieties. The song itself cannot be copyrighted under Brazilian national legislation which does not have an individual human creator. In addition, the Suyá/Kĩsêdjê have asked that their music not be posted on the Internet (unless they are doing it). When someone records a performance, the sounds are transferred to a recording device, but very often the rights related to the recording are not transferred with the sound. Repatriation, therefore, requires careful attention to rights. In most cases the rights to recordings should be repatriated along with the recordings themselves, so the communities can decide how they should be used.

Despite all their shortcomings, early recordings can be very useful to the communities to which they are returned. In 1983 we sent the Fox Indians copies of recordings at the Indiana University Archives of Traditional Music. They used the copies to re-learn some forgotten songs and performed a ceremony they had been unable to perform before receiving the recordings. The significance of anthropological recordings of the songs and stories of the Indigenous peoples of Australia was transformed when the detailed songs describing the Indigenous settlement of territories were allowed as evidence in court cases to prove their right to native land claims. The songs had always been deeply meaningful to the local communities, but they also came to assist them obtain land they had lost to settlers after the arrival of Europeans. Sometimes even a commercial CD can have an impact on people: one woman born in Jamaica wrote to me at Smithsonian Folkways Recordings thanking us for releasing one of the

compact discs we published, writing, “Until I heard your CD on Maroon music of Jamaica I didn’t know I had a culture!”

How old should a recording be to be repatriated? A quick answer is that “anything recorded before today” may be significant to the community recorded and therefore important to them. In fact, however, most communities give greater value to the earliest recordings possible, on which they can hear performances they never heard themselves. But more recent recordings can also be meaningful.

Four Experiments in Repatriation

I. A large, 15-year repatriation project was begun in 1979 by the United States Library of Congress’ American Folklife Center and special staff hired to assist. The plan was to make copies of the approximately 8,000 wax cylinders of American Indian songs, language, and other subjects and return them to their originating communities. The process was very carefully planned. A modern machine was constructed to copy them. Folklorists and advisors developed elaborate plans for repatriation. The copies were returned to the Tribal Councils of each Tribe, as required by law, by well-prepared and teams. Reported in several publications and a series of catalogues, we can learn some lessons from that project.

Project participant Judith Gray wrote an excellent, concise, description of the project and the challenges they anticipated for returning the very earliest recordings of the groups to them and those they did not expect (Gray 1996). One of the challenges, she reports, was that the recordings included sacred materials that the contemporary communities would not allow to be recorded. Another was that the collections were haphazard—the original researchers could only record for two or three minutes and they often recorded examples of many different genres rather than whole performances of a single one. A third challenge was that, by the requirements of the treaties between the United States government and the Indigenous peoples and related policies, the Library of Congress could only return the recordings to the elected Tribal Council for each group. These people were not necessarily the ones who would be most interested in the recordings. But there was another aspect that is worth considering: sound quality.

How has the dissemination of Cylinder Project materials turned out? Not surprisingly, the answers are not simple. Almost everyone we have contacted was enthusiastic at first about the potential benefits of having the early recordings back in their communities. However, community members sometimes suspected hidden costs or “strings” would be attached to the gift. Also, sometimes their enthusiasm waned when members of the community actually heard the recordings. Cylinder recordings do not gain charm and patina like old photographs do. Furthermore, some individuals cherished the hope that certain specific songs and narratives were recorded, only to be disappointed to discover that such recordings did not exist (Gray 1996:6-7).

Sometimes the recordings were just left on a shelf in an office and later were lost. In other cases, the recordings were welcomed and used to revive musical traditions and to stimulate educational use and the revival of languages. Since the project returned recordings to many different Indigenous groups, Gray is in a good position to describe the range of reactions to their efforts to undertake an ethical, culturally sensitive, and effective return. “Whether cylinder recordings have a role to play in contemporary Indian lives is a matter for Indian people and communities alone to decide. Such matters cannot be settled by outsiders, nor can the impact of dissemination efforts be measured in the short run (Gray 1996:7). Are early recordings always gratefully received and actively used by the communities that receive them? The results of the Federal Cylinder Project demonstrate that for a variety of reasons they may not be.

Informed by some excellent and sophisticated recent repatriation projects undertaken in Australia, ethnomusicologists and linguists have acquired a good deal of expertise in repatriating recordings to indigenous peoples. There are some specific features about the oral traditions of Indigenous peoples that may not be as common elsewhere, including complex issues of ownership and secrecy. It is important, therefore, to consider other kinds of repatriation projects when planning to return early recordings to communities in China. One example comes from Bali, in Indonesia.

II. American ethnomusicologist Edward Herbst developed a collaborative repatriation project with Indonesian artists and scholars that was quite different from the return of Indigenous music in North America and Australia. He encountered a very different set of challenges in his extensive and collaborative repatriation project of 1920s and 1930s audio recordings and silent films of music and dance of Bali, Indonesia. For over fifteen years Herbst has worked with Balinese musicians, singers, dancers, and scholars to find the rare early commercial and field recordings. Then they sought to research, understand, document, explain, restore, and repatriate the recordings.

Herbst raised the money to fund the project and negotiated contracts with CD companies and publishers. After extensive searches over a period of years in archives and private collections the group was able to locate 111 musical examples, 150 archival photographs, and 5 hours of previously unavailable silent films of the music and dance of Bali before 1940. The recordings were important because they were completely unavailable in Bali and because they predated major changes in Balinese society and performing arts caused by World War II, Indonesian independence, and the coup that brought Suharto to power in 1966. In addition to finding the materials, Herbst and his colleagues searched Bali for surviving musicians and dancers who could identify who was in the photographs and films and tell them more about the recordings. The project discovered microtonal singing techniques that had been completely lost as well as other surprising changes in performance practice. The dissemination efforts have included CDs with notes in English, a series in Indonesian, and a website. The project led to the revival of some performance styles and some new compositions using the earlier styles. The project's impact continues through lectures and projects at Bali's performing arts academy. Much of the success of this project has been due to the long-term collaboration among its Indonesian members and Edward Herbst, whose linguistic fluency and many years of association with his Indonesian colleagues made contributed to the project's success (Herbst 2017).

III. Not all recordings require the kind of collaborative approaches used by Edward Herbst or the carefully planned repatriation of the Library of Congress Federal Cylinder Project. Sometimes recordings can be "repatriated" in a way that does not target any single group. When older commercial recordings are being returned to circulation for a national audience, it may be enough to organize them thoughtfully, digitize them carefully, catalogue them, and then post them online and publicize their availability. Most commercial recordings do not contain secret or restricted material, but they are usually tightly controlled by for-profit companies.

Under U.S. copyright law, most of the commercially published music is not available for display or unrestricted download. An exception to this are the commercial recordings released by Thomas Edison, whose recording company was founded in 1888 and went bankrupt in 1929. One of the largest popular music repatriation projects in the United States is located at the University of California Santa Barbara (UCSB) Cylinder Audio Archive (<http://cylinders.library.ucsb.edu/>). They acquired rare commercial cylinders produced by the Edison company and legally posted them online for free access and download. The site provides an excellent search screen and index (<http://cylinders.library.ucsb.edu/browse.php>). They post a new cylinder every day for visitors to listen to, encouraging visitors to return to the page regularly. They solicit donations of new wax cylinders for digitizing and posting. Millions of people have visited site to listen to old, scratchy, recordings of once-popular or very

obscure genres of commercially published music. The website's huge popularity was unexpected. The more than 11,000 digitized recordings there include everything from jazz, ragtime, and waltzes to laughing songs and whistling. "What sets the USBC collection apart, said [project director David] Seubert, is its international scope and emphasis on collecting all types of music and sound" [instead of just ethnographic recordings] (Jozuka 2015:4). Seubert reported that he received emails from young musicians who listen to these recordings and have discovered a whole new world. The popularity of this University website is testimony to the adage: if you put it online, people will use it.

Not every repatriation project goes smoothly, and we can learn from mistakes as well as successes. An example of how even a well-intentioned person can make mistakes in a repatriation projects comes from my own experience. In 2003, the Indigenous community I have done research on in Brazil since 1971, known earlier the Suyá and now as the Kĩsêdjê, told me they were setting up a culture center to collect recordings and photographs of everyone who made them since 1959, the year they made peace with Brazilians. As the person who had the largest collection of recordings, I agreed to supply them with digital copies of what I had. I did not think it through as a "repatriation project." But I should have. I returned both public performances and private interviews and discussions to the whole community. I sent all the recordings to their archive, instead of sending the different interviews to the people I had talked with. When listeners heard what other people I interviewed said, they were surprised and upset that they had said different things and thought the others were wrong. This led to criticism of some community members that I had not anticipated. In another case, when the elders heard an error in their performance of a ceremonial song that was not perceived at the time, they were very concerned. They thought that the bad luck they had suffered for years afterward was due to their mistakes. This led to their feeling guilt they would never have felt if they had not heard the recording later. There were other problems too. Although I translated the supporting documentation into Portuguese, I organized it by CD-R number. When they converted the CD-Rs to MP3 files, all the descriptive information was unusable because there was no physical item to refer to. That made it very difficult to find specific items in their database. Another problem I had not anticipated was that not all members of the community felt able to access the recordings because of kinship relations with the archivist. The Suyá/Kĩsêdjê can never speak to or even look directly at certain relatives, which makes it very difficult to ask for a copy of a recording. In sum, I would have benefitted from what we have learned since about successful repatriation projects, and what we discussed in our workshop in Shanghai, before I organized the photos and recordings to return to the Suyá/Kĩsêdjê. Despite my mistakes, however, the materials I sent were greatly appreciated and are being used in educational projects, school curricula, videos, and for leisure listening.

Some general observations about successful repatriation projects

This paper suggests that there is no single way to return old recordings to the communities where they were recorded. But it does suggest answers to the three points raised in the letter on invitation to the International Workshop on Repatriation for which this paper was originally prepared.

1. Sound recordings can be important to members of the communities to whom they have been returned or repatriated. They do not always have a strong impact, however, and the results may take years to appear. Despite this unpredictability, there is clear evidence that the return of early recordings can be beneficial to individuals and communities.
2. The word "repatriation" is not a very satisfactory word for what is being done when music is returned to the individuals and communities who were originally recorded. Repatriation implies sending music from one country to another. But often the return is within a country, or even within a local community. The word "repatriation" is frequently used in all cases of return, but

it may not be the best word for the process. Janet Topp Fargion, at the British Library, has said she prefers the expression “returning recordings to circulation” over “repatriation” (Topp Fargion 2016). At the workshop, Professor Xiao Mei said she preferred the term “bringing the recordings home,” which is also a useful phrase and seems to allocate agency to those obtaining the recordings. Both phrases refer to a process without implications of nationality. The act of “returning the sounds to circulation” “at home” leaves it up to individuals and groups in a community whether and how to make use of them.

3. On the basis of the cases with which I am familiar, the return of early recordings is most successful if there are individuals or groups in the receiving community interested in the return of the recordings. The process works best when they are involved in planning and the method of return. Scholars and applied ethnomusicologists can help find the recordings, raise funds, and get them digitized. They can also suggest methods for return and dissemination based on their comparative knowledge of other cases. But community members are best at managing the return and use of the recordings. They know the significance of the recordings and can assist in their use. Sometimes the scholars and institutions are members of the local communities, but even in this case they need to consult the wider population of performers and audiences for the music before the return. Returns are usually less successful when planned and undertaken unilaterally.
4. In addition to those three points, it is important to note that the beneficiaries of repatriation may include the institutions or individuals that held the materials returned. When recordings are returned to communities knowledgeable about them, it is often possible to obtain much more information about what was recorded than was provided when the original recordings were made. Members of communities may be able to translate the lyrics and describe the type of event the recording was made at, providing a needed additional perspective on the recordings. In some cases, they may even want to contribute additional recordings to improve the archival collections (see Seeger and Chaudhuri 2015). This is one reason I have been so insistent on the collaborative nature of repatriation – everyone’s knowledge may be increased through the process.

To conclude, I hope this paper will have convinced readers that studying different kinds of repatriation projects can help in considering how to return old Chinese recordings to their original communities. Examining the success and failures of other approaches can help to avoid some of the worst problems encountered elsewhere and allow project designers to build on the successful elements of other projects. Ethnomusicologists and other specialists have a role to play in drawing generalizations from the diverse experiments with repatriation that are being undertaken in different countries today and with different methods employed in them. It is important to keep talking with one another, and learning from our successes and (we hope only occasional) failures.

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WHAT DOES SOUNDING HISTORY MEAN AND TO WHOM? A COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS OF EARLY SOUND RECORDINGS FROM AXUM (ETHIOPIA)

Timkehet Teffera

Introduction

The “Berliner Phonogram Archiv” which was established in 1900 possesses one of the earliest sound documents on wax cylinders collected with a phonograph from the end of the 19th until the mid of the 20th Centuries. These historical sound documents were recorded during expeditions carried out at different times and in various countries of the world. Among historical recordings, the collection of the German Diplomat Friedrich Rosen recorded in 1905 comprising 46 recordings, the collection of Dr. Erich Kaschke recorded in 1906 consisting of 37 recordings, the collection of Weiss recorded between 1921 and 1924 consisting of ca. 35 recorded materials, the collection of Grühl recorded in 1926 consisting of 6 sound documents as well as the collection of Dr. Erich Kaschke consisting of about 37 songs and instrumental pieces from Axum, the capital of the North Ethiopian region, Tigray in 1906. In this paper this collection will be discussed. Dr. Erich Kaschke was neither a musician nor an ethnomusicologist. However, on the Axum expedition, lead by Professor Enno Littman, Kaschke was one of the active participants, namely a staff physician and a collector of ethnographic, zoological and phonographic items simultaneously (Littmann 1913). With regard to Kaschke’s activities during the Axsum expedition, it is predictable that he might already have taken general guide lines about the collecting methods and field research in Germany before leaving for Axum.

The Song Texts

Before discussing the musical part it is important to describe the text material that is related to the discussed sound collection and thus to the major part of the performed songs. The texts consisting of about 11 pages and the entire sound collection were handed over to the Psychological Institute of the University of Berlin in July 1906, shortly after the arrival of the delegates from their expedition in Germany¹. Since there is no specific evidence who wrote the texts, it is most probably possible that Littmann might have overtaken this assignment². Because Littmann was the head of the expedition, it may also be assumed that he would have been involved with the documentation work of the texts parallel to the recording work of Kaschke. The way the texts are written down leads furthermore to the assumption that they were probability noted down quickly. It can hardly be accepted that they could have been written down by a native Ethiopian³, but rather by a European. Therefore, in my opinion only Littman would come in this connection into question⁴ (see figure 1).

¹ See also Susanne Ziegler: „Historical Sound Recordings from Ethiopia on Wax Cylinder“, Paper presented on the 1st International Littmann Conference in Munich, May 2002.

² According to Ziegler (2002: 5) the Italian Resident in Adua/Tigray region, Capitano-medico Dr. Mozzetti whom Kaschke contacted to discuss his recordings with him, Littmann himself and Aleka Taje, a translator, a performer or a guide come into question in connection with the provided text material.

³ At the time when the recordings were made, the old Ethiopian script Ge’ez was of course predominantly used by priests who must have visited religious schools to learn religious songs including reading and writing in advance, but it is doubtful that a priest may have assisted Kaschke during his recording work.

⁴ I discussed this issue with Dr. Susanne Ziegler, a staff member of the “Berliner Phonogramm Archiv” who gave me detailed information about this expedition to Abyssinia.

FIGURE 1: Original Text – Wax Cylinders 15 and/or 32

The song texts are predominantly written down continuously without interruptions, although most of the songs consist of rhyming verse lines that should be written down in linear form.

From the so far described investigations of Kaschke's collection a typical characteristic could furthermore be discovered, namely that the songs predominantly consist of relatively limited texts pointing on the fact, that in that specific moment of recording the participants did not have enough knowledge of the texts to be used.

song 1.

group

clapping

drum

01 02 03 04 05 06

FIGURE 2: Extract from wax-cylinder 12 ID 05; antiphonal song

The Music Recordings

21

performed in Arabic language. The sound documents consist of religious, war, hunters, wedding, love and entertainment songs. Based on the analytical work made for the entire collection, various songs are still being performed today in the music traditions of the above mentioned ethnic communities.

Despite the almost 100 years of age, the recorded songs of this collection are in a relatively good condition. However, some recordings are of poor quality and therefore, inaudible in their melodic and textual courses as mentioned above. Also music instruments used to accompany a number of songs are also hardly audible. For that matter, such parts could not be written down in musical notations.

For the transcription of the songs and musical pieces the European notation system has been applied. In doing so, quite a number of songs are notated in linear forms along with their typical text and melodic arrangements. This type of notation was particularly used in order

- to create a better overview of each line and/or combination of lines
- to distinguish melodic, metro rhythmic and textual structures from each other and/or
- to make fruitful analysis regarding their interrelations.

With exception of the two above mentioned songs performed in Arabic language, the rest of the repertoire is based on the so-called *Qiñitoc*, a sequence of five pitches with fixed intervallic relationships usually arranged in ascending order. The *Qiñit* system is divided in four major groups known as *Tizita*, *Bati*, *Anchi Hoyo Lene* and *Ambassel*.

The songs are performed in both solo and antiphonal styles. Compared to the solo songs, the antiphonal songs are performed alternately between a song leader and a group accompanying him/her. In figures 3-5 a part of wax cylinder 2 which is performed by a group of boys in both *Tigriña* and *Amariña* languages is shown:

sl	s/g	mf	original script	phonetic script	translation	measures
1	s	a	ሆህ ያያ	<i>hohi ya ya</i>	(---)	1 – 2
2	g	b	ሆያ	<i>hoya</i>	(---)	2
3	s	a ¹	ሆህ ያያ	<i>hohi ya ya</i>	(---)	3 – 4
4	g	b	ሆያ	<i>hoya</i>	(---)	4
5	s	a	ህዬ በሉ	<i>hiye belu</i>	Say „Hiye“	5 – 6
6	g	b	ሆያ	<i>hoya</i>	(---)	6
7	s	a	ተቀበሉ	<i>teqebelū</i>	Accompany the song	7 – 8
8	g	b	ሆያ	<i>hoya</i>	(---)	8
9	s	a	ጳጳዳ ደአሮ	<i>sa'ida da'iro</i>	The white tree-	17 – 18
10	g	b	ሆያ	<i>hoya</i>	(---)	18
11	s	a	መንፈገሮ	<i>menfegero</i>	who broke it?	19 – 20
12	g	b	ሆያ	<i>hoya</i>	(---)	20

FIGURE 3: Wax Cylinder 2

(የህይወት ህይወት) የህይወት በስተቀር ህይወት ተቀበለው ህይወት
አዕጽ ይኖራል፡፡ መንፈሳዊ ህይወት
እታዩ አላምነህ ስንዲሁ በሆነ እታዩ ምናልባት ነው
በሰላም - ከዚህ በፊት ይጀምራል፡፡ ስንዲሁ ምናልባት ነው፡፡
እታዩ ስንዲሁ ምናልባት ነው፡፡

FIGURE 4: Original Text – Wax Cylinder 2



FIGURE 5: Extract from Wax Cylinder 2

Even though it is unfortunately unknown on which occasion and under which circumstances the song in wax cylinder 2 was recorded, it is traditionally performed by young boys of about 14-17 years of age as well as by adult men up to ca. 20 years in separated age groups. Besides, the song is customarily performed on the Christian Orthodox holiday known as *Buhe* that is celebrated in the month of July, the 11th month of the Ethiopian calendar. According to the notice made at the beginning of the recording, however, the song was performed on the 19th of January, a very usual day. Therefore, we might have a spontaneous recording work done here.

Additionally, it may be assumed that this song was performed by a group of boys, most probably shepherds. Some text lines have profane or rather irreligious contents. Such text lines do not occur or are unknown in the originally known traditional *Buhe* song.

The *Buhe* feast is not only celebrated in the culture of the *Tigray*, but also among other Ethiopian communities who believe in Christianity. Leaving the profane texts aside, the present song belongs to the traditional music repertoire of the *Tigray* people and thus it is still practised in almost the same way on the *Buhe* holiday today.

In this song one of the boys serves as the song leader, whereas the rest of the group accompanies him. The text predominantly consists of meaningless syllables like *ho*, *hi*, *ya* and *ye*. In specific gaps the leader sings rhyming stanzas. The response lines of the group, on the other hand, consist of a short as well as of relatively unchanged phrases, each phrase comprising of the word “*hoya*”.

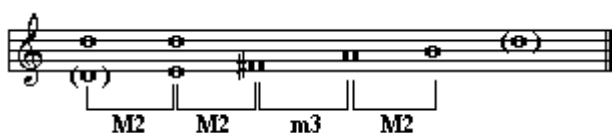


FIGURE 6: *Tizita Qiñit* - Wax Cylinder 2

The melodic course uses typical pitches with a specific intervallic relationships corresponding to the *Tizita Qiñit*. Four of the five *Qiñit* pitches, namely *a'*, *h'*, *d''* and *e''*, are used in this song, whereas the pitch, *f*-sharp (3rd pitch) does not occur. This would, however, not change the intervallic relationship of the *Tizita Qiñit* discussed here. The pitches *d'* and *e'* are sung an octave higher (see the intervallic relationships of the *Qiñit* in figure 6).

Songs with clearly different and independent melodic and textual parts are sub-divided in song sections. Each section is indicated as section 1, 2, 3...etc. Furthermore, some songs are divided in refrain and stanza parts. This division is mostly related with the structure of the song text. Based on the analysis, a typical feature of quite a number of antiphonal songs is that the refrains are identical in their melodic and textual structures and thus they are arranged in a cyclic form, whereas the stanza parts are mostly accompanied with new texts and occasionally occurring melodic variations. Moreover, the refrains have relatively short melodies and usually consist of three successive lines, whereas the stanzas may consist of 4, 6 or more lines. In figure 7 the refrain and stanza parts of a hunting song (solo) may be observed.

sl	mf	original script	phonetic script	translation	measures
refrain					
1	a	አደ ወሽባይ	ado wešebaye	(---)	1 – 5
2	b	አደ ወሽባይ	ado wešebaye	(---)	6 – 10
3	c	ፍናናው ሲያዞር ገደደ	finanawu siazor gedaye	... the hunter	11 – 16
4	a ¹	አደ ወሽባይ	ado wešebaye,	(---)	18 – 23
		አደ ወሽባ	ado wešeba	(---)	
5	b ¹	አደ ወሽባይ	ado wešebaye	(---)	24 – 27
6	c ¹	ኮረምቲ ሲያዞር ገደደ	koremstu siazor gedaye	... the hunter	28 – 32
stanza					
7	a	እስቲ አይምሰላቸው	isti ayimselacewu	Don't let them think-	33 – 37
8	b	የተለባ ፍትፍት	yetalba fitfiti	It is a porridge of...?	38 – 41
9	c ¹	አደኝ ወሽባ ገደደ	adañi wešeba guroye	The hunter, the killer	42 – 46
10	a ²	እስቲ አይምሰላቸው	isti ayimselacewu	Don't let them think-	47 – 51
11	b ²	የተለባ ፍትፍት	yetalba fitfiti	It is a porridge of...?	52 – 55
12	a ²				56 – 60
13	b				61 – 64
14	c ¹	አደኝ ወሽባ ገደደ	adañi wešeba gedaye	The hunter, the killer	65 – 69
15	a ²	የመንደር ጥንብ አንሳ	yemender timb ansa	The raven of the neighbourhood	70 – 74
16	b ²	የመንደር ጠብደላ	yemender tebdeli	The fat of the neighbourhood	75 – 78
17	a ²	የመንደር ጥንብ አንሳ	yemender timb ansa	The raven of the neighbourhood	79 – 83
18	b	የመንደሩ...?	yemenderu.....?	The? of the neighbourhood	84 – 87
19	c ¹	አደኝ ወሽባ ገደደ	adañi wešeba guroye	The hunter, the killer	88 – 92
20	A	የመንደር ጥንብ አንሳ	yemender timb ansa	The raven of the neighbourhood	93 – 97
21	b				98 – 102
22	c ¹	አደኝ ወሽባ ገደደ	adañi wešeba gedaye	The hunter, the killer	103 – 107
23	a	ገደደ ሲመጣ	gedayu simeta	When the killer comes-	108 – 112
24	b	ክቢሩ መምታቲ	kebero memtatu	the drum is beaten.	113 – 117
25	c ¹	አደኝ ወሽባ ገደደ	adañi wešeba gedaye	The hunter, the killer	118 – 122

FIGURE 7: Wax Cylinder 19⁵

Performed Text: The refrain is repeated two times with each part consisting of three lines (see song lines 1-6), but the stanza part consists of several lines and is therefore, relatively longer than the refrain part (see song lines 7 –25 in figure 7)⁶. On the other hand, the melodic arrangements of both the refrains and the stanzas parts are – despite of slight melodic variations – generally analogous.

Accompanying Music Instruments

A few songs are accompanied by the one-stringed fiddle *Masingo*⁷ and the drum *Hebero*⁸, traditional music instruments which are still today widely used in the music cultures of the Central Highland of Ethiopia.

⁵ The major part of this song text could not be translated word by word. Thus just the content dealing with *the praising of a hunter* has been translated. The text lines indicated with the sign ...? Could not be translated at all (see column translation)

⁶ This type of song structure can also be observed in several songs of the collection.

⁷ The *Masingo* is predominantly used in the music cultures of the *Tigray* and the *Amara* among the *Azmariwoc*. For detailed information see Timkehet Teffera: „Musik zu Hochzeiten bei den Amamra im Zentralen Hochland Äthiopiens“, Peter Lang,

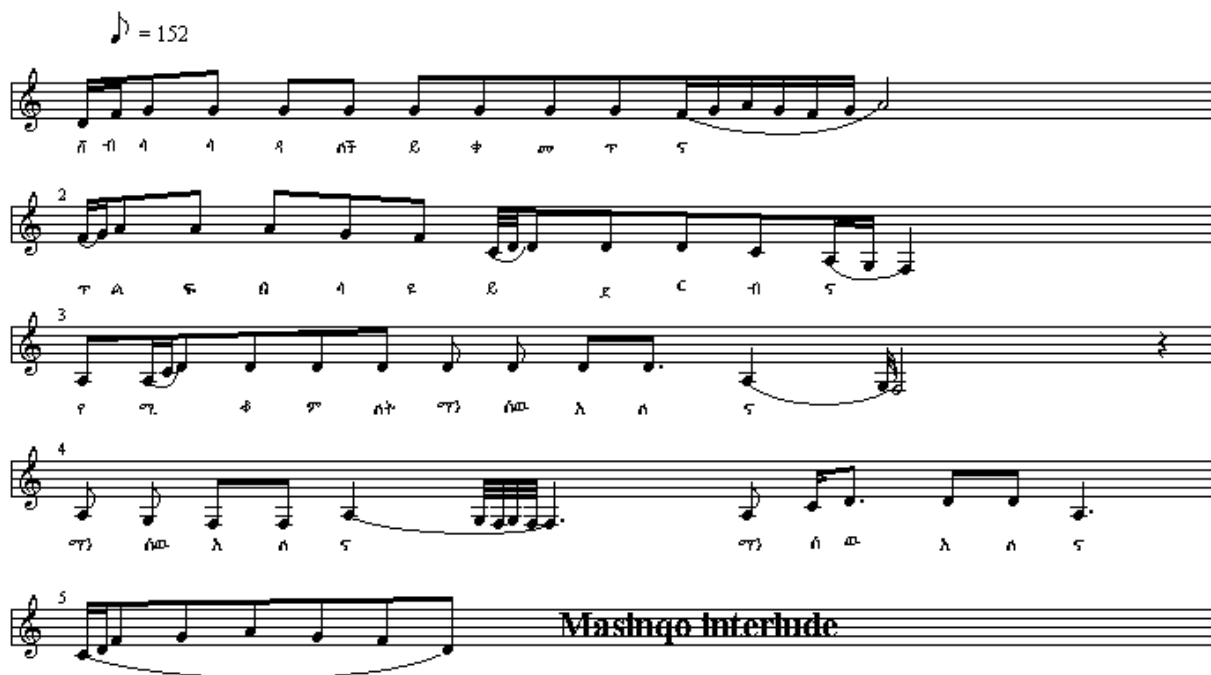


FIGURE 9: Extract from Wax Cylinder 6; solo song

This song is arranged in free metre and sung in *Amariña*. The *Masinqo* is most probably played by the *Azmari*⁹ himself. Due to the inaudibility of the *Masinqo* part, only clearly identifiable pitches of the *Masinqo* could be written down in musical notations¹⁰.

The text deals with war incidents and famous heroes as well as their courageous deeds. In addition certain individuals who are absent during the performance are being praised by the *Azmari*¹¹. The major part of the stanzas rhymes¹². The song uses the typical pitches of the *Tizita Qiñit*.

The melodic lines show a certain recurring structure that is variously shaped and remains within a specific frame. The typical characteristics of the song are

- the ends of the melodic lines with melismatic characters, i.e. several pitches fall on one syllable like in measures 1 and 15 and
- melodic lines in which a pitch serves as a central pitch; e.g. in measures 7 and 8.

The melodic lines that are arranged according to the given structures of the song text vary in their length. The text consists of meaningless syllables that play a vital role in the shaping of the melodic lines. The basic characteristics of such song styles are performed by the *Azmari* in the same way today even though they are in continuous change. The music tradition of the *Azmari* is not only practised in the music cultures of the *Amara* or the *Tigray*, but also in many other ethnic communities of Ethiopia. One of the common features of the *Azmariwoc* lies in their performance styles.

Conclusion

Every historical collection possesses a high value both for future generations of the corresponding community and for the development of academic researches and their systematic documentation. Historical materials give us insight into the past and simultaneously open a possibility for academic researches to

⁹ Most of the *Azmariwoc* (plural of *Azmari*) are usually *Masinqo* players who accompany themselves while singing; see also Timkehet Teffera: Musik zu Hochzeiten bei den *Amara* im Zentralen Hochland Äthiopiens. Peter Lang, Frankfurt a.M. etc. 2001: 163–167 and 177–178.

¹⁰ See for example measures 5 and 14.

¹¹ For instance most probably Kaschke is mentioned in measure 24 with the term “the German“.

¹² See for example song lines 1, 2 and 3.

compare them with the present time, i.e. to discover and justify all arising changes in years, decades or centuries.

The so far discussed sound collection is to be examined in exactly the same way. Since we have no written materials about this collection at our disposal, which would have given us detail information regarding their emergence, many questions will remain unanswered like, for instance, which motivation Kaschke had to record this collection and which musical know-how he possessed before starting with the recording work. Besides, it is important to know whether Kaschke - apart from Enno Littmann – also took the assistance and/or support of others.

Did he make pressure in order to record these materials, or were the participants cooperative?

Did they show their readiness, in order to present their music out of respect and hospitality for their guest (Kaschke) corresponding his wish?

- Were the performers simply proud of the fact that their voices were recorded with technical equipments that are completely unknown to them?
- Could it also have been that all participants showed their co-operation due to instructions of the ruler of that time?

There are very limited possibilities to get a relatively exact picture about the whole collection and thus to be able to make proper statements.

Due to the repeated listening of each recording which was made possible through the transcription work, it may be assumed, that Kaschke not only had a limited possibility for the recording work, but also a limited research area which - on the other hand - means that the number of participants (i.e. singers, groups who accompanied the songs and instrument players) who made their contributions to this collection were very limited as well. This phenomenon obviously contributes to the fact that the collected repertoire is not varied enough. This may among other things be recognized that one and the same singer performs different types of songs e.g. entertainment song as well as a war song and/or he performs the same song either on the same day successively, or he performs one and the same song at different times, e.g. cylinders 19 recorded on the 19th February, 1906 and cylinder 30 recorded on the 15th of March, 1906.

- Why are the texts limited?
- Were the songs at that time only equipped with such limited texts, or does this depend on the respective singer who probably might have had little know-how about the respective song?

Despite the fact that on already existing melodies always new texts are added in the course of time taht are for example to be observed in the repertoire of the *Azmari*, I have the opinion that at that time the songs were performed in exactly the same way like today. Therefore, it may be supposed that the performers did not necessarily know all texts belonging to certain songs. Because, knowing the songs wont necessarily mean to be able to perform them properly as well.

- Were all these performers, amateurs or professionals?
- May it be possible that a singer may be good enough in singing, for example, some few entertainment songs, while he has no idea about war songs, because of his little experience of performing this song style?

In the course of the analysis work of this collection it was discovered that a number of songs are performed today in almost the same way, despite changes in melody, rhythm and text.

In this regard a renewed and calculated study on the spot, a so-called re-study, is of substantial importance. This study should give us insight about the musical forms, the melodic, metric, rhythmic and textual structures, as well as about the instrumental practices of each recording at the time of its emergence and today. A further analysis should focus on the following questions:

- To what extend are these songs used in the everyday life of today?
- Which roles do they play?
- Are there fundamental changes which occurred in the course of time?
- If so, how is this phenomenon to be justified? and last but not least
- Which value do these songs possess today in the music cultures of the ethnic communities represented here, i.e. the *Amara* and the *Tigray*?

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VISITING NEPAL AFTER 34 YEARS

Terada Yoshitaka

This brief essay is a preliminary report of a multi-year project at the National Museum of Ethnology, Japan (Minpaku), which involves the issue of repatriation as its essential component.¹ What is presented here, therefore, is mainly the objectives of the project and initial observations rather than conclusions or insights gained from the completed project. The project aims to explore a new mode of collaboration between museum and source community by utilizing the past audio and audiovisual documentation of music. As part of the institution-wide initiative for redefining the museum as a forum (Cameron 1971; Yoshida 2011), it also serves as a pilot project to explore innovative ways to utilize the archived materials, not simply to return the collected materials to source community but to imagine a mode of collaboration which allows the collected materials to connect the two parties in mutually beneficial manner.

1. Research Project in 1982

In 1982, Japanese ethnomusicologist Fujii Tomoaki assembled a team of six scholars to conduct a research project on performing arts in Nepal.² The team stayed in the central and western parts of Nepal for the period of three months (from July to October). The members of the team had various disciplinary affiliations, including ethnomusicology, anthropology, art history and comparative literature, reflecting the multidisciplinary nature of the project.³ As one of its main objectives, the team investigated a caste of strolling/itinerant musicians, then known as Gaine. Fujii's interest in Gaine music began in 1964 through his chance encounter with street musicians in the capital city of Kathmandu during his first visit to Nepal, and it was further intensified in 1968, when he visited Batulecaur village in which one of the largest Gaine settlement was located. He made a limited number of audio recordings during these two short visits.

At the time of the 1982 research, Fujii was a professor of ethnomusicology in the research department of Minpaku. Umesao Tadao, well-known anthropologist and founding Director-General of Minpaku, had argued that audiovisual documentation is just as important as collecting tangible materials for the Minpaku's collection and his assertion led to the establishment of a facility (a studio and editing rooms) within the museum and the allocation of annual budget to produce ethnographic films. Since its first audiovisual documentation overseas in 1980, Minpaku has produced hundreds of ethnographic films, many of which can be viewed at audiovisual booths at the museum. Fujii proposed to the museum that audiovisual documentation of performing arts in Nepal should be added to the Minpaku collection. Endorsing the proposal, Minpaku dispatched a professional film crew to work with Fujii's research team. Based on the footage collected in 1982, Fujii eventually produced a short film, *Gaine: Minstrels of the Himalaya* in 1985.

The team located several Gaine villages in Central and Western Nepal, but decided to concentrate on Batulecaur village in Kaski Province, which was considered the most important center for Gaine musicians (Fujii 1984). He had learned the symbolic importance of Batulecaur as many of the musicians who claimed to come from there were in fact native to other Gaine settlements (Fujii 1990). The Batulecaur village was located on the outskirts of Pokhara, the world famous tourist destination with a magnificent view of the Himalayas.

Batulecaur is a multi-caste village and each of the ten different castes had their own areas of living. The Gaine settlement, located in the south-eastern corner of the village, had 32 houses with a total population of about 170. Fujii's team selected several areas for investigation: 1) the physical layout of the village, 2) pattern of property ownership, 3) kinship relations, 4) religious beliefs and practices, 5) geographical range and period of their performance activities, 6) transmission of music, and 7) musical characteristics (Fujii 1990).

¹ The project, Reutilization and Sharing of Archival Materials on Musical Traditions of Nepal led by Minami Makito, began in 2016 and it currently has seven members.

² Fujii is best known outside of Japan by his role as general editor for the JVC Video Anthology of World Music and Dance (1988), whose English version was later distributed worldwide through Smithsonian/Folkways (1990). The members of the research team included Fujii Tomoaki (leader, ethnomusicology), Takahashi Akihiro (ethnomusicology), Suzuki Michiko (comparative literature), Baba Yuji (anthropology), and Higuchi Akira (musicology).

³ The research project Scientific Research in ethnomusicology was funded by the Japanese Ministry of Education while the expenses of audiovisual documentation was provided by the national Museum of Ethnology where Fujii served as a professor.

They conducted a door-to-door survey of all 34 households, recording biographical and occupational information of all villagers. The team recorded 81 songs with sarangi accompaniment.

2. Gaine/Gandharba

Gaine refer to a caste of strolling musicians in Nepal, who are placed at the bottom of the Hindu caste hierarchy. They are categorized today as one of dalit (formerly “untouchable”) castes. Although used by the community members themselves during the 1982 research, Gaine is the term with strong derogatory connotations and has been gradually replaced by more respectable Gandharba which is the name for celestial musicians in Hindu and Buddhist mythology. Although caste system was legally banned in 1964, Gandharba and other dalit groups continue to experience social exclusion and caste-based discrimination on a daily basis (Moisala 2013).



FIGURE 1: Map of Nepal indicating the provinces where Gandharba are concentrated

Most Gandharba live in central and western provinces of Nepal, particularly Kaski, Chitwan, Dang and Surkhet (FIGURE 1). According to the 2011 census, there are 6,791 Gandharba, constituting a tiny fraction (0.03%) of Nepal’s net population. Despite their insignificant number, Gandharba are well-known because they travel all over Nepal and even to Nepali communities in India.



FIGURE 2: Sarangi player

Music making is the main hereditary occupation for male Gandharba: they traditionally walked from house to house and from village to village, singing songs and accompanying themselves on sarangi (4-string short-necked bowed lute), which is their visual and audible hallmark (Figure 2). They receive small money or grains for their service. Their repertoire includes a wide range of songs such as love songs, religious and auspicious songs, and heroic ballads, songs describing experiences of Gurkha soldiers and songs including social and political criticism. As Gandharba travel widely, they have served as a source of current news from outside of the immediate vicinity, and some Gandharba even characterize themselves as “a traveling newspaper” (Weisethaunet 1997: 140) or “singing newspapers” (Moisala 2013: 17). They were also engaged in fishing when they did not work as strolling musicians. Female Gandharba worked as farmers and dancers. In some rare cases, women accompanied their husbands going from village to village as a singer.

3. Revisiting the Village after 34 years

In 2016, Minami Makito, my colleague at Minpaku and anthropologist specializing in Nepali culture, and I had an opportunity to visit Batulecaur 34 years after the research by Fujii’s team.⁴ We had an audiovisual project to document Hindu weddings in Nepal as part of the renewal of our South Asia gallery. Watching all the films previously produced by the museum on Nepal in preparation of the upcoming documentation, we conceived the idea of a follow-up visit with those who were documented in 1982. We decided to trace the people whose activities were captured in the films and to learn about the changes that had occurred to the community during the intervening years. We thought that revisiting Batulecaur would be a golden opportunity to study the long-term changes. Another purpose of the visit was to share the research result by screening the film to the community.



FIGURE 3: Welcoming music and dance at Batulecaur. The woman dancing in the middle is Mina who appeared in the film based on the 1982 documentation.

When we visited Batulecaur in January, 2016, we were first entertained with music and dance by the villagers, which began rather spontaneously. The excitement of the villagers about our visit was evident. Some remembered the 1982 documentation well (Figure 3). It took us some time to realize that the two sisters, Man Maya and Mina, who danced for us in 2016 were in fact in the 1982 films. Our cameraman was the only person from the 1982, but the villagers could not recognize the middle-age man right away, who had been a slim young assistant to the film crew.

⁴ In 2008, the museum launched a multi-year project to renew our main galleries, and assigned the curatorial team for each gallery to a renewal plan. The team in charge of South Asian gallery decided to focus on Hindu wedding ceremonies as one of the exhibition themes. By juxtaposing and comparing wedding ceremonies from different regions of South Asia, we hope to demonstrate both their commonality and diversity with materials and audiovisual footage. The museum has already produced the films on the subject from South and West India. Given the specialized areas of the faculty members, we will send the film crew to document wedding ceremonies in Nepal. Minami and I documented two contrasting weddings: one of the high-caste Bahun (Brahman) community in the middle of urban Kathmandu and the other of the low-caste Damai community in the mountain region.

In the afternoon, we first showed the film on a laptop computer, which many villagers gathered to watch with a great deal of interest despite the tiny screen and poor sound (Figure 4). To create a more congenial atmosphere to watch the films, we managed to rent a projector from the Pokhara Museum, and after dark, screened the films at the site where the community hall was in the process of construction. About 200 out of 300 villagers were in the audience, indicating the high level of their interest.



FIGURE 4: Documenting the villagers' reaction to the film.

The reactions of villagers was so enthralling and encouraging that we decided to produce a film on this experience.⁵ The villagers were excited and emotional when they found their family members and relatives at their younger ages. Some cried over the deceased members of their families who had not been seen or heard for decades while others giggled and laughed over the changes in people's appearances and daily customs. The whole evening was filled with excitement and heightened emotions, which made us realize the profound relevance of the 1982 documentation for them.

4. Changes in Intervening Years

What are the major changes that occurred in Batulecaur during the past 40 years? Administratively, Batulecaur was a village in the outskirts of Pokhara in 1982, but as the city expanded, it became a part of the city. The open land which separated the city of Pokhara from Batulecaur is now covered with houses and shops. Batulecaur is still located in the same quarter with the almost identical layout of houses. Although the houses are now built with concrete blocks with tin roofs, replacing wood and mud bricks, the Gandharba section appears considerably poorer than the surrounding area.

While in Batulecaur, we traced the lives of a few key individuals in the film. Ram, a 12-year old boy who was featured in the film playing in the streets of Pokhara, would have been 46 years old in 2016. Sadly we discovered that he had passed away at age 30. Man Maya who danced at hotels for tourists in 1982 has been working as a janitor at the airport. We also learned Ram had stopped playing sarangi around 1997 when he found a menial job at a hospital. Fujii (1984) reported of a Gaine girl who was working as low-end service person, which indicates that the availability of such an occupation had already begun. According to Parajuli (2007: 72), as many as seventy Gandharba from Batulecaur had janitorial jobs in 2004.

As more occupational options other than music-making became accessible to Gandharba in Batulecaur, many began to invest the steady income into the education of their children. As a result, a growing number of young Gandharba were not trained in their traditional occupations. While the Gandharba population of Batulecaur grew from 160 to 300, those who live on music making decreased sharply from about thirty in 1982 to only two in 2016.

During the intervening years, the sarangi experienced a major transformation in its position in Nepali society. As mentioned before, the instrument was once heavily stigmatized due to its association with despised Gaine, but it became elevated to the instrument of national pride.

⁵ The film *Revisiting Batulecaur after 34 Years: A Village of Musicians in Nepal* (in Japanese) was completed in 2017. The English version is planned for 2018.

A musician named Jhalakman Gandharba (1935-2003) and nationwide radio broadcast were at least partially responsible for this fundamental shift. Jhalakman was the first musician from Batulecaur to be hired as a staff artist at Radio Nepal in 1965. He wrote many riveting songs such as *Ama Le Sodhlan* (“If you ask your mother”), which were broadcast on radio and became extremely popular. For the radio performances, a few other instruments such as *madal* (double-headed drum) and *bansuri* (transverse flute) were added, laying the foundation for typical instrumentation of *lok git* (a genre based on folk song with orchestrated accompaniment), which later attained the status of national music. With a growing popularity of *lok git*, the stigma attached to *sarangi* gradually faded away and people from high castes became interested in learning it themselves. Even a Brahman became a disciple of Khim Bahadur Gayek (b. 1935), a Gandharba from Batulecaur, which helped erase the stigma attached to the instrument (Moisala 2013: 20).

While *sarangi* has attained the status of a “national instrument,” the old style of playing *sarangi* was disappearing fast. The profession of going from village to village and from house to house, playing songs that are pertinent to individual occasions was no longer in demand. They also found it more profitable to sell *sarangi* to foreign tourists than singing for small money, the *sarangi* playing has become secondary, serving mainly as a tool to attract tourists’ attention. The context of music making has also shifted from streets to stage with an increasing demand for *sarangi* playing at restaurants.

More recently, elders of the Gandharba community in Batulecaur are increasingly fearful of the complete loss of Gandharba musical heritage (Parajuli 2007:68). The old repertoire, playing style, performance practice were disappearing, replaced by newer counterparts. This concern was in the background for the establishment of the Jhalakman Sarangi School in 2010 at Batulecaur to teach *sarangi* to Gandharba children (Figure 5). While *sarangi* was played almost exclusively by men in the past, many girls are studying it at school now.⁶ In the same year, Jhalakman’s statue was also constructed at the entrance of Batulecaur (Figure 6).



FIGURE 5: Gandharba children learning music and dance at Jhalakman Sarangi Shool;

FIGURE 6: Statue of Jhalakman Gandharba

Young Gandharba who received higher education are also struggling with their own identity and as part of their pursuit, they became more interested in the hereditary musical tradition which they can claim as their own distinctive cultural heritage and some started learning the *sarangi* and traditional songs. Exposure to successful non- Gandharba popular music groups such as *Kutumba* which use Nepali traditional instruments also led young Gandharba to discover the contemporary usage of *sarangi* and saw the possibility of reclaiming it as part of their heritage. These factors led to the formation of an instrumental ensemble *Lakchya Band* whose members consist exclusively of young Gandharba from Batulecaur.

For Gandharba of Batulecaur, what are the potential meanings of our documentation? By watching the old film footage, the villagers observed many changes and their sense of history or passage of time was activated. A deep sense of their identity as Gandharba was also evoked by watching the films where the old

⁶ There was a belief that if a woman plays the *sarangi*, her act threatens her husband’s life (Prajuli 2007: 76).

custom of music making in the street was featured. Hardly containing his excitement, Dan Bahadur Gayek, the head master of Jhalakman Sarangi School, declared, “I felt like I could finally see our own gut which I can never see normally. I felt like crying. They were tears of hardship and tears of joy” (Minami 2018).

The sound recordings of eighty one songs with sarangi accompaniment by Fujii’s team provide a rare glimpse into the repertoire and musical styles that were once popular among the Gandharba in Batulecaur and especially for those young Gandharba who wish to construct a new identity, these recordings can serve as an important resource form which they learn their musical heritage and with which they connect themselves to the performative heritage of the bygone era.

5. Preliminary Questions on Repatriation

Both the elders and younger members of the Gandharba community in Batulecaur are interested in the once stigmatized profession of singing and playing the sarangi. The efforts for reinvigoration began in earnest in 2010 when the community music school was established and the statue of their most celebrated musician constructed as a professed pride of Gandharba musical heritage.

The research team based at the National Museum of Ethnology aims to explore the ways in which archived audio and audiovisual materials can serve as a launching pad for a collaborative effort to help reinvigorate the music culture of Gandharba in Batulecaur and at the same time to conduct a new round of research on the process of reinvigoration in the context of the heightened consciousness of their own marginalization and the appropriation of Gandharba musical heritage as national music. These two activities are so interrelated that they cannot be considered separate and in some sense we are involved in the activities which constitute the subject of our research.

Although at its early stage of engagement, the project anticipates at least several questions to be considered.

(1) Why do we repatriate?

The repatriation in the sense of returning the collected materials to the source community is widely accepted as a moral and ethical necessity on the part of the collectors. This assertion may seem indisputable on the surface, because it is essentially a corrective measure for the collectors to reconcile with the negative legacy of history, such as imperialism, colonialism, and war in the context of which materials were collected. However, one should be aware of the danger of making the act of returning as the final objective. Sharing research findings with source community was in the past, and continues to be at present, an expected responsibility of the collectors, but a copy of an academic paper or book based on research often had very little meanings or relevance for them. Although it may be a necessary courtesy on the part of the collector, it should be obvious that the act of returning alone is insufficient. We should always keep in mind for whose benefit we should engage in repatriation.

(2) Who should be the recipients of repatriated materials?

It is generally understood that no community is monolithic or unified with a single voice. If so, it is important to consider to whom repatriation is directed. There is no single right answer to this thorny question but the minimum requirement is to be aware of the make-up of the source community. Should the recordings of the past musician go to his/her family members or descendants alone, or the community to which s/he belonged? If the collection contains the recordings of a multiple number of musicians, should the collection be divided and returned only to the related individuals or to an organization which represents the community as a set?

The process of selecting the recipients of the materials (individuals, families, clans, community organizations, NGOs, government organizations) is equally important. Individuals or organizations of the community are often consulted in this decision making but how do we ensure if the decision will engender the expected benefit to the community? Power relations within the source community may influence the accessibility of repatriated materials, which may be neglected, monopolized or manipulated. The conventional wisdom is that the internal distribution should be left up to the community. While the rhetoric may seem incontestable as far as the monolithic constitution of the community is to be believed, we should be aware that the perfunctory repatriation could also create tensions and frictions within the community over the ownership and use of the repatriated materials.

The hierarchical structure of the larger society should also be considered especially when the community in question is socially and politically marginalized. Gandharba, for example, remain to be placed at the bottom

of Nepal's social hierarchy despite that the sarangi, their hereditary instrument, has been in the national limelight. The public facilities such as libraries, archives, and cultural centers that are capable of safely storing repatriated materials and making them available for the general public are frequently run by dominating castes and classes. Due to social exclusion from the mainstream society and psychological distance between castes, Gandharba are unlikely to utilize those facilities.

(3) Repatriation or collaboration?

If the ultimate objective of "repatriation" is the act of returning the collected materials to source community, the collectors' responsibility will be fulfilled when the materials are physically returned. However, the repatriation is only nominal if the source community receives no or little benefit from the returned materials. In this sense, the simple act of returning without attention to the benefit to the source community in real terms is irresponsible. Needless to mention, the wills and wishes of the source community should be respected in principle, but they are not static nor monolithic. A sustained and committed engagement with the source community is desirable to ensure that repatriated materials will be useful and beneficial to them. It is not simply the returned materials that matter the most, but their effect on the community and the opportunity that the repatriation can create to establish a renewed relationship between the community and researchers are important.

The continued engagement will involve further human and financial commitment, which will be required on both individual and organizational levels. If the source community has not sufficient facilities or resources to make use of the returned materials, should we provide the facility for them or be more involved in local culture and politics in order to create an opportunity for the source community to improve the physical environment? When Fujii's team documented the music in Batulecaur, the Gandharba community had no facility (such as cassette tape recorders) to reproduce the music.

6. Current Status

In collaboration with Fujii and his assistants, the members of our project at Minpaku are consolidating the materials collected during the three research trips by Fujii and his team in 1964, 1968 and 1982. Based on their published report and essays, fieldnotes, photos, audio recordings, audiovisual footage and related materials, we are in the process of reconstructing their research procedure, analyzing the musical characteristics of the recorded songs in comparison with Gandharba songs from other regions and preparing to build the database of collected materials. I consider all these activities to be a necessary preparation to repatriate the materials in an organized and systematic manner.

The members of the project have published an interview with Fujii and a set of six essays as an intermediate report of the project in the special issue of *Kikan Minzokugaku* (Ethnology Quarterly) on Gandharba music and life (Kikan Minzokugaku 163:3-62). The photo journal, published by Senri Foundation in close collaboration with Minpaku, updates the readers of the on-going museum projects, and this issue provides an overview of the project and describes the intricate coordination and negotiation that are required in repatriation with the Fujii's documentation project of Gandharba music as an illustration.

The strength of the museums lies in the fact that they have a diverse array of outlets (exhibitions, publications, filmmaking, screenings, talks and lectures, workshops and public performances) that connect various stake holders such as museums, academic community, source community and the general public. It is an important work of the museum to inform the general public and academic community that the materials accumulated at museums are not "dead objects" simply stored for posterity and that repatriation involves much more than the simple act of returning the collected materials and holds enormous potentials for creating new relationships. The heightened awareness on the potentials of the archived materials will provide public moral support and thus makes it easier for us to engage in a long-term collaboration with source community which can be labor-intensive and require resources and to imagine the shape of a forum-type museum to come.

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FROM LISTENER AND STUDENT TO COACH AND SCHOLAR: FEEDBACK ON COLLECTING TAOIST MUSIC

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In the 1980s, the Chinese government launched a cultural project referring to the “Intergration of China’s 10 national folk arts” (中国十部民族民间文艺集成). This project, among others, included folk songs (民歌), Chinese drama (戏曲), narrative songs (说唱), instrumental music (器乐). What is interesting is that the religious music, both vocal and instrumental, was considered being the inheritance of national instruments.

The Wuhan Conservatory of Music undertook editing works of Chinese traditional instrumental music inherited from Hubei, and at that time, I was involved as a student. In this editorial work, focus had been given to the religious music, specifically consisting of recordings, collection, organizing and related study of music of Wudang Taoism. I was involved in this work.

During the 1980s, ordinary people had less knowledge about religion, and on the mountains of Wudang, there were few Taoists able to remember Taoist rituals which have been interrupted for nearly three decades. And religious music has just recovered. Many young Taoists who had just entered the Taoist temple did not have the chance to learn Taoist traditions.

Elder Taoists were unable to sing or play instrumental music due to the long interruption. Some, who were capable of singing and playing an instrument, did not memorize the original Taoist rituals. In this situation, it was difficult to do any recordings at that time. Then we found that fragments of memories of all these elder Taoists could be put together out of which complete rituals could be reproduced. For instance, some vocal music was originally played with instrumental accompaniment. Considering the old Taoists cannot longer play musical instruments, we took through the way of singing instrumental parts out of their mouth, then we can conveniently write it these melodies down on a sheet of paper.

I observed another case is in the countryside where some Folk Taoists practice who don’t live in Taoist temples. While they are working as farmers, they were doing some Taoist rituals. They can still remember some complete Taoist rituals. The music that some senior Taoists have been handed down to them at the ashram of the Folk Taoist was fully integrated in these rituals. These rituals were recorded.

Because the government had given a clear mandate at that time, the recording of this ritual must be a complete set including the acoustics, musical scores, still pictures, moving images (videos), and words. Applying this insight of completeness it was also possible to record the Taoist music of Wudang mountain as far as possible even when the conditions were not so good.

As a student participating in this work, to be honest, was difficult from every aspect. Being a “student” had two meanings to me: firstly, at that time, I was a graduate student and it was expected that I understood quickly and creatively. The second aspect, facing these seemingly unfamiliar situation, I had to learn like a beginner since religious behaviors were a long time missing in our daily life. I had no idea about it. From every scripture the Taoists were singing, the rituals they did, we all had to get to know each other’s world again through asking them for advice and learning from them like a small schoolboy.

At the time when we were working on this recording project, sorting, editing, our simplest idea was to complete the tasks assigned by the country. There was not yet any thought of how this may impact the future of musical knowledge on Taoism. It did not take very long, about five years from then, this recorded and published set of music had been returned to the Wudang Mountain Taoist temple as

teaching material for the young Taoists at that time. They took these music sheets to learn about music in Taoism.

This is a situation we didn't think of when we collected information. It was an unexpected outcome that we did not anticipate. We did not expect that a collection of work done for its own ordered purpose in this special period of history could have this unexpected function and effect on inheriting Taoist music.

So, at that time, as a student I participated in this work and learned Taoist music from the Taoists' hands and mouths, which became then my research materials for Taoist music research. In addition to our expertise, the use of music technology and specific recording skills, we used our special effects and expertise in writing the scores out from audio sources, and then we went back to Taoist temples, to help and assist the young Taoists learn the Taoist music, read and understand the musical melodies. So our self-understanding transformed from the student that had collected and organized music materials in the Taoist temple to the coach and music tutor for the young Taoists.

After three years, the other Taoist music collection and final work in the Longhu mountain Celestial Masters mansion (龙虎山天师府) of Jiangxi province was basically similar to that in Wudang mountain. The difference was that the project in the Wudang Mountain was carried out as an integrative part of work required by the national government. While this time, the Taoist music collection was initiated by the Celestial Masters mansion in the Longhu mountain because of the local importance. Longhu mountain Celestial Masters mansion is the ancestral Chamber of Orthodox Unity (正一派). It is a famous Taoist temple that is very influential in Taoism. At that time, the Wuhan Conservatory of Music was convinced that it should take the initiative to collect the music of this influential Taoist temple.

The situation was similar to that in the Wudang mountain: Just a few of old Taoists could be motivated to remember some of the "rhymes" (jingyun 经韵) that they sang and the "tunes" (qupai 曲牌) they played when they performed Taoist rituals. Because the Taoists were very old, they could not play the instruments by themselves. It was also the same way that the instrumental music was sung by their mouth to give us an impression of how the instruments played in the Taoist rituals.

The chanting practiced by the Taoists was similar. There were not many Taoists that could describe the whole ritual. Most of them have made a choice out of the notated songs we brought along because that was the music that they remembered. We recorded their chanting and then kept it.

Some Taoists had been living in the countryside for a long time. After political reforms and the re-opening of temples, they didn't return to their Taoist temples and still continued living in the countryside. Therefore, we went to collect their music practices to the rural areas to record the actual state of chanting at that moment.

Due to this combination of searching for the old Taoists in temples and the retired Taoists scattered in the countryside we finally completed the recording project, the collection of music practices and interviews of Taoists speaking about music in 1991. Two years later, in 1993, the collection was published by Longhus Mountain Celestial Masters Music (中国龙虎山天师道音乐).

The situation after publication is basically the same as that with the recording project in the Wudang Mountain. At that time, the Longhu Mountain Celestial Masters mansion also recruited a group of young people as followers. These people have not experienced Taoist rituals. They also depended on the notation that we have produced from the recordings to read the musical notes and sing the rhymes. Thanks to this, they could get a basic understanding of the rhyme passed down by the old Taoists.

As for instrumental performance, they sent several young Taoists to learn playing musical instruments at the Wuhan Conservatory of Music. The instruments included: erhu (二胡), bamboo flute (笛子), yangqin (扬琴), and pipa (琵琶). Resulting from these specific circumstances, my actual experiences and my previous musical knowledge, I also became the teacher of music to teach these young Taoists

basic theory and music technology. They were about the same age as me. It seems to be a surprising fact that the former student turned out to become the music coach. This happened at the Wuhan Conservatory where I was studying and working at that time.

The third story to be told starts in 1990. I went to Beijing when I was a postgraduate student at the Wuhan Conservatory of Music. The reason was that Master Min Zhiting (闵智亭), vice-chairman of the Chinese Taoist Association, sent a request to the Institute of Taoist Music of the Wuhan Conservatory of Music (武汉音乐学院道教音乐研究室). He was able to recite all the rhymes of *Proper Melodies of Complete Perfection* (全真正韵) that was published in the Qing dynasty. He hoped that we could send someone to record it.

When we got this news, I and another teacher were sent to Beijing by Institute of Taoist Music of the Wuhan Conservatory of Music. After our experiences with the Wudang Mountain and the Longhu Mountain Taoist music collection and skilled in organizing work, it was a bit easier and more handy than the first two collections. Two conditions were much better than before: the first is that we had some practical experiences with Taoist music. The second is that it is easier to simply pick up a single representative such as this old Taoist than focusing on many different players. After almost a week of work, we recorded all the rhymes of *Proper Melodies of Complete Perfection* by Master Min Zhiting, and then brought them back to Wuhan making a recording document and notations of these rhymes. Later, I took the full set of recordings and writings to Beijing, sang according to the music score to master Min over and over, and let him comment on whether or not the music is the same as the melody he was singing. Hearing me reciting this set of rhymes, the old Taoist was glad to say that the notation was accurate. I felt especially glad to have achieved such a Taoist's compliment.

I never would've thought about that I was asked by master Min, as a teacher at the Chinese College of Taoism (中国道教学院) at that time. The main teaching content included: teaching the students from all over the country to read music scores, learn basic music knowledge, and chanting the rhymes of *Proper Melodies of Complete Perfection* as taught by master Min. At that time, there really was a very strange and magical feeling. I didn't think of myself as a student who had no knowledge of Taoism or Taoist music. However, I came to the Chinese College of Taoism, taught young Taoist students chanting rhymes in class, and this was something I hadn't ever thought of before.

So it is because of this experience, there was a transformation from the role as the student to the music teacher in class. At that time, I was determined to take master Min as my teacher. I wanted to learn *Proper Melodies of Complete Perfection* from a practical example and in a direct way. In 1991, in Xi'an, I worshipped Master Min Zhiting as my Taoist teacher.

There was a true teacher-student relationship since Master Min taught me the rhymes personally. Also, I personally experienced the chanting while I taught young Taoists in different places, such as at the Eight Immortals Temple in Xi'an (西安八仙宫) and at the Chinese College of Taoism. To this day, when I go to the Eight Immortals Temple, I can still hear the intimate rhymes, especially when listening to the rhymes of those with whom I learned to sing *Proper Melodies of Complete Perfection* as taught by master Min Zhiting. This is a special feeling of accomplishment.

Looking back at the experience of collecting Taoist music, I have felt the following: Three different stories actually also reflect different circumstances of time how music was collected from the Taoists. The first time going to Wudang Mountain is a short term action of the national government. I was completely unprepared, and I was passively involved in the work as a student. In my personal case, I was rather interested in Taoist culture and Taoist music than in the work of collecting or preserving knowledge.

After that collection experience in Wudang Mountain, on the second trip to the Longhu Mountain Celestial Masters mansion, the nature of the recording project work that focused on Taoist music my conditions have changed. The work shifted from the government task to the task given by an Institute of Taoist Music of Wuhan Conservatory of Music to actively seek out for important historical

recordings. Personally, I have carried further my initial curiosity with Taoist music in the Wudang Mountain, so my feelings are transformed from a completely uneducated to that of a beginner's expert.

After the time of visiting the Longhu Mountain Celestial Masters mansion, collecting and processing knowledge became easier and more comfortable. Still there were some small differences though the work as a whole was consistent and the collected items have shown great similarities.

The contact with master Min Zhiting and the process of following him to learn the *Proper Melodies of Complete Perfection* had a huge impact on me personally. This huge impact consisted mainly two aspects: First, I could directly learn from an old Taoist with profound knowledge of Taoism. I developed a sincere feeling for Taoist culture that cannot be expressed in words. Second, the Taoist style of old Taoism is very different from ordinary Taoism practiced by normal people and influenced my worldview and how to know religion, in particular, there has been a great change in my perception of Taoism. I changed from a stranger to this phenomenon to someone interested in Taoist culture who feels a strong affinity to Taoism, especially after Mr. Min Zhiting has been my master. I as a layman, master Min as a Taoist, there was a specific communication between us that went beyond a teacher-student relationship as I have seen it before. As he gradually influenced me, I gradually began to have a new understanding of Taoist people, Taoism and Taoist music as well as its culture. Also because of such a chance and fate, then when I chose my master's thesis, I have chosen to write about the Wudang Taoist music without hesitation. And in my thesis defense, the school also invited two people who were not music professionals, both of them are academic experts and senior Taoist scholars: one was Li Yangzheng (李养正), a prestigious Taoist expert, the other was master Min Zhiting himself. At that time, these two members of a special defense committee in the school gave me the impression that my own research on Taoist music has been given a special care and attention.

Because of these many accidental and purposeful events in my life during my early career I advanced from a student completing Taoist music collections and eagerly publishing findings to an instructor of music. Later academic research on the topic of Taoist music was a special academic growth path and a direction of academic research, especially, because of these three activities that laid the foundation. Setting the direction of Taoist music research shortly thereafter, this research became a major subject in my field of academic research, and until today, I still enjoy it.

The changes I experienced reflect in a way my perception of life after becoming familiar with Taoist practices. I am well aware of the importance of processes in working relationships. One of my own experiences is that all these changes were completed beyond my own assumptions and expectations. When we were collecting Taoist music, we first thought we were just doing a collection of Taoist music. It never occurred to me that such a piece of music would later become the textbook for any Taoist temples.

Everything seemed to be unexpected, but it all seemed to have its own order and some sort of arrangement into a specific direction. I think this view is probably what is meant in Taoism "predestination".

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MEDIATING THE REPATRIATION OF EARLY RECORDINGS

Xiao Mei, Hu Kailin, Yu Yafei

In October 2001, I attended the Asia-Europe Foundation's Seminar on "Music Industries in the New Economy" held in Lyon, France. I participated in a roundtable discussion on "Globalization and Artists".

As the only non-artist in the group, and a scholar without a background in economics, I talked about the experiences I then had so far with the Institute of Music at the Chinese Academy of Arts. The institute spent half a century engaging with traditional Chinese folk music through collection, classification and preservation work. It had also made a landmark deposition of the first educational audio recording in the archives of the United Nation's "Memory of the World" Register. During those times and in the speech I gave, I emphasized the importance of preservation work in keeping cultural diversity alive. At the end of my speech, I said with hope: "I look forward to the day when a young Miao (Hmong) person from Guizhou walks through my office door and says: 'I want to hear the voice of my grandfather.' " I had just returned inspired from a trip in 1999 to the Northeast and Northwest of Guizhou, where I was conducting research on Miao music. At that time, on a mountainside, a local guide had pointed out a dirt trace to me and said, "Look, this is the fork in the road they took all those years ago." He was referring to my predecessors – the music scholars Jian Jinhua, He Yun, and Zhang Shuzhen. I was deeply touched by being able to trace their steps. However, at that time, it did not occur to me to take the initiative to return any field recordings to the Miao. I had not yet thought about the relationship between archives and communities of the researched. I only focused on preserving music, and believed that whenever there was a need, people could find me later in order to get it.

Between 2004 and 2007, one of my students decided to begin a research project on bridging sound recordings, fieldwork, and ethnomusicology. Her study revealed that the Music Research Institute had embarked on a large-scale survey and amassing of data in Hunan Province. However, this data was not available in Hunan itself, and not accessible by local people. What, then, was to be the relationship between the fieldworker, and the recorded communities? How were these recordings used? What were the results of these projects? What kind of stories did these relationships tell about cultural change and respect for the 'Other'? Today, I would finally like to focus on the topic of repatriation. I tell two stories drawing on my own research.

Story 1: Mergen temple's audio-visual documents on Tibetan Buddhist Mongolian chant

The city of Urat in Inner Mongolia is home to the Mergen temple, birthplace of Tibetan Buddhist Mongolian chant. The temple is known as the only site where Mongolian is used in the delivery of Tibetan chant. In 1783, abbot of the monastery, Morgen Gegen, later given the title of 'Living Buddha Lopsang Tanbe Gyaltzen', had published 129 works in Beijing collectively known as the "The Complete Works of Lopsang Tanbe Gyaltzen." The scriptures contain hymns, eulogies, stories of Mongolian folklore, notes on astronomy, medicinal remedies, among other aspects of Mongolian culture. To the Mongolian people, it is a valuable legacy featuring chants in the Mongolian language.

In the summer of 1996 and all the way until 2002, I visited the monastery six times. In the early days of my fieldwork I met 15 or more lamas who could master the Mongolian style of Tibetan chant. However, the last time I visited, only 1 or 2 individuals could do this. In 2002, the Living Buddha of the monastery invited me to visit him. He had just established a scheme to train local orphans in singing Tibetan chant in Mongolian language. They were taught by the last lama who knew the style. Not long after my visit, this lama passed away.

In 2005, I received a call from Mergen's Living Buddha Mengkbatu, who asked if I could provide the complete audio and video recordings of the chants I had filmed. They were hoping to publish an anthology of Mongolian chant for the monastery. Also, they needed the recordings as an educational tool in instructing the chant technique to younger generations, now that the master had passed away. This set of audio recordings would become an important basis for the sustaining of tradition and lineage. My earlier visit to the temple had been made on commission from Phoenix Satellite TV, which held the master recordings. In order to

retrieve and reproduce the original recordings for the monastery, I drew 15,000 yuan from my own pocket, and obtained a full set for the repatriation to the monastery.

FIGURE 1: Overview about Mergen temple (photo by Mengkbatu).



In 2012, Mengkbatu visited me in Shanghai with thanks, bringing several volumes of Mongolian scriptures that had been republished alongside a mastered set of the audio recordings we had made earlier. Just last week, Mengkbatu wrote to me again, thanking me for the videos, telling me of the important role they played in passing on the tradition. Through this case of the Mongolian chant, I began to see the importance of taking into the account the needs of local communities. To say the truth, I was the one who first had not taken the initiative to repatriate my findings.

Story 2: “Bringing Jack’s Recordings Home”

My second story is about the repatriation of recordings made by the New Zealander composer and ethnomusicologist Jack Body during his trip to China in the 1980s. As a “post-nationalist” composer, Jack maintained a strong interest in different musical cultures around the world. This was a key feature of his compositional style, which used transcriptions of material he collected, as seen for example in the multicultural work ‘Three Transcriptions’. The first movement featured a Chinese jaw’s harp of the Yi people; the second movement used the Madagascan valiha zither, and the third movement featured a Bulgarian village band. Conducting fieldwork and collecting musics around the world became an important resource for his creative approach. In his own words: “I would gladly share my experiences and the results of these collaborations, and what I have learned from these cross-cultural encounters.”

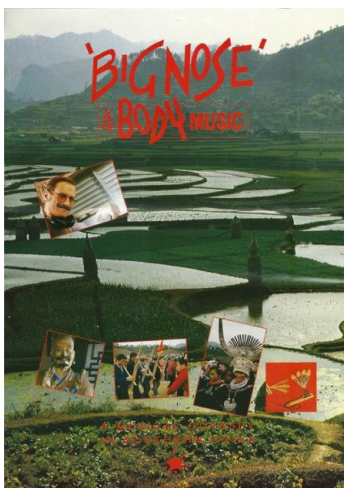


FIGURE 2: Film poster of ‘Big Nose’ and Body Music.

At the end of 2011, the scholar based in New Zealand Gong Hongyu wrote to me and conveyed Jack's hope of finding an institution which could receive his collection of Chinese recordings. I replied saying that our conservatory feels pleased to collaborate. This marked the beginning of my direct correspondence with Jack. On June 20 2013, Jack came in person to the Shanghai Conservatory to give a lecture, “Collaborating Across Cultures.” He also visited our research institute and digital database. Over the next a year, as Jack's physical health destabilised, we began to organize and catalogue his data. In the fall of 2014, I went to New Zealand to give a lecture and formally accept his materials. One year later, Jack passed away. Two months after his death, the Zhejiang Conservatory of Music held a commemorative symposium in his honour, in collaboration with the New Zealand Consulate in Shanghai and the Music School at the Victoria University of Wellington. At this

meeting, I spoke about Jack's bequest and his cultural concern with “scapes.” I noted that if Jack's donation was a kind of repatriation to China, then our task was to return the data back to where he had originally made these recordings.

Jack had made recordings in many sites, and we have first chosen to look at his recordings in Guizhou. Because his notes were not detailed, we could only pinpoint vague locations. So, looking for the original sites and the parties he had recorded became the first step in our mission. I summarise briefly:

1. The Search: In addition to sound recordings, Jack had shot a number of documentaries. Here, visual images proved to be important in identifying people and places. The group of re-researchers showed film footage of dance movements, local landscape, musical features such as the use of specific kinds of vibrato to local people. All these audiovisuals provided clues towards distinguishing between different ethnic groups and clan lineages. For example, in this section of a lusheng (mouth organ) dance, one can find clues to the sites of his field recordings from the dance movements, the particular shape of the pipes, and the style of the music.

2. Historical memories: We also relied on images of landscapes to track down people – in particular, the instrument maker of the lusheng shown in the video. First, we visited the Kaili Cultural Center to conduct interviews, showing locals Jack's picture of a bridge, which was tracked to Danxi village. Here, we met with

the local director of the cultural centre. He led us to the home of Pan Tian Yuan, whose family had been making the lusheng for 17 generations. In the house of Pan, friends and family members identified the key character in the documentary as an uncle and grandfather. The young man in the original video is now an old man, and the grandfather in the original video has since died. Upon seeing their grandfather alive again on old footage, members of the Pan family were very touched.

3. Cultural Change: From the 1980s to the present, China has been undergone a huge transformation. Many of the scenes and circumstances shown in Jack Body's videos have changed dramatically. Musically speaking, the most obvious change is in the construction of the lusheng. The original instrument comprises six tubes, and uses a pentatonic scale. Today, the instrument has developed to feature 24 and 36 tubes, all tuned to 12-tone equal temperament.

4. Fieldwork Ethics: This is an issue which I want to emphasize. When we interviewed lusheng maker Pan's family, they only vaguely remembered a foreigner visiting their village in the distant past, but could not remember specific dates or names. However, they clearly recalled the visit of another interviewer from Japan. We discovered that this memory was vivid and entrenched because the Japanese scholar had sent some information back to the village from Japan; these were the published results of his research. The villagers have shown a letter and the original envelope from the Japanese scholar, as well as the title page of the publication, all of which had been saved from the 1990s. These artefacts were cherished by the villagers, and provided an anchor for the particular memory of the scholar's visit. Of course, Jack being a composer, we cannot expect him to think, then, of repatriating his recordings as Tanaka did. However, as ethnomusicologists today, the issue of repatriation is an important and a necessary task.

In addition, we encountered a new and specific problem in the process of retracing Jack's steps and beginning the repatriation process. As a result of tourism, many local villages have established museums. Upon knowing that we had a historic recording in our hands, many museums came forward to say that the footage was shot on their ground, each fighting for a claim to the data. This made me think about a new problem: If, 30 years ago, or even earlier, we had managed to return these materials to local communities, they would not have been able to listen to the recordings directly, because they did not have the equipment to do so. In today's digital age, where every household has access to digital equipment, will the return of these recordings lead to disputes between rivaling groups? How should we deal with such a situation? This question has to be left open.

Addition from the Discussion

Anthony Seegers asked two questions: 1) Do you have an answer to your own question? 2) What do you think the role of an archive might be?

In fact, the group that was visiting just recently the places of earlier fieldwork already identified some material. We also were forced to do some pre-researches to exactly find out to which village the recording belongs. Regarding this Lusheng dance, some people in area of earlier recordings claim the video. They even provide photos and say that the video must be taken in a certain village, then they wrote down specific names. However, as a result, our team found after careful investigation that the dance was actually a men's dance, and the photo provided shows a women's dance. Also, they said that a woman from that village was married in there. After repeated checking with informants, they admitted that it was indeed a men's dance. Therefore, it was very important to redo fieldwork and to study these details. This is the answer to the first question.

The answer to the second question is that we cannot just give these materials to individuals, though we still want to put them somewhere in the area they come from. Now, we are looking for someone in that province who is willing to accept the recordings as digital files and who give these files to those who really care about the contents and willing to work together with us in building a future archive. This is better than simply returning old recordings.

Notes

Bayly Watson (director). 1988. *'Big Nose' and Body Music*. Poster (public domain).

Mengkbatu ed. 2012. *The Collection of the Mergen Temple's Chanted Sutras in Mongolia*. Hohhot: unknown publisher.

AUDIOVISUAL ARCHIVING AND NATIONAL MEMORY

Li Song¹

Background

For human beings, music memory, a significant part of cultural memory, plays an irreplaceable part in finding a national, ethnic, and regional identity. In cultural studies, the construction of nations based on ethnic and cultural imagination of a community enables this kind of memory to be an entry point in academic research. Therefore, positioning Chinese traditional music archives in the context of a national memory is a topic that cannot be ignored in the development of politics, economy, society, and culture in other modern countries. Reviewing the construction of Chinese traditional music archives in the past a hundred years, roughly speaking, the development of sound recording and dissemination technology mainly meets the needs of research, communication, commerce, and even personal collections, as well as its widespread existence in social and cultural life. First of all, if we regard the period between the early 20th century to the 1980s as one time period traditional music archives mainly refer to the old records in the publications and the broadcasting archives in the radio, film, and television industries, which are kept by relevant institutions or individuals. At the same time, in a group of specialized research institutions, along with professional field work, a large amount of information is also preserved. The most representative one is the Institute of Music of the Chinese National Academy of the Arts. As a national specialized music research institution, this institution played a special role between the 1950s and the 1980s in collecting and storing a large number of audiovisual materials. Tracing back further, in different regions, audio and video data should be kept according to different socio-political, economic, and cultural needs. Although I do not see specific research results, it is fair to say that they are mainly limited to old records and some archive material in some movie studios and radio stations. In summary the traditional music archives of this early period, did not constitute a reliable resource of music and audiovisual archives under the concept of the nation. As a multi-purpose stock of records and scattered all over the country, these resources do not derive from a clear and specific national archive awareness.

Different Parts of Collecting a National Memory

Another important phase started from the 1980s till now, when traditional music culture and literature works reached the national level contributing to a modern country, and were nationally acknowledge, registered, and compiled in representative and integer collections. This process started in 1979 and includes five categories, folk literature, music, dancing, opera, and folk art. There are ten series, *Collection of Chinese Folk Songs*, *Collection of Chinese National Folk Instrumental Music*, *Collection of Chinese Opera Music*, *Collection of Chinese Folk Music*, *Collection of Chinese Folk Dance*, *Collection of Chinese Songs*, *Collection of Chinese Proverbs*, *Collection of Chinese Folktales*, *Chinese Drama Chronicles*, and *Chinese Folk Art*, collectively referred to the National Ten Integral Chronicle Project. It is a systematic project closely related to Chinese traditional music. Eight of the ten series of books contain traditional music content, and four are entirely composed of music content. Therefore, the collection, which contains sounds from various regions and ethnic groups, is an important part for the national memory. It is the sound system of memory. The collection is sponsored by the Ministry of Culture, the State Ethnic Affairs Commission, and the Chinese Musicians' Association. Actually, a large amount of actual work is done by the China Federation

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of Literary and Art Circles, other relevant associations, and the Chinese National Academy of Arts. The systematic daily work is done by the leading group of the National Art Science Office (the predecessor of the Center for Ethnic and Folk Literature and Art Development, Ministry of Culture), which is organized and managed by the Ministry of Culture. As far as the general sense of sound memory is concerned, the national collection of traditional music practices in these categories is not conducted for the first time in the top-down way of Chinese history, but in terms of its comprehensiveness which includes notations, scores, and texts. Being based on sound recordings, this is indeed the first time. From the 1970s to the present, the protection of intangible cultural heritage, a project which was launched later, was mainly based on project notes. In terms of comprehensiveness and preciousness of historical data, it does not exceed the range of the named undertaking and it is under supported of nationally financed by national cultural administration authorities, responsible for the general policy control, organization management, and funding guarantee. They gather scholars in relevant organizations and related professional fields, and organize cultural systems at all levels from top to bottom and professionals to collaboratively conduct this systematic project.

Regarding the main content of the large-scale collection, first of all, it is a comprehensive survey directly dealing with the community. It requires that music should be synchronized with a kind of 'score' or 'prescript'. In addition, it imposes normative requirements on the collection site as well as it demands relevant information of the performers regarding their later publishing, i.e. making professional publishing notes on audio and video data sources, including singers, recording persons, translators, organizers and others. What needs special emphasis is that the recordings are based on orally transmitted music and knowledge. Therefore, it has to operate with the academic terminology of ethnology as a main starting point. This project is not a cross-cultural study, not a study of one ethnic group by another, but a record of the cultural self-reflection performed in various regions. The state and experts only set out a unified style, but it is still the expression of the voices of various ethnic groups and regions. Therefore, it is more of an ethnological academic paradigm. They are not taken away, which is usually adopted by the current musicology, but selected by local authorities from the bottom to the top. In addition, in terms of fieldwork regulation, there were not enough talents to conduct fieldwork at that time, and the composition of personnel involved in the integration work, including local scholars, local cultural workers, cultural elites of the community who are the backbone of development, and tens of thousands of people. Local scholars mainly include researchers doing ethnic music studies or following music studies of universities and colleges, as well as researchers from various provinces and places. Continuous participants among these researchers have retired now and they are music experts and top-level scholars in various places. In the early days of the collection, many of the participants were newly graduated students. A great deal of fieldwork started after simple training for local cultural centers and local county and district level cultural workers. Meanwhile, this process has also trained a large number of experts who have grown up from the collection and later became experts regarding intangible heritage.

The collection was started by the census. More than 100,000 people across the country participated in a comprehensive survey under the overall requirement of leaving no blank spots. Based on this, the process of collection, compilation, and publication lasted more than 30 years. At present, the Center of Ethnic and Folk Literature and Art Development, Ministry of Culture, China (hereinafter referred to as "the Center") is still compiling volumes from Macau and Hong Kong and recording various music practices. Macau's *Folk Song Volume* is already being finalized. Altogether, the collection basically completed the work of categorizing the folk music that existed in the everyday life of the population. Four music collections (folk songs, instrumental music, opera music, and instrumental folk music) have been compiled and published with about 110,000 tracks in form of volumes and made available nationwide. The *Collection of Chinese Folk Songs* led to 30 published volumes and comprises more than 40,000 folk songs and there are 52.5 million words in total, which mainly are scores. The total amount of folk song resources in the previous period of counting is about 10 times the number of recent publications, approximately 400,000 pieces. The previous *Collection of*

Chinese Opera Music was limited until 1985 and it mainly contains the arias of representative traditional operas. The *Collection of Chinese National Folk Instrumental Music* sums up to more than 20,000 pieces and among those that accompany songs there are about 50 million words in total. The *Collection of Chinese Folk Music* covers more than 300 songs which still exists or existed and could be performed in the 1980s, including more than 20 million tracks, and more than 43.5 million words. We can see that a cultural scripture of a country or the Chinese territory that forms the nation can be described in terms of music. Since there is sound and also a small amount of images considering the overall requirements of relating sound to the notes taken, the total number of collected items should not be less than 500,000 pieces and songs, which is a rather low estimate, because about 400,000 folk songs have already been collected earlier. However, there is a large amount of information in operas and folk arts that are deposited in various types of archives and media. In addition, these materials are currently scattered throughout the art institutes in various places. The number of such places is an abstract number, tentatively regarded as 30 and at least one art research institute in a remote region. Most of these art institutes were restored in the early 1980s for the work of collecting. In addition, a group of art archives and related research institutions (music institutes) managed by cultural administrations of various places have also preserved a number of documents, and in particular, a large number of relevant materials are kept by individual experts at all levels. In general, at the national level, due to limitations of conditions at that earlier time, the main objective was the publication of texts and music scores. The archiving of recorded sound and the small number of images was fragmented and their preservation, storage, and other maintenance were rather backward. Also, the descriptive metadata level was unreliable. As to the technical means of recording, it was relatively low in quality compared to current technical conditions. Although it was backward compared to the present, it was also doing its best at that time. It was very difficult to carry out such a large-scale audio and video collecting work across the country at that time. In the early days of the collection, small and professional recording equipment was very rare, and provincial or municipal agencies needed special funds to have relatively good recording equipment. It is fair to say that from the mid-1980s to the beginning of the 21st century, technological changes during these 30 years have been enormous. In the 1980s, the cassette recorder was regarded as a professional device, but now a mobile phone has almost included all the equipment of a provincial editorial department at that time, and despite this, a large amount of data recorded in the collection period, such as the audio data, still have a very high cultural value. We know that during the 20 years from 1979 to 1999, the disappearance of Chinese folk music was surprising. In the mid-1980s, typical and mature inheritors were between 50 and 70 years old. We can imagine the current age of these people and the possibility of having successors. Another point to note is that these data cover different time spans. In fact, audio data of traditional operas and folk arts mostly derive from the data gathering during the collection period. Earlier radio stations, including broadcasting archives held old records from the 1950s to the 1960s, some of them date back to the 1920s.

Technical Changes and Sound Processing

Advances in technology will inevitably lead to changes and innovations in the concepts, strategies, and methods of related work. It will also involve the work of rescue, recording, preservation, management, use, and dissemination. As a specialized institution of a country, the Center has been working on the integrated inventory resources for more standardized, specialized rescue and digital processing since the beginning of the 21st century. Professional gathering of all metadata and a centralized preservation management are important for a national cultural memory. At the technical level, the basic principle of mastering the music information stored in various technical formats is to carry out digital transformation without any processing and improvement, and to protect the original information as effectively as possible. This is a work requiring a certain amount of technical expertise. The Ministry of Culture has set up a key laboratory at the Center to specialize in related working issues. Over the past decade, it has helped a number of art research institutes around the country to complete relevant tasks.

The first type of carriers is the magnetic tape recordings of cultural information. This needs preservation strategies that help to keep old information transferable. Other old carriers include records, wire tapes, and wax cylinders. The most used carrier in the collection period was a small cassette tape, which was the most popular in the 1980s. Some were also open reel tapes. According to technical experiences, after 25 years, all data indicators of this type of magnetic recordings will be seriously depleted, and valuable data will face a second degree of loss. From the perspective of the entire country, this problem is very serious for the system of the entire music memory. When everyone is still vaguely aware of certain information, this information may have been scrapped, and the rescue work becomes very urgent. Therefore, from the beginning of this century, the Center has already begun to take related measures. There are many technical connotations in the tape's aging basics and manual interventions, including physical and chemical treatment. In recent years, the National Center for Acoustic Rehabilitation at the Center has conducted a lot of explorations and accumulated a number of working tools with related technology patents, especially the technology of laminating old tapes. Many of them use specially developed equipment to carry out this task.

The second is about old records. The Center is also very concerned about various old records of different ages and different specifications. Some of these specialized technologies are at the leading edge. Many institutions, academic teams and technical teams in China are also involved in this work, but at present, there is no joint method found yet. However, I believe that we should follow the basic principles of digital transformation after taking as much protective measures as possible in order to preserve the information on the original carriers without any processing and improving.

In addition, our re-recording and rescue work also includes acoustic measurements of traditional musical instruments. In this regard, the tasks of instrumental measurement carried out by the Center and the National Institute of Metrology, the Department of Music Technology of the China Conservatory of Music, Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang, Yanbian, and Southwestern colleges and universities, their overall technical means have reached the level of measurement similar to those in anechoic rooms. The technical means are completely out of reach in the past days. I believe that we are at the leading edge in Asia in this regard.

With reference to the digitization of the sound symbol system or the notation, first of all, our work favored and still favors notation, because the collected items are published in the form of notation. At present, the symbol system presented through the digital notation of music scores is image-based, but it is necessary to consider that digital notes (whether it is spectral or staff notation) are placed in a musical frame through the digital system. At present, the Center is approaching the maturity in the study of semantic records and expressions. It is expected that better interactivity will provide a transformative application ready for recording, research, creation, communication, and dissemination.

Technical Changes and Digital Integrity

The keyword here is metadata. The problem immediately following digitization is the pressure to face the research of academic and art ontology. The work that must be done in digitization is real research into types and morphology and introduction of standardization into the system. Under the circumstance that the collected materials are almost complete, a close follow-up research is necessary. Strictly speaking, this research cannot realize comprehensive digitization. If only the collection of carriers and individual songs is completed, it will be very difficult for more than 100,000 tracks to be searched and analyzed.

The Center's construction of database and metadata has been going on for more than a decade since around 2002. In the first batch, we set up seven projects. A group of musicologists made a macroscopic study of folk songs as well as instrumental music, religious music, and opera music, but they did not do folk art for the time being. It is very hard to gather people who are able to conduct typological studies at the national level to collect folk art by now. Therefore, it is unfortunately discontinued. The example of classifying the various

songs accompanying work in the Han folk songs is a good example to briefly illustrate the complexity of the task. For example, there are seven sub-levels entitled ‘working song’, which is already very complicating. When I attended the Art and Archives Society Conference of the International Archives Academic Conference, all foreign experts believed that China would not be able to make such classification. I suggested that it will be done perfectly and it can only be done well because it is a national memory and the Chinese civilization has to define such basic characteristics. We have diversity in unity and differences in harmony. If we cannot even do such things, how can we realize cultural self-confidence?

It should be emphasized that in the field of a systemic research regarding metadata, it is necessary to pay attention to the compatibility with relevant standardization in the country and abroad. The main concern of the Center is keeping to the standardization system of the world memory, Technical Committee standards of IASA, some guiding books, and other cultural achievements. The attempt to digitalization involves again collecting, recording, organizing, describing, and researching. The gathering of metadata must be refined and up to a necessary level even in smallest details, all of which are basic issues. And we are still discussing the extent to which these fundamental resources are to be maintained under digital conditions. This is about the exploration and current research of data standards. The correlation between them creates enormous pressure and requires creative space for the digital manifestation of the entire ethnic folk culture. From the perspective of anthropology, it focuses on the connection between cultural issues, which is actually an interdisciplinary research system. We hope very much that a large number of scholars, researchers, and students engaged in the study of ontological art can participate in it. Though the academic space here is not personally beneficial in some ways, it is a very meaningful work.

Based on academic research and the application of new technologies, the Center has carried out rescue works on local audiovisual materials. In the past decade or longer, it has become the norm to rescue deteriorating material, and this practice is gradually being developed on a provincial basis. For example, four years ago, we digitized all the materials of folk songs and instrumental music in the Yunnan Province collections, which were about 20,000 items. Afterward, we negotiated with the Yunnan Provincial Research Institute for Ethnic Arts, organized all of them through a standardized ID system, and asked the local employees to do the labeling accordingly. Then, these colleagues asked all their former co-collectors who had participated in the collection period to return to work with them for some time. And a month ago, I was told by the dean about the number of their losses, which he said was about 5%. This loss means that although the sound is still intact, the relevant information is lost, including the name of the recording person, the recording site, the lyrics content and other unclear issues, causing about 5% losses to the sound files. This is fortunate, to be honest, because if these sounds have been placed for too long, and the people who used to do the fieldwork are gone, its value will become very low in fact. Therefore, we should attach great importance to the current situation of incomplete archiving and of the so called second-degree loss and second-degree rescue work.

Another key word in this context is the integrity of the records. It is based on the expansion of the academic vision. In this regard, the Center is organizing to implement two major projects commissioned by the National Planning Office for Philosophy and Social Science: the Chinese Festival Journal and One Hundred Chinese Epic Poems. From these two large-scale national projects one can expect a greater impact of both the audio-visibility and the integrity of the academic direction on the collecting processes.

The One Hundred Chinese Epic Poems project is different from the general collection. Apart from visualizing the complete accounts of the inheritors, it is also a contextualized record, documenting the cultural ecology of the community and the living conditions of the inheritors. It requires the standardization of data entries, including language and community expressions, as well as regulatory requirements for technical systems. In general, it requires scientific, academic, and cultural attention. Its video documents not only have a purpose of propagation, they also emphasize the significance of national archives. This double function is brought in accordance with the anthropological and musicological requirements of some

academic disciplines. This is a remarkable feature of the post-collection era. The other is the Chinese Festival Image and Video Journal in the Chinese Festival Journal project. It is a video recording series of festival culture, including a documentation of a large number of sounds and music (especially folk ceremonial music). In fact, the task after shooting still entails tremendous work, including the need for rapid rectification of massive resources, which also puts pressure on the archival capabilities. As far as I know, video recordings made by general scientific research institutes and photos taken by us all don't display a good state of comfortable accessibility and slow data entries, that is, the lack of an appropriate data system behind it. After many students' fieldwork reports and academic papers are written and after the clips had been approved and disseminated among the few reviewers, the rest of the information is actually fragmented and the loss is still very large. Valuable things are not accumulated. Hence, it is particularly expected that all academic institutions pay close attention to research applications of data entries, their management, and the accessibility of their archives after digitalization.

The work with images of the two projects, the Chinese Festival Image and Video Journal and the One Hundred Chinese Epic Poems, has 250 sub-topics in the country, which are sub-topics of 250 major national projects. Each topic comprises a batch of experts with a deep understanding of the local culture. Just for image records (text work not involved yet), there are probably 2000-3000 masters and doctors who are involved in the entire team, and nearly 100 doctoral supervisors from various disciplines. The time span of these two projects is 8 to 10 years. The Chinese Festival Journal has now been going on for seven years, and probably continues for another three years. The Epic Poem Project might have been going on for four years and it may take another four to five years. In addition to the official publication of all the audio and video products, they ultimately need to be differentiated in order to serve cultural demands in a standardized database. This differentiation is a cultural resource of great impact and practicability. This is the general goal of this task. The workload is very large, but more than 90% of the major participating teams are students and teachers with professional backgrounds.

In general, it is necessary to link national memory with popular life, art development, and cultural exchanges. Here, we also promote the continuation and development of the community within one nation, and promote the construction of a community that will actively participate in the creative transition of the world into a place of cultured peace.

(Editors: He Tingting & Gisa Jähnichen)

WAX CYLINDER RECORDINGS OF CHINESE MUSIC IN THE BERLIN PHONOGRAM ARCHIVE COLLECTION

Ricarda Kopal
Ethnologisches Museum – Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

A brief history of the Berlin Phonogram Archive

The wax cylinder recordings of the Berlin Phonogram Archive,¹ consisting of – recordings made between 1893 and 1954, belongs to one of the oldest sound recording institutions of the world. Since 1999, these cylinder recordings are part of the UNESCO memory of the world. The importance of the collections of this archive e Berlin Phonogram Archive is should primarily mainly to be considered from seen in the its historical dimension. In using the technology developed by Thomas A. Edison for sound recording sound, unique recordings were made could be made to documenting musical cultures worldwide in during the first half of the 20th century.

The history of the Berlin Phonogram Archive began in 1900 when Carl Stumpf recorded a Thai music and theatre ensemble in Berlin with an Edison phonograph. With this collection of recordings, Stumpf laid the foundation of the ethnomusicological sound collections in the Ethnologisches Museum which belong to the most important collections worldwide in view of their historical and regional scope. Not much later, the Berlin Phonogram Archive was institutionally embodied, at first attached to the psychological institute, where Carl Stumpf worked as a professor. Already in 1905, Stumpf handed over the direction of the Berlin Phonogram Archive to his assistant Erich Moritz von Hornbostel, who became a central figure, on the one hand concerning the destiny of the Berlin Phonogram Archive, and on the other hand in view of the beginnings of a new research discipline: Comparative musicology (Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft). A main concern of Comparative Musicology of that time was to collect and compare as many different examples as possible of so-called “traditional” musical forms in order to create general theories on the origins and evolution of music. Through the recording activities of von Hornbostel and of others associated with the Phonogram Archive in Berlin, and additionally through recordings that were made by researchers, missionaries, and private individuals in many parts of the world, the holdings in Berlin increased and so did the material basis for comparative research. In 1923 the Berlin Phonogram Archive was incorporated into the Hochschule für Musik (Conservatory of Music) before it became part of the Museum für Völkerkunde (today: Ethnologisches Museum) in 1934 after Hornbostel had emigrated from Germany. From 1934 on Marius Schneider took over the direction of the archive. Shortly before the end of World War II major parts of the then approximately 14.000 cylinder recordings were evacuated, brought to Russia, and from there finally reached the former Eastern part of Berlin. They finally returned to the Museum für Völkerkunde in 1991, where they were preserved and analyzed within the scope of a project. In the course of this project, the conservation and digitization of these historical cylinder recordings got started and still continues. Meanwhile, the major part of the cylinder collections could be transferred into digital formats.

¹ Today part of the Media Department – Berlin Phonogram Archive, Ethnomusicology, Visual Anthropology of the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin.



FIGURE 1: Wax cylinders and Galvanos (copper negatives). Foto: Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

Altogether, the Berlin Phonogram Archive encompasses 351 wax cylinder collections. They vary greatly in size, quality given the conditions of available documentation as well as recordings. Among the approx. 30.000 sound carriers of the Berlin Phonogram Archive (2,749 original cylinders, 14,065 Galvanos/copper negatives, 15,214 historical copies) are recordings from all continents. Some collections were recorded in Berlin during guest performances of mostly non-European musicians or at so-called “Völkerschauen”. Other recordings were made in situ by academics, missionaries, or travelers with an interest in “exotic” music and later were given to the archive by these collectors.

Wax Cylinder Collections – Overview

At this point, it is impossible to give a detailed review on the relevant historical collections from the Berlin Phonogram Archive. Therefore, I subsequently summarize some basic information about the wax cylinder collections containing Chinese music.

Collection Archiv China

The collection consists of only four cylinders recorded in Berlin, probably at the Phonogram Archive, in 1909 and 1911. A list in the recordings of the archive gives some information on the content of the material, the hymn of Confucius in different dialects (1.-3.), whereas one recording consists of vocal music. The document also provides the names of the musicians involved in the recording.

Collection Mueller China

Herbert Mueller (1885-1966) studied jurisprudence, linguistics and anthropology and after finishing his doctoral dissertation, he became assistant at the East Asia department of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin (today Ethnologisches Museum Berlin). In 1912/1913 he travelled to China for the first time. During his stay he recorded approximately 100 cylinders, but only 47 cylinders still exist today. He recorded traditional as well as ceremonial and Buddhist and theatre music. While in China, Mueller stayed in touch with Erich Moritz von Hornbostel at the Berlin Phonogram Archive keeping him updated about his recording activity. Interested in Chinese music, Hornbostel and other scholars used the recordings later on brought to Berlin by Mueller, as an important source and published transcriptions and analyses of some pieces. Mueller not only recorded music, he also took photos of musicians and musical instruments and collected ethnographic objects.

Collection Oost China

The collection Oost China consists of 10 cylinders and was recorded in 1909 by Josef van Oost (1877-1939). Van Oost was born in Belgium and spent several years in China as a Christian missionary. Within this framework he recorded Chinese music and published a paper on this topic in 1912². Until today it is not exactly known how the recordings became part of the Berlin Phonogram Archive collection.

Collection Waldeyer China

Anton Waldeyer (1901-1970) was a medical doctor, who spent some years in China to teach at the university in Shanghai. In 1935 he made music and language recordings and send them to the Berlin Phonogram Archive after his return to Germany. He originally recorded 21 cylinders, but according to a written list three of them already were missing when the collection arrived at the Phonogram Archive.

Collection Weiss Südchina and Weiss Westchina

Fritz Weiss (1877-1955), who spent several years in China as an interpreter and later as counsel in Western China, recorded two collections of Chinese music for the Berlin Phonogram Archive. He was often accompanied by his wife, Hedwig M. Weiss-Sonnenburg. In 1912 he recorded a collection of nine cylinders that was registered as collection *Weiss Westchina* at the Berlin Phonogram Archive. The recordings contain vocal music. In the next two years, 1913-1914, he continued recording and send another collection of 40 recordings of traditional vocal and instrumental music to Berlin. This collection is referred to as collection *Weiss Südchina*. Three cylinders of this collection are lost today.

Current perspectives on historical cylinder recordings

Research on collections has always been an important topic for all kinds of museums. The research on an object's provenance³, the exploration of an "object biography", and in some cases the consequential restitution or repatriation of objects are key issues museums deal with every day. This is also true for the sound collections of the Berlin Phonogram Archive. Nevertheless, when it comes to repatriation there exist similarities, but also differences between sound recordings and, for example, ethnographic objects⁴ or pieces of art. As Nannyonga-Tamusuza and Weintraub put it in the introduction to their article on repatriation of recordings made by Klaus Wachsmann to Uganda: "The recording represents a moment in time rather than an object in space" (2012: 207). Lancefield (1998) argues that with regard to sound recordings, the "objects",

² Oost, Josef von: "Chanson populaires chinoises de la région Sud de Ortos. Sur la listière de la grande muraille entre Ju-lin et Han-ma-tch'e". In: *Anthropos*, Vol. 7 (1912), Nr. XXVI der Mitteilungen der Phonogramm-Archivkommission der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien.

³ In Germany, „Provenienzforschung“ (provenance research) for a long time at least in the public perception was immediately connected with a clarification of ownership with regard to pieces of art that potentially have been illegally acquired or dispossessed during the national-socialist regime between 1933–1945. Although this is a highly important issue, provenance research, especially within the framework of ethnological collections, means much more than a clarification of ownership, see e.g. Feigenbaum (2012). An overview of activities and a general statement of the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation (of which the Ethnologisches Museum is a part) with regard to provenance research can be accessed here: <https://www.preussischer-kulturbesitz.de/en/priorities/provenance-research-and-issues-of-ownership.html> (last access 18.10.2017).

⁴ See Lancefield (1998: 50), Nannyonga-Tamusuza, Weintraub (2012: 207-208).

i.e. the sound carriers, are not so much in the center of interest, but “their cultural value inheres in (or is constructed from) the replicable sounds they carry” (Lancefield 1998: 50). Therefore talking about repatriation of sound recordings usually means the repatriation of copies, nowadays usually digital audio files of the original wax cylinders or tapes. Consequentially, digitization is a core task with regard to preservation and safeguarding of recorded sound. At the same time digitization is an important premise for repatriation⁵. Digitization of historical wax cylinder recordings is for various reasons a challenging and time-consuming business⁶. The short collection descriptions above show that most collections also contain more or less extensive written documents (lists, notebooks, correspondence) that complete the sound recordings. These written sources are enormously important and need to be digitized as well. Above that, it often is necessary to transcribe and translate them to facilitate an examination.

Since the 1990s, the Ethnologisches Museum constantly works on the digitization of the wax cylinder collections. About 3/4 of the wax cylinder recordings have been transferred to digital format until today, as well as 1/2 of the written material belonging to these collections. Within the framework of opportunities of digitization, the role of ethnomusicological sound archives has changed, as well as expectations with regard to access and visibility⁷. The Berlin Phonogram Archive in the past years has conducted different forms of collaboration with so-called heritage communities: Shared publications (usually CDs with an extensive commentary of content and collection history), online publication of collections via the museum’s online database smb-digital, repatriation of a depositum of digital audio files of a collection to an archive or institution of heritage communities. These activities continue constantly and aim at making all historical sound collections accessible, as well as all available information and interpretations that are essential for an understanding and evaluation of these historical sources. As the case in many archives, museums and other cultural institutions, activities are often limited by human and financial resources. Apart from that, an engagement with the historical collections of the Berlin Phonogram Archive is a task that unconditionally requires collaboration with people from the heritage communities (i.e. musicians, ethnomusicologists, archivists). Nannyonga and Weintraub write that “Repatriation is a form of cultural critique: a critical and reflexive discourse about the social relations of power in cultural representations, and a model for disassembling and potentially undoing those relations” (Nannyonga-Tamusuza, Weintraub 2012: 209). This presupposes collective research and shared knowledge. With regard to the collections mentioned above, I hope that this short outline can be a first step towards a shared exploration of these unique historical sources.

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⁵ With regard to chances and challenges of “digital repatriation” see Christen (2011).

⁶ For a general introduction see the chapter “Conservation and Digitalisation of the Holdings of the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv” by Albrecht Wiedmann in Ziegler (2006).

⁷ See e.g. Landau, Topp Fargion (2012).

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REPATRIATION OF INTANGIBLE HERITAGE FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF MAINTAINING CULTURAL RESOURCES

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Introduction

Cultural Resources play an important role in the future. They not only deliver information but also personal relatedness that is not replaceable by artificial intelligence. The maintenance and creative development of cultural resources is actually crucial to not only serve identity features of an ethnic group, a nation, a region, or whatever group of people. Maintaining cultural resources help sustain human individuality and human diversity. Musicology or anthropology are often seen as professions that cannot provide for a family since studies in these fields are exactly that part of humanities and social sciences which seem to have the worst reputation in real academic settings (Warner, 2015). Fortunately, current thoughts on repatriation show clearly that research about cultural resources will have to be increasingly supported. Only with a deeper knowledge if not with at least some better knowledge about cultural resources, human society can balance further developments which were possible through new technology that allows for moving on socially.

At this point of history regarding recorded sound, the field of cultural resources gets more than ever in the focus of knowledge accumulation. However, the transition period from simply shelving analogue recordings to making purposefully use of advanced technology in sound and audiovisual archiving shows bizarre features of understanding the matter of repatriation of early sound recordings. Some small mindedness among not a few highly capable decision makers can be observed. This small mindedness can be found among those who feel professionally responsible for the preservation of early recordings which are placed in the center of this important workshop held in Shanghai 2017. Without claiming for completeness, the following list shows a few of these “understandings” to just start a serious discussion:

- 1) There is no real need of old sound recordings because old sound recordings are for weird people who do not have any other problems. That means, only a few freaks are interested in but not the people who should be keen to get the old recordings back.
- 2) It is too expensive in terms of time and manpower to do anything with them unless someone pays properly for that effort. Keeping these recordings is horribly expensive. So, if anyone wants to do something about them, then it should be paid for already conducted maintenance first.
- 3) Actually, those people to whom the recordings supposedly belong should be happy that these recordings exist. Otherwise, nothing much would be known about their past. However, we don't know enough about the recordings to be sure of their meaning, so it is not worth to be too excited.
- 4) Why these people don't wait for the downloadable experience? Is it really that important to return old recordings as a digital file put on a nice tangible carrier to just have the feeling of getting “something lost” back? That seems to be ridiculous. Also, the people did not lose old recordings. On the contrary, the people should be thankful that these old recordings were safely kept.

The expressed opinions above were exchanged with the staff of one of the largest phonogram archives of Europe. They are audio-visually traceable but not publicly accessible (Author's notes and recordings, June, September, 2017, ASHCoM). They were collected in an open discourse and represent a part of professionals dealing with repatriation. Expecting a discussion of issues while repatriating or the matter of culturality in cultural resources, which seems to be important for future undertakings, the how and why of repatriation is questioned in some currently working institutions with important collections. As a sign of irony, this discourse is also a cultural resource that may play a role in future human development.

In the following, the 4 issues will be discussed one by one taking an example of the Weiss Collection as an example to demonstrate further questions.

Issue 1

1) There is no real need of old sound recordings because old sound recordings are for spleeny people who do not have any other problems. That means, only a few freaks are interested in but not the people who should be keen to get the old recordings back.

Listening to how the world sounded in the past is undoubtedly inspiring. The worst part of being knowledgeable today is that many people cannot imagine the state of “unknowing” present time achievements in industry, culture, or generally in human society. Noise, man-made or nature sound, changed and is out of any imagination. To say it simply: we cannot imagine the sound of the past without all the sounds we added in the course of time and with the many sounds we silenced. Therefore, any recorded sound of the past can be enriching and eye opening. Though the recording quality is obviously poor, the imagination of its occurrence is overwhelming if supplied to a professional listener. Those who are familiar with sound studies or audio facilities, are the first being interested in listening to early recordings. However, the people who feel a cultural belonging—and these people may have rapidly changed over the times—may follow soon as they will explore their environment through means of modern technology. Political ambitions may be the smallest motivation in getting old recordings.

A more serious issue is the fact that people who collected sounds in the past transmit not only the physical carrier with intangible information but also the attitude of collecting. A collector of the past was often a person of power with a technology unavailable to the collected. The collector was acting on behalf of an institution or a government; they had privileges in doing so granted by the superiors of the collected and supported by the wealth attributed to these superiors. Many collectors seemed to look down to what they collected and did not bother to not take notice of the performers' names or individual personalities since the recorded persons were just items belonging to a species, a practice, a place, or a single event. This seems to be cruel and yet, it is still an issue as vividly described by Smith (1999) and Ortner (2006). The magic term ‘methodology’ requested throughout all professional ways of knowing is rooted in a colonizing attitude. Passing on this still unrevised methodology comes with the prize of re-colonizing knowledge on a different level, not between West and East, but between majority and minority, between powerful minority and less powerful minority, between men and women, between young and old, between modern and traditional, and between those who implement the methodology first and those who come too late. Though this discussion is not in the scope of this article, power relationships substantiated by the way how early recordings came into being could in some cases continue in difficulties with repatriation. The study of agency (Ortner, 2006:137) in this regard is highly recommended.

Yet there is a strong need in old recordings. Possibly everybody who can afford thinking of their future beyond the personal horizon, old recordings make new recording achievements somehow more “historical”. By experiencing the difference in quality, the future change of current quality will be more realistically anticipated. By knowing what was recorded in past times, present time recordings become less mind dominating. Saying that only some freaks would be interested in early recordings continues the colonial pattern of divides in the elite and the crowd, the educated sub-being that is affected by one's own role model and the dumb rest who just imitates the outer appearance without showing any true interest.

Issue 2

2) It is too expensive in terms of time and manpower to do anything with old recordings unless someone pays properly for that effort. Keeping these recordings is horribly expensive. So, if anyone wants to do something about them, then it should be paid for already conducted maintenance first.

This argument is rather disturbing as it comes out of a complete detachment from any responsibility for historical facts but with the experience of economic pressure caused by an obviously irresponsible system of historical continuity that makes so many efforts appearing just unsolved ethical issues.

It is a question of applied ethics in a world of rapid globalization and amalgamation in working processes that overlaps with the demand of culturally patterned differences in ethical approaches to each other taking religions, traditions, and individuality as a valid justification. Who is the maintenance party to demand this? To whom is it horribly expensive? Who is in the end the party that invests or profits? Isn't everybody investing as well as profiting? Again, the study of social agency in detail would be very helpful (Ortner, 2006: 137).

Only after answering these questions, the given argument can be analyzed. The cost-sensitive administration of an archive is surely not the final decision maker in this regard as the whole issue is rather an aspect of global conflicts beyond any archival horizons. For the meantime, the simple ethical education of the archivists, the people who maintain the recordings and invest their human intelligence should have been made stronger. Much could be done if people would not be ridiculed when striving for a responsible dealing with old recordings though there might be a lack of established rules in important institutions. Rules are often shaped through practice. Most of the complaints, as they have been observed, come from parties who will be undoubtedly able to decide otherwise. However, this should not spare a wider movement reaching political decisions on higher level. In line with this may be developed a strong and openly promoted new approach to a decolonizing methodology as suggested by a number of scholars (Carpenter & Riley 2014, Meskell 2013, Soderland & Lilley 2015, Smith 1999). Such a changed approach also decolonizes academia in itself and changes finally the perspective of economic effects.

Interestingly, there is a mirror of the problem: When I finished working for a archiving project in a remoted, land-locked area far from not only former colonizers but also far from academia and anything close to it. The project money run out but many tasks were still under the way. I decided to sponsor the most necessary expenses personally. Not much later, the administration of the attached institution asked for proper sponsoring of facilities as the project could only be continued as planned if these costs are covered. I was unfortunately upset about this request. But I should have thought deeply about it. It was my understanding of the matter and that of my students and trained staff to continue with the working task. Being in need of help and standing up for the right perspective does not always mean being in the right perspective of others. This has to be learned and negotiated all along the culturally interactive way regarding old recordings. However, I am not surprised anymore about those being 'helped' seeing themselves as helpers.

The second argument is closely related to the third argument:

Issue 3

3) Actually, those people to whom the recordings supposedly belong should be happy that these recordings exist. Otherwise, nothing much would be known about their past. However, we don't know enough about the recordings to be sure of their meaning, so it is not worth to be too excited.

This argument uttered by professionals and enthusiasts being involved in preservation and description seems to be indeed an outcry for help. Their work is based on other anthropologists' or ethnomusicologists' experiences accessible in various ways and under different conditions such as secondary sound recordings, hand written notes, letters, or simple forms filled in under time pressure (Ziegler, 2006).

Also, looking at the process of repatriation, there might be some truth on both sides of the negotiation table as some administrators of cultural institutions or village heads wish to overrule public interest by superficial enthusiasm and goals serving other purposes than cultural knowledge building. And then, again, the question arises whether the descendants of the powerful collectors are just opinionated and do not consider their own academic history in the light of the requests for repatriation. The ethic issue evolves in combination with the vulnerable academic approach.

For example, while accessing one of the recordings in the collection of Weiss. Everything known about this early recording is taken from descriptions in the language of the collector, widely inaccessible to people outside the collector's world. Operating with the little information given and figuring out what might have been the context of the recording, local people had to be contacted and the recording had to be compared with other old recordings, experts and cultural representatives consulted. The result is discouraging as the information given through the collector and the recently provided information is so far apart from each other that creates doubts about other collections of the same archive or at least about any other item of the same collection.

Also, and that is a point important to the process of repatriation, the author did not take part in the archival institutions' search for more information through experts in the collectors' cultural and academic circles. The results might be less influenced by the diachronically approachable background.

The recorded sound was the most significant source of information. The second step, recently less widespread as a method, was the depiction of the musical interpretation. The sound is transcribed as an excerpt using traditional 5 line staff notation and structured in musical phrases of different length in order to visualize the way of shaping the musical idea. The result looks like this:



FIGURE 1: Transcription of a recording found on cylinder 13 of the Weiss Collection Südchina, the beginning until 0:00:40:02 (it is sung on vowels without word meaning).

VII_W_6341_Weiss_Südchina_13_NK from Wave Sound, 0:02:23, 12372 KB Date modified 29 May 2006	
Yi "song" in the intonation of a wind instrument in a dialect used north of Yunnan free metric, with inserted words	Aufgenommen bei dem Stamme der Wu Pao Chia (Lolo) November 1913. Yangtse s Min (Szechuan) Imitation des Flötengesanges auf einem Stück Holz rhythmische Sprache

FIGURE 2: Information available through the published catalogue of cylinder recordings (Ziegler 2006) and a first listening considering some dialect experiences in the originating area.

A bit like Bimo's tone in a Yi-like intonation, Human voice (one person). The text is just simple, but in the middle of the song, the singer asks for putting the light on (the fire) around 41 seconds into the song. Atieshuori, an informant coming from an Yi-group in Sichuan, confirms that this melody is representing another music usually produced on a wind instrument called buma which denotes supposedly a vertical flute. Despite not being sure of this by investigating the musical structure later, Atieshuori can understand parts of the text he listened to: “哼唱，学当地的马布曲。越西和甘洛一带。“我会学唱马布曲，马布曲的意思是：把火烧起来，我要烤火。把火烧起来，我要烤火”[/humming.../ I learn a melody from the buma, in Yuexi and Ganluo, light on the fire, I need to warm up myself, light on the fire, I need to warm up myself...]. He identifies the song according to the text as the buma tune, which consists of repetitive parts about making a fire. There seems to be a contradiction to what the original recordist noted. The call for making light or fire is part of the song text and not a literary request. Interestingly, the text identification dominates the process of identifying the represented practice of the buma playing. The only hint of dealing with a representing sound is the remark that the singer is shouting noisily, which would not be tolerated by today's villagers. The 'shouting' might be a hint of imitating a reed instrument rather than a flute. Generally, the practice of representing wind instruments onomatopoeically or through whistling is not surprising. However, the recordist did mention this case as something outstanding since it was due to the given circumstances. It can be concluded that there were no instruments other than those imitated and the singer, who could have been the bimo of the village, who just wanted to show the sound and possibly imitating a sound like a wind instrument. Doing so, might not have been a practice but an outstanding behavior of this one person towards the stranger.

The information is so vague and inconsistent that the recorded item is hard to define. From today's viewpoint, the exact meaning might be the most interesting. However, from the viewpoint of an archivist or a recordist, this example shows that this old recording is anything but a clear case and that the whole recording situation might have been put up in representation of absent possibilities. Consequently, the description of the source as well as the sound has to be critically approached at any time. Being an early recording does not mean being the most "original" recording.

In the said collection, this song is followed by another song executed by the same singer (cylinder 14 of the Weiss Collection Südchina). However, this recording represents a wedding song that is never sung alone but in a group of people as this is a wedding song .

The problem with old recordings is indeed a missing reliability of any accompanying documentation. However, it is the recording itself that shows the facts. The cylinder 13 recording supposes to be an imitation of an instrument. But right in the beginning, when properly analyzed, for example by transcribing a short part of the sound, it is obvious that here are imitated at least two instruments, It could be a pair of melody instruments and not only one. In the fifth line, the second higher pitched instrument comes in, which marks the conclusion of the rather free metric introduction. Shortly after that, the singer arrives at the repetitive call for making a fire to warm up himself as part of a traditional text identified as the buma tune.

The result is that one sole singer could represent more instruments that are possibly often used together in various events. He never claimed of delivering an authentic musical item. The supposed 'performer' already summarized, 'translated', and 'packed' the information into something that is hard to recognize later through means of a description. Nobody can be sure about anything as there is always a detachment from knowledge regarding space, time, or agents. But, does it mean that it is not worth to look into the details and recover the conditions? Kahunde (2012) tried to get to a similarly rhetoric question though coming from another perspective when reviving a court tradition with the help of old recordings made available through the British Library.

To deliver another striking example currently experienced: In search of the various ways in making a lusheng, a mouthorgan made mainly by Miao people in Guizhou and Guangxi to be used in large sets by Dong, Yao, and Miao people, an idea developed. What if researchers use social media in order to find past instrument makers by spreading insufficiently documented pictures from items collected in various folklore museums? Discussing this issue in a serious way among scholars in Guangxi, it was concluded that it is not the belief in discovering the truth about these items through crowdsourcing but the belief that this method could stimulate the awareness of historical developments and communal knowledge in remote areas among those who are widely alienated from it through exactly those social media. A question that sounds like searching for information can have a great impact on the connectedness between generations and recently shifted communities. Sometimes, as it seems, the method is the goal. This search movement started already. Now, many people know about the few still living lusheng makers and young villagers think of participating in the reconstruction of past skills.

This example guides directly to the last argument:

Issue 4

4) Why don't these people wait for the downloadable experience? Is it really that important to return old recordings as a digital file put on a nice tangible carrier to just have the feeling of getting "something lost" back? That seems to be ridiculous. Also, the people did not lose old recordings. On the contrary, the people should be thankful that these old recordings were safely kept.

A proverb says that only two things can always be given without losing them: kisses and songs. Pondering about this encouraging saying, the reality shows that only in case of a cultural conditioning based on similar values is given, this idea can be valid. If with every kiss – let's say – a marble would be created and got into the pocket of the kiss receiver, kissing would not be seen as something that stays with the giver. It would be seen as producing something, which is no matter how economically invaluable of personal interest to someone else. So it is with songs, with music, with sound of any kind if being recorded. If the product would have been digital in past times, the download may work fine. But it is not. The past is, so to say, not the past in this regard. It is a time in which something got lost by ways of producing this something out of what was done.

Of course, the digital experience may help to improve empowerment and control about intangible items. However, there was a time of non-digital items. The awareness of this time symbolizes the imagination of gaining back control over items that could produce any type of knowledge engraved on any type of carrier. It seems legit to ask for a non-digital way of return of something being lost in course of this practice. Seen from the viewpoint of the inherited skills, this is undoubtedly a “non-alternative” fact. Still, compromises could be negotiated. The carrier returned carries digital data and is materially completely different from the one who once carried the given information. This negotiated result shows that the act of giving is more important than the shape of the given item. In fact, the conscious doing is the point, not the technically done. Again, this points towards the study of agency and intentionality (Ortner, 2006) in the context of repatriation.

Though people do not lose experiences and skills, they may feel a loss. And if not a loss, they may feel being exploited. Seen in this light, the request of getting a digital copy back in a way of a material transmission that may include a ceremony and a direct approach to the community that is considered to be the source of the collection is not surprising. Meskell’s (2013) indication that intangible culture is difficult in this regard finds its very simple solution: all intangibility has a tangible environment from where people set off.

The maintenance of cultural resources includes its detailed understanding from more than one perspective. The future will add yet another one. Arguments which are used in order to defend the current state of dealing with early recordings have to be critically studied. Not all aspects of these arguments are easily to oppose. Nevertheless, future studies within the requesting cultures can help explain necessities of balancing power on every single level in the process of repatriation and maintaining cultural resources.

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CHINESE MUSIC AS CROSS-CULTURE: A REVIEW OF THE 21ST CHIME INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN LISBON 2018

CHIME in Lisbon was my second participation in the European Foundation for Chinese Music Research Conference. Sponsored mainly by the Fundação Jorge Alvares, it was held from May 9th to 13th 2018 at the Macau Scientific and Cultural Centre (CCCCM) in Lisbon, Portugal, and co-organized by the CCCC, the Ethnomusicology Institute of the New University of Lisbon, the Confucius Institute of the University of Lisbon, and the Confucius Institute and the Departamento de Comunicação e Arte of the University of Aveiro.

The theme of the conference was “Chinese Music as Cross-Culture.” In his welcoming address, Frank Kouwenhoven, president of CHIME, mentioned the use of “cross-culture” as a trope to address the complex of Chinese music phenomena in the modern day. My participation in this conference has deeply enriched my own understanding of this notion, through the papers, music performance, participations of the events, and the people and place of Lisbon.

The conference offered an innovative program that was diverse and dynamic. There were lectures, papers, panels, films, poster sessions and concerts that covered an extraordinary array of topics: sound studies, diaspora, cultural identities, gender studies, pan-Chineseness, contemporary composers, historical studies, musical instruments, tradition and modernity, China and its Asian neighbors, popular music, multi-media, and pedagogy. Many papers tackled the complex cross-cultural or inter/intra cultural phenomena of today, for example: Edwin Porras traced how *souna*, a double-reed folk instrument, was indigenized by the diverse cultural landscape in Cuba; Frederick Lau used *Ershou Meigui*, a celebrated Chinese rock band, to examine the concept of rock in contemporary China, and the impact of this transnational genre on Chinese youth culture; Huang Rujing applied the concept of “translocalization” to examine the use of Hindustani instruments on Chinese music reality shows, arguing the material as an important agency in claiming music exoticism; and Tan Shzr Ee investigates intersectional issues of sexuality, ethnic identity, artistic ‘authenticity,’ and class in the making of new Chinese musical femininities, discussed through two world-leading Chinese female pianists Yuja Wang and Zhu Xiao-mei.

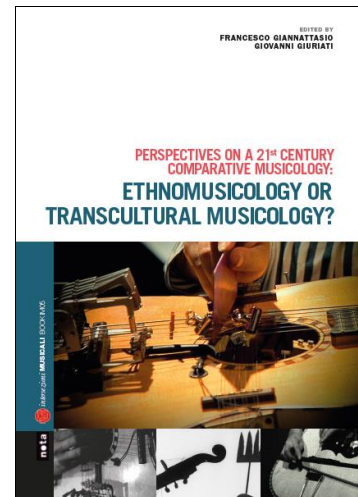
I presented a paper, “Deep Listening in Chinese Guqin Music: A Discussion of Xi Shan Qin Kuang through the Lens of Ecomusicology,” in the panel of *Excursion in Qin Music, Chinese Music Philosophy, and Music Theory*, joined by Wu Zeyuan from Ohio State University and Chow Sheryl Man-Ying from Princeton University, and chaired by Alan Thrasher, Professor Emeritus at the University of British Columbia, who also gave one of the keynote papers on “Qupai in Sizhu: Intracultural Rejection of Prevailing Models”. In my paper, I bridged the “deep listening” in ancient Chinese guqin music with the interdisciplinary field of ecomusicology to explore a cross-cultural understanding of humans, nature, and cultures in the contemporary world. By the same token, Lee Mei-Yen traced the Western scholarship on the guqin, and delineated the different perspectives on the guqin culture between the contemporary European and Chinese scholarships. In addition to the guqin, Qi Burigude presented an insightful paper on Mongolian matouqin music; Hu Qifang examined both the elite and folk pipa traditions in the last century; and Li Cheong discussed the improvisation tradition on the *erhu* through his own performer-scholar perspective.

If the academic feast was not enough, the musical intermezzos and concerts organized by the committee created a sonic festa in celebrating Chinese music as cross-culture. The solo performance of guqin player and vocalist He Yi from Beijing integrated both Chinese and Western elements in her unique singing style. In addition to her collaborations with the American cellist Jonathan Kramer and Swedish guitarist Johannes Möller, I was particularly enamored by her innovative interpretation of *Yang Guan San Die*; her timbral subtleties added layered dimensions of sound on the guqin. Johannes Möller transformed the audience through his own deliberate and soulful interpretation of Chinese music on guitar. The tap dancer Jiang Xiaofeng from Yunnan, with his rich body vocabulary, accentuated the music counterpart played by the Beijing pipaist Xia Yuyan, exciting the audience to a new level.

The above-mentioned musicians were all onstage at the public concert in Universidade de Lisboa, where the Canadian group Red Chamber was also featured. Led by the performer/scholar Mei Han, there are five virtuosos in this group: Liu Guilian (pipa), Yu Zhimin (ruan), Jiang Geling (multi-instrumentalist), and Randy Raine-Reusch (composer, multi-instrumentalist.) The program reflected both the musicians' harnessing of tradition, and a high degree of individual creativity and cultural hybridization. It would be mistaken to box their music into the category of Chinese music since their soundscape is both Canadian and global. The musical festa of the conference culminated with the second concert, the Silk Road Concert, held at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa. Pipaist Gao Hong from Minnesota and Arabian oud player Yair Dalal captivated the audience with their masterful and spontaneous collaboration. Both of the musicians fully displayed the different characteristics of their instruments through intricate vibratos and extensive expressivity. Mongolian horsehead fiddler Qi Burigude transformed the concert hall into an imaginative grassland with the magical sounds of his *matouqin*.

My sense of Chinese music as cross-culture was definitely reinforced by the people and place in Lisbon. The Macau Scientific and Cultural Centre is a beautiful and tranquil museum located at the heart of the town. Conference attendants were pampered by the hospitality and wonderful food and drinks offered daily. In addition to the rich and exquisite collections in the museum, we viewed the colorful city and the River Tagus from the 4th floor. Special thanks to Enio de Souza and Frank Kouwenhoven who connected all of us from all over the world, to spend a few days together like a big family. To me, this collective effort in scholarship, musicianship, and friendship is the true meaning of Chinese music as cross-culture.

Haiqiong Deng



REVIEW ESSAY

Francesco Giannattasio & Giovanni Giuriati, eds. 2017. Perspectives on a 21st Century Comparative Musicology: Ethnomusicology or Transcultural Musicology? Nota Intersezioni Musicali Book IM 05. Istituto Interculturale di Studi Musicali Comparati. Fondazione Giorgio Cini. Udine: NOTA.

This compilation of articles resulting from papers given on the occasion of three different seminars in three consecutive years from 2013 to 2015 (*Perspectives on an 21st Century Comparative Musicology: Ethnomusicology or Transcultural Musicology?*; *Living Music: Case Studies and New Research Prospects*, and *Musical Traditions in Archives, Patrimonies, and New Creativities*) is an interesting mixture of very updated and at the same time well-grounded insights into the core problems of a discipline that starts to question itself: Ethnomusicology or transcultural musicology? It is not by accident that the title of the first conference is also the general topic of the publication, whether there are sections on local music practices, historical research activities or general anthropology. The central question seems to be the denial of purity in cultures and the consequences for anything ethnomusicology has achieved so far.

The discussion starts off with an intense discourse delivered by Giannattasio in “Perspectives on a 21st Century Comparative Musicology: an Introduction” (10-29). This opening article is already summarizing very urgent questions to be discussed, among them the question of “what constitutes the specificity of ethnomusicology today” (11). Calling for a review of methods and goals, the author says that “This review is so crucial that it could call into question the very name of our field of study.”

Going further, Giannattasio questions the fact of abandoning the term comparative musicology, criticises the notion of multicultural or cross-cultural investigations since those terms are based on an implied authenticity of relatively closed cultures. By doing so, the author offers the subsequent articles a wide field of approaches that were taken up with different intensity.

The next article, “Transculturality - the Puzzling Form of Cultures Today” (30-49), by Welsch, an experienced philosopher with anthropological connections, takes this discussion up to another level. It is a pleasure to read this text since the author is straightforward and does not fear any disciplinary hierarchies. It is indeed this article which delivers most of the essence of the main topic. Following Adorno (1984: 192), he comes directly to the point, saying “The classical model of culture is not only descriptively unserviceable, but also normatively dangerous and untenable. What is called for today is a departure from this concept and to think of cultures beyond the contraposition of ownness and foreignness” (33). Not surprisingly, he is also drawn to re-introducing Wittgenstein’s ideas though some of the claims are not substantiated with clear examples. About nationally or regionally grown cultures, Welsch writes that “They want to distinguish themselves from one another and know themselves to be well accommodated in a specific identity” (43). However, he continues to think in relative terms by adding “The concept of transculturality goes beyond these seemingly hard alternatives. It is able to cover both global and local, universalistic and particularistic aspects, and it does so quite naturally, from the logic of transcultural processes themselves. The globalizing tendencies as well as the desire for specificity and particularity can be fulfilled *within* transculturality” (44). Finally, he admits being caught in his own arguments by using explanations such as “relation between cultures”. If the singular culture as such does not exist, it seems to be the underlying logic that relations

Jähnichen, Gisa 2018. Review Essay on ‘Perspectives on a 21st Century Comparative Musicology: Ethnomusicology or Transcultural Musicology?’. AEMR-EJ, 1: 65–69.

between cultures might be just measured in the density of certain features, not in any absolute ownness that could be nationally or locally claimed.

This article is followed by Rice's "Toward a Theory-driven Comparative Musicology" (50-65) that operates with the terminology familiar to most ethnomusicologists. However, the author is well aware of the necessity to change perspectives and to think in relative terms. He is promoting a new approach to comparative methods: "First, it could be comparative within our local idiographic, ethnographic studies. Second, it could be comparative between our local studies, that is, interculturally, cross-culturally, or transculturally. Third, it could be comparative beyond the general field of music studies, however labeled" (53). His second level of comparison within actual issues is in many cases not applicable from the viewpoint of other perspectives. The author's third level is closely related to the second one. Later, he adds, while protecting the field of ethnomusicology, that "We could, and in rare cases have, contributed to transdisciplinary themes and issues such as gender, media, and medical studies" (54-55), taking a discussion of Alan Merriam's contributions on music and identity as an example and supporting this with views from Nettl (1983) and Myers (1992). He is elaborating on what ethnomusicology is doing or not doing, then naming six different approaches to the core field: "(1) music is a resource; (2) music is a cultural form; (3) music is a social behavior; (4) music is a text; (5) music is a system of signs; and (6) music is an art" (59). Also, through following Turino's (1999) reasoning on the essential function of music in any human society, he could not take up the strong implications of the philosophical perspective given by Welsch.

The following contribution by Koch, "Tonsinn und Musik - Carl Stumpf's Discourse on the Mind as a Condition for the Development of Ethnomusicology and Erich Moritz von Hornbostel's Proposals for Music-psychological Examination" (66-81), is a complementary descriptive discourse on the beginnings of the Berlin School of Comparative Musicology. Partly trapped in the narration, he claims that "detailed knowledge about music of countless ethnic groups in all continents increased" (p?) at the advent of available technology and mobility. Koch obviously missed the point of the seminar as this paper reads like a lecture on the history of ethnomusicology and the role of the Berlin Phonogram Archive as already provided in other publications (Koch 2013). In his conclusion he modifies that his story shows "...Hornbostel's eagerness in everything concerned to psychology and questions of human perception. [...] In his further research he just couldn't follow it up because of the lack of data. Nevertheless he had a huge database on music recordings and he put intensive work into his transcriptions. Later this was definitely the main focus of his work and this created the image of comparative musicology" (79). This statement shows clearly that the discipline mirrors individual culture and perceptive patterns, too. It seems questionable if anyone who attended the seminar had ever thought of this image, when discussing comparative musicology. A clear distinction between the historical labelling of anything 'comparative' with what 'comparative' means in the context of this discussion could have been helpful.

Steven Feld's article "On Post-Ethnomusicology Alternatives: Acoustemology" (82-99) is in a refreshing way coming back to Giannattasio's "provocative and poignant introductory paper" (84), to which he relates. Feld argues that "At a time when one could embrace the musical cosmopolitanism of so many contemporary experimental fusions, as well as engage in research in remote and distant places that questioned the Eurocentric construction of 'music,' why follow the conservative path, policing the borders of what musics are to be deemed 'traditional,' or 'popular,' or 'art,' or 'Western,' or 'non-Western?'" (84). He articulates what a great number of colleagues may think of the "limitations of the dominant anthropology of music paradigms of the 1960s and 1970s: Alan Merriam's theorization of 'music in culture' (1964) and John Blacking's theorization of 'humanly organized sound' (1973)" (85). In clear words he describes neglected research domains and promotes them through his example: (1) language, poetics, and voice; (2) species beyond the human; (3) acoustic environments; (4) technological mediation and circulation. (ibid).

Guilbailt's article "The Politics of Musical Bonding. New Prospects for Cosmopolitan Music Studies Cosmopolitanism" (100-125) picks up a few very urgent perspectives that she describes in the context of Arbo's writings. She wants to point toward "'hearing-as' as a point of entry to show how sound can be agentive in fostering cosmopolitan musical bonding" (108). In some parts, she offers a slightly unhistorical review of individual appropriations that are free of historical thoughts, too. Her inspiring suggestions and her engagement with popular music markets do not only just reflect about globalism or transculturalism, they also give evidence that the bias of powerful marketability as a criterion of quality works is unchallenged.

Another short but very strong article closes the circle of fundamental articles on the main topic, this is Amselle's "From Métissage to the Connection between Cultures" (126-135). He is an experienced senior anthropologist who says about one of his past experiences that "This fieldwork led me to deconstruct three

essential categories of anthropology: the ethnic group, culture, and identity categories” (127). This radical approach resulting from his comprehensive studies in West Africa leads him “To account for the existence of an oecumene specific to this region, I proposed the ‘chains of societies’ concept in my book *Au Coeur de l’ethnie* (Amselle 1985)” (127). Quite different from the insights distributed by postcolonial authors such as Homi K. Bhabha, Ulf Hannerz, Robert Young or Édouard Glissant, he is convinced that “no culture is pure and that in reality, all cultural groups are initially made up of bits and pieces, endlessly reflecting the notion of original purity...[...]... Pure entities are therefore initially necessary for *métissage* and this is where the paradox of this notion lies” (130). Therefore, he gave up the notion of *métissage* and uses ‘connections’ instead in order to imply neutrality. In his opinion, pure local culture does not exist and has never existed. However, he observed what many colleagues may object, which is, “Beyond the phenomenon of homogenisation, we can observe the promotion of singular cultural and ethnic identities which often result from the reappropriation of ethnology and colonial raciology. By some sort of cunning ethnological reasoning, the rejection of the West and the desire for emancipation which often emerges through indigenist or nativist claims reflects, in reality, the West’s perpetuation” (134). These are his words in his concluding remarks and they are worth more than a temporary thought.

After all these heavy philosophical thoughts, the compilation continues with no less heavy observations on the musical development of a region that seems to be crucial to and exemplary for many others working in the field of current ethnomusicology. Guriati starts with two articles, one introducing a panel about case studies on Naples under the title “Some Reflections on a new Perspective in Transcultural Musicology: the Area of Naples as a Case Study” (136-145) and one being one of the panel articles “The Music for the Festa dei Gigli in Nola” (146-157). He states right at the beginning that this is “a kind of research that, while keeping certain methodological tools of ‘classical’ anthropology of music or ethnomusicology, deal with music that are increasingly far from the ‘oral tradition’ and the ‘otherness’ as we used to know it, while keeping a great amount of orality in the process of music making and transmission of knowledge” (136). Then he discusses “classical cultural boundaries” that were and are imposed in different ways with different aims on social sciences and humanities in general. Therefore, he tries to escape the pre-installed notions that “...border-crossing must be intended here not in traditional geographic sense, since we are referring to a rather limited geographical area; rather, in the sense of crossing musical genres, performing practices, functions, styles, social levels...” (139). He argues about patronization, referring to Gianattasio and says that maintenance cannot be inherited and revival might be the only positive outcome. Then he asks whether ethnomusicologists are dealing with a living or a revived tradition. He calls the terms ‘tradition’ and ‘ethno’ in ethnomusicology a problematic issue since the disciplinary boundaries reflect confusion since they shift from one to another, probably more useful perspective. Giuriati further takes up Giannattasio’s remarks on otherness, diversity, and preservation and says that these thoughts might be also racist if they are seen as a doctrine. Instead he promotes the idea of “the pluralization of identities” (139) recommending Carpitella (176) who earlier advised the application of a specific differential analysis in order to explain the universe in its spatial and temporal changes. Guriati considers popular music as an impacting factor on differentiation and calls it “the pervasive influence of popular music” (143) which is finally contrasting “That of the aesthetic judgment, of the aura of the music” (154), which refers to an imagined authenticity.

This article is followed by Rizzoni’s “Tradition and Reframing Processes in the Madonna dell’Arco Ritual Musical Practices in Naples” (158-175), talking mainly about new practices, formally wholly foreign to traditionally adopted expressive codes, which become established because they convey symbolic implications somehow more effectively (171). Vacca’s article “Songs and the City: Itinerant Musicians as Living ‘Song Libraries’ at the Beginning of the 20th Century in Naples: the ‘Posteggiatori’” (176-185) goes one step further and discusses, beyond the many details he provides, interesting reasonings on transcultural musicology. He says “If ‘transculturalism’ is meant today as a paradigm of borderless traditions, ‘a consequence of the inner differentiation and complexity of modern cultures’, to use the words of Wolfgang Welsch the *posteggiatori* are exactly what we need to understand” (182). Di Mauro’s article “Identity Construction and Transcultural Vocation in Neapolitan Song: a ‘Living Music’ from the Past?” (186-221) refers to Josep Martí Perez’ research (Barcelona), as a theoretical framework using the categories ‘cultural frame’, ‘social relevance’, and ‘hybridisation’. He says that his paper “will attempt to refer to concepts such as ‘identity’ and ‘transculturalism’, and, on the other, to try and provide my own personal idea of what may be meant by ‘living music’” (187). The author offers many text examples and concludes “I realised that while analysing the history of Neapolitan song in search of its ‘Neapolitaness’, I actually discovered a large number of non-Neapolitan models and how much therefore of ‘non-Neapolitan’ there was in Neapolitan song.” (191).

Agamennone's two articles that follow are "Current Research in the Salentine Area: an Introduction" (222-225) and "An Historical Perspective on Ethnomusicological Enquiry: Studies in the Salento" (226-247). He states rather plainly that "This section contains two papers on performance practices and the experience of studies concerning the Salentine area, the easternmost region of the Italian peninsula. The analysis and considerations are focused mainly on local music traditions and their influence on contemporary music making" (223). Both articles do not relate too much to the big topic, however, they deliver individual insights into the practice of contemporary research and music practice of a region. Some of his remarks may provoke some thoughts about the way research is understood and whether this might be a part of the main problem. He starts a paragraph with, for example, "The availability of many sound sources collected by authoritative scholars..." (223), and elaborates about the difficulties resulting for any critical editions of musical sources. These remarks can raise the question of whether writings are indeed sources in music. Other discussed areas are kept in a familiar tone of complaints about the distribution of financial support, governmental decisions, whether or not elements are authentic to local music traditions and how the efforts of local music schools are valued. The second paper includes some explanations and suggested clues to what could have happened during an important fieldwork in 1954, however, it was left unsaid for what reason this reconstruction might help in understanding the topic and how and for whom the revival benefits and why there is this need for getting back to one point in history which is often misinterpreted as "the" history. The value of these articles is the strong will of the author to go into details found through archival work, letters, recordings, and related items. He describes the re-enacting of a music therapy on stage, which was just invented in the 1950/60s, and looks at tarantism "from a strictly musicological point of view" (243) praising Attanasi's (2007) contribution to this field of work.

The final article of the book is Gervasi's "Rhetoric of Identity and Distinctiveness: Relations between Aesthetic Criteria and the Success of Salentine Musicians in the Contemporary Folk Revival" (248-270) who writes about the "music of the Salentine traditional scene" (249). She is dividing her research focus into 3 periods: 1) the ethnographic collections from 1954 to 1960, surveying practices still found in the rural communities; 2) a first revivalist wave in the 1970s, as a reaction to the progressive transformation of rural society and the consequent abandonment of music practices; 3) a second revivalist wave in the 1990s, experienced as a renewed interest in the culture and forms of knowledge of the rural past" (249). Also, she divides the *cantante* (singer) from the *cantori* (traditional amateur folk singers) (251) in order to clarify individual differences. The essence of her article is a listening test with a small group of high impact respondents. She says about recently active musicians that "They seem to be constantly trading between their status as actors on the international music market and that of *passeurs* of the practices and the various values of a socio-cultural rural context that no longer exists." (250). In a final realistic overview she finds that this "is the result of several factors: the biography of each musician and their musical training...[...]; their relationship and personal experience with the tradition; their subjective interpretation of the musical tradition; their artistic and musical skills; and lastly, the rules of the music market" (268). It would have been interesting to look closer at the rules of the music market from the same perspective in a consistent historical way.

In summary, this book is a very valuable contribution to necessary discussions and should be introduced to as many students in any field of musicology as possible.

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“WHY CAN’T WE SING TOGETHER?”

REVIEWING THE ACTIVITIES OF SOUNDATE

Cheng Qiaoqiao

The title says what I want to talk about: why can’t we sing together, that’s a very abstract way of talk, I don’t really mean that we shall sing a real song together, Just give you a short explanation, so, who are we?

Here, I take the opportunity to introduce a new creative company in Shanghai. This conference about recording and archiving states clearly that both activities are an important work of any musicologist, ethnomusicologist, and librarian. However, I think that many people from different occupations or identities, including the ethnomusicologist, also the artists, film directors, musicians, and specific manufacturers, these all share the same interest in music and sound recording.

That is part of the meaning with ‘sing together’. Looking back into the history of ethnomusicology, scholars often took a one-way research method as I was taught: we go to do a field work, we observe our research subject, then we come back to write a paper or book, we produce the knowledge of what we think. Here, I will review several collaborations involving the young creative company SounDate, mainly research collaboration or research based on and generating filming and recording from different perspectives. The term ‘young creators’ refers to people in my age born between the 1980s to 1990s now doing field recordings and archiving not only in academic institutions or national departments, but also in the creative industry. They try to transform their recordings into something usefully applied on a sustainable level. These young creators play a very important role in sharing music and sound, in passing over different kinds of knowledge, to let “us” sing together.

For instance, Wei Xiaoshi¹. His recent ‘publication’ is a sound archive documenting a very famous Uyghur musician. Also the Ban’du music studio in Shanghai, based in a creative space of Shanghai, regularly organizes music performances of specific Chinese music 民乐.² The studio’s founder Liu Sing used to be a Chinese zither player. His team also published traditional music recordings such as the Dongzu Dage.³ Now, I use this chance to introduce some projects that I and my company have been done as an example of the young creator’s work.

I’m currently running my own Cultural Communication company Soundate, in Chinese is 行走的耳朵 it means walking ears, with my business partner. One thing that is very positive for us: from this year we start to make a profit in order to support our upcoming projects and also ourselves.

We founded SounDate in 2012, and on our website, we defined our goal as: ‘to discover the possibilities and build a bridge between academic and public knowledge, also to communicate among traditional, popular, and sub culture, to find our own way to push forward a sustainable cultural and ecological development. Furthermore, to deliver our thoughts about the society, the globe, and the universe through music and sound’.

The projects we’ve been doing included ethnographic films, oral history interviews, field recordings, music

¹ Who is right now running his own record label Tashi.

² Min Yue, derived from Min Zu Yin Yue, is a specific term for a kind of academic or classical Chinese music played on reputed instruments. Its informal character is often seen as an official naming (Lau 2007).

³ For more information: Ingram (2012).

recordings, organizing live performances and music festivals, workshops and exhibitions. In some of these activities we cooperated with academic institutions, and regarding some of them we worked with purely commercial companies.

From 2013 until now, our fieldwork and ethnographic filming projects have been covering some areas in Inner Mongolia and Xinjiang for multi part music and soundscape of Mongol, Kyrgyz, Khazak and Tuvan, and many other places all over the country (Figure 1).

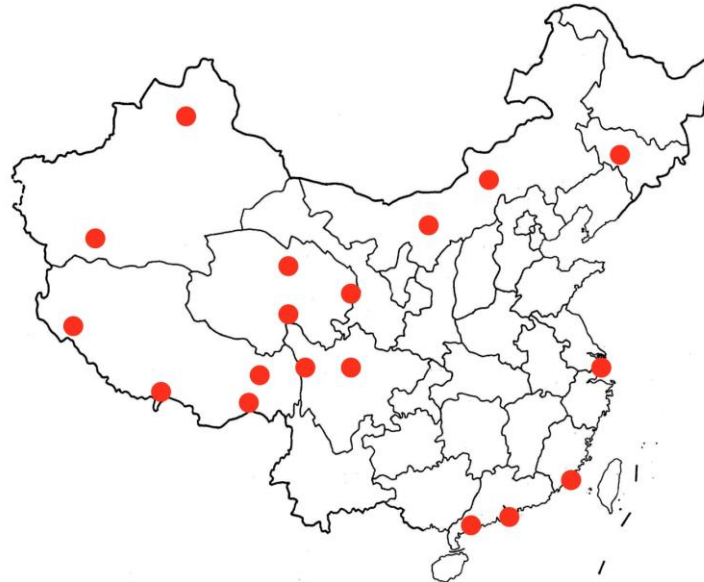


FIGURE 1: Map scheme of recording spots.

For the activities part, we've been continuously cooperate with

- SMG, Shanghai Media Group from 2015
- Shanghai Danology Institute
- local galleries/天地人神
- with Korean, Zhuang, and Yao musicians and scholars,
- at Power Station of Art (PSA) in cooperation with Shanghai Conservatory of Music (SCM) where the performances are open to the public.

It seems that we are working in many different areas. Most of the time, a cultural based company will focus only on events or only on film production. It is not very easy to do everything together and do it well. Nevertheless our projects are all well connected. There's an example:

From 2013, we started an ethnographic film project named "Sounding Nomad" with Shanghai conservatory of music, University of Inner Mongolia and Xinjiang Normal University. The main purpose was to research the local soundscape and multi part music including different types of vocal and instrumental music being practiced in the golden steppe of China.

Except shooting the ethnographic film, we also invited musicians that we met from our fieldwork, to have workshops and performances along our tour.

In some cases, we were inviting musicians who usually do not perform on stage, however, we tried to make them feel comfortable with it. In a music festival we wish to have experienced musicians, who are used to perform on stage either in their community or in front of others. Then we also invite music makers to do experimentally music on a transformed stage that does not look really like a conventional stage but like a mourning hall or a big room. This difference is necessary in order to get an active feedback within the

communities. This work is important to let the performing people and the audience getting into a dialog of mutual acknowledgement. The exchange reaches even the emotional level between musicians and audience. We asked the performers to perform freely without thinking of the rather unfamiliar context. They were purposely not guided into a stage situation.

We are also involved in the “Concert on The Green”⁴ since 2015, which is annually held in May. This large music festival was last year fully directed and executed by us. It is the first open-air classical music festival in China, and since Soundate participates in the team, we successfully established our own stage and bring different yet to be promoted kinds of music to the festival.

In 2017, we collaborated with the automobile company Chevrolet and World Music Shanghai. We went with them on a road trip in the western part of China: Xinjiang\Tibet\Sichuan and Qinghai. Chevrolet usually does road trips when launching a new car type. This time, they wanted to increase the attraction by taking us with them to collect cultural elements along the road they traveled in order to introduce their new product. The Chevrolet was the first car using a music player in their cars and the company wanted to connect to this historical feature. This is the reason why they thought of our company. For the company, the main point was to get financial support for other projects. Also, we could collect music following the randomly chosen road.

We cooperated together for a documentary of which the main theme was music and sound. So, our role in this complex team was to lead the team to find different kinds of music and soundscapes throughout the journey, and for us, it's our chance to get the recordings for research and later communication.

Unavoidably disappointing was the fact that the music producers hired by the company Chevrolet were not within our scope of ethics towards the people of which we collected the sound. The customer imposed a music taste on us we did not like to accommodate. Yet, we needed the financial support.

So, after the trip we finished our documentary, yet we still have to deal with the sound we have recorded so far. Also, as I mentioned in the very beginning, we want to find our way to connect with the society, especially with the people's lives in the cities, those being affected by mass population. We want to attract the people with real stories and a bit of an academic background, but we did not want to deliver just another kind of entertainment. Therefore, we made an exhibition in Xintiandi, one of the top tourist sites in Shanghai, during the national holidays. The exhibition was sponsored by the first World Music Festival: World Music Shanghai.



FIGURE 2: Arranged exhibition in Xintiandi.

The content of the exhibition are the photographs we have been taking during our road trip, and the visitor will find a QR code on every photo description in order to read more about each item. Also, after you scan this QR code with your mobile phone, you are able to listen to the recording from our road trip, and hear

⁴ For more information: <http://concertonthegreen.com/> (Last accessed 12 June, 2018).

about the story behind the photography and recording. The company Sonos supported us with their amplifiers to play parts of our selected recordings in high quality.

We are thankful for any feedback, ideas, and directions.

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WHEN THE VISIBILITY OF THE AUDIO MEETS THE AUDIBILITY OF THE VISUAL:

A Review on Cities and Memory: Sound Photography

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In visual arts, literary arts, and performing arts such as dance, theatre and film, visual elements are effective operators to the perception of an audience who integrates the vision into the consciousness towards the idea transmitted by the creator. In contrast, the understanding of music roots principally in the auditory sense for the sense-making of the audio data. As the visual source-localization are far developed for humans (Schutz 2008: 85), the overwhelming significance of the visual over the audio in the new media is intensified with the rise of online video culture, as the visual may aid the imagination faster and become a more potentially deductive knowledge. Hence, trends of the online video facility often escalate fast from low resolution to high definition, while the improvement on audio properties is usually of less concern.

Hence, audiovisual composition projects like Cities and Memory: Sound Photography lead to two lines of discussion: the visibility of the audio in the absence of the visual, and the audibility of the visual in the absence of the audio. For the case of Cities and Memory, the ideas of visibility and audibility in creative works are parallel, but both the visual and the audio may not be equally complementary to each other.

Founded by Stuart Fowkes, a sound artist and field recordist based in Oxford, UK, Cities and Memory is a collaborative worldwide project for field recordists, sound artists, musicians and sound enthusiasts who contribute sound recordings collected from various cities in the world, as well as sound remixes produced for a specific location through re-imagination. To date, with over 500 sound contributors being carefully credited, it is reported that the audio collection contains more than 2,000 audio sounds mapped on more than 80 countries in the world. Thanks to the network technology in the 21st century, internet users worldwide can overcome spatial and temporal boundaries to freely explore the audio files pinned on the virtual globe, and to be informed of the audio contributors (Cities and Memory 2018d).



FIGURE 1: A screenshot of the mapping of 116 sonic compositions on the virtual globe as responses to the photography works.

Cities and Memory: Sound Photography, the latest venture of Cities and Memory in 2018, employs a new approach that integrates photography as the visual aids to the audio. Aiming to explore the relationship between photography and sound and how sound is used to respond to what people see around them in

today's visually-dominated culture, *Cities and Memory* invited photographers worldwide to contribute photographs of various places in the world. Selected images are to inspire global composers to deliver sonic compositions of various creative methods. They comprise both the surreal imagery of scenic nature and urban landscape through camera filters, and the haunting reality of various human activities through journalistic perspectives on the universal themes in humanity such as solitude, dystopia, death, technology, faith, joy, and the celebration of life.

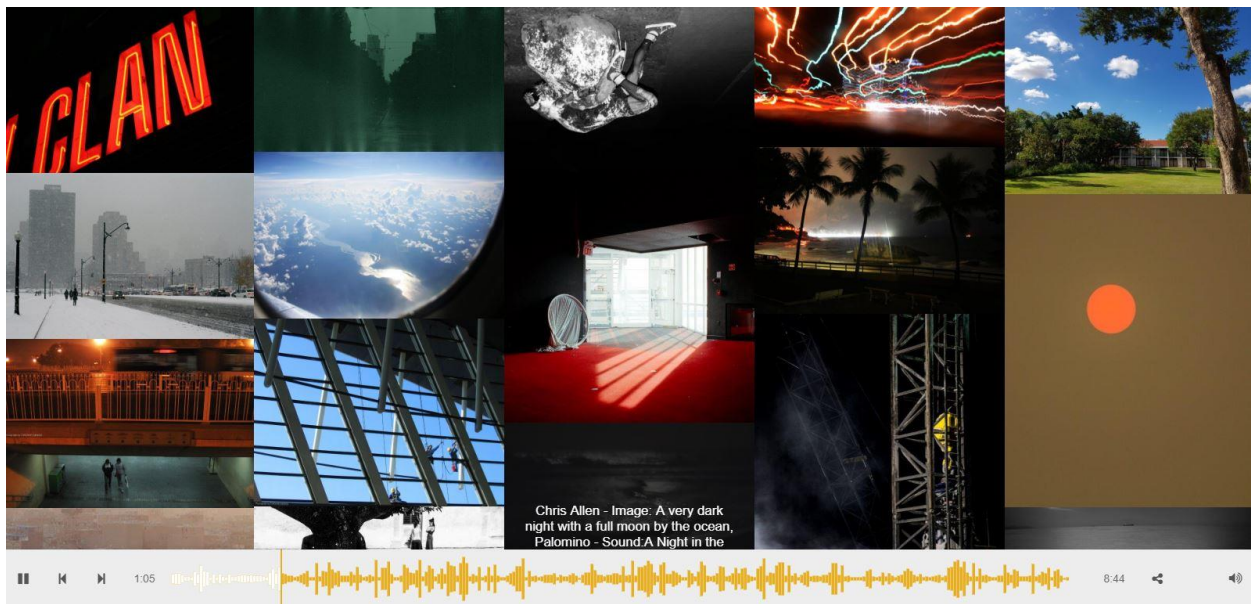


FIGURE 2: A screenshot of the interactive gallery of *Cities and Memory: Sound Photography*. Sound player design is credited to Tim Waterfield at Kennebec.

Inspired by the ethnographic works of the photographers, 116 composers have responded with sonic compositions, which have various durations ranging from 34" to 18'23", by using various creative techniques and sonic components (*Cities and Memory* 2018c): fusing acoustic recordings from the environment, such as of an amplified electromagnetic field (as in Rod Stasick's *Ciradau* (Hemycapnoise Deepseeing)) and of a word phrase in 20 translated languages (as in *Cities and Memory's* *Gratitude*); constructing new sounds by using raw visual data from the photography (as in Stef Merchak's *Dark Energy*); constructing new melodies by using suggestive visual elements as musical notation (as in Gurdy Simm's *Formation*); constructing sonic experience of the location with collections of historical sound recordings (as in Karl Heding's *Terminus*); and integrating audible fairytales through the ages into the sonic composition (as in *Cities and Memory's* *A Stromboli Fairytale*).

Since the visual and the audio of a 'sound photography' work were created separately at different times and by two different artists, an interesting question could be whether the visibility of the audio essentialises the audibility of the visual, and vice versa. Instances are two snapshots in China and India: the former depicts two citizens exiting a subway station near the Tian'anmen Square while a night bus rushing on the road above in Beijing; the latter depicts a scenic view from a ghat in Varanasi, with morning bathers in the Ganges River and a Hindu-styled pavilion in the foreground. Scott Wilson, who composed *Beijing Broadcast* as a response to the former, 'mixes post-processed field recording with captured shortwave broadcasts' that 'pass through lonely bodies' based on the perceivable loneliness in a metropolis (*Cities and Memory* 2018a). Matt Burnett, who composed *Ganges Morning* as a response to the latter, digitally processes a chorus recorded in Berlin instead in order to 'reflect the universal human experience of starting one's day', and ends the composition with a metallic chime sound as 'inspired by the light reflected on the river' (*Cities and Memory* 2018b).

It appears to the reviewer who is also the contributor of both visuals that both audio works are highly experimental with electroacoustic manipulation, but they also correspond stunningly to the visual intent. At a glance, viewers may imaginatively hear the following: a mixed rhythm of forceful vehicles against mellow footsteps as in Beijing, or a drone of water flow with a chanting whisper in the air of Varanasi. As the result, the visibility in Wilson's audio work is unexpectedly arrhythmic, cybernetic, and mystified; Burnett's offering is surprisingly reminiscent to the audible imagination of the photographer, although he digitally manipulates a chorus sampled in Berlin that is not culturally related to Varanasi.

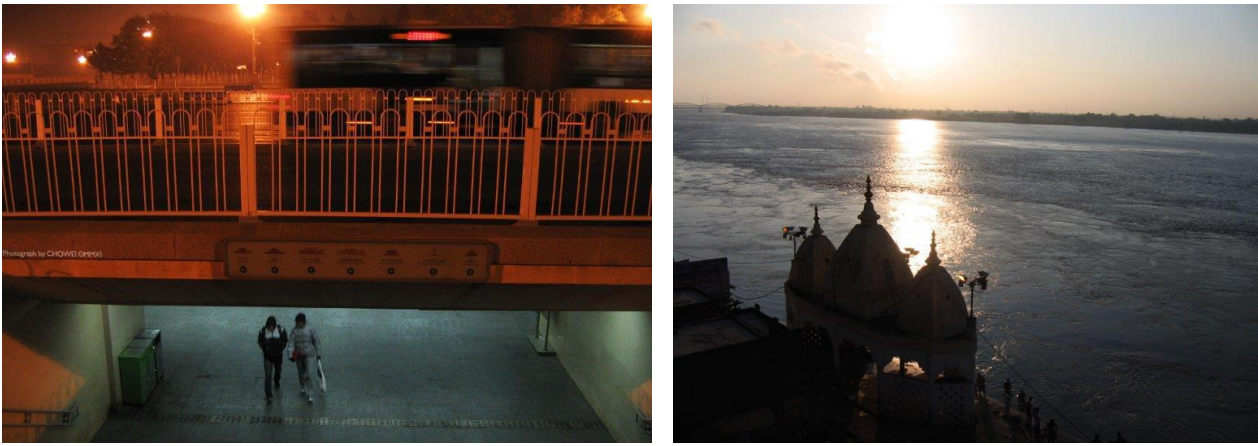


FIGURE 3: Visual sources for Scott Wilson’s Beijing Broadcast (left) and Matt Burnett’s Ganges Morning. Photographs by O.W. Chow (Cities and Memory 2018a; 2018b)

As pictorial media are deemed more commonly recognized as an essential part of cultural identity, it is also of the concerns of ethnographers and visual anthropologists whether digital interactive ethnographies will be developed as an important direction to study humanity (Ruby 2005: 166). Apart from serving as an internet media exposition, Cities and Memory: Sound Photography projects a new question of whether the visibility of the audio and the audibility of the visual could correspond with the imagination and the intent of both interests. Any possible divergence of the expectation in the visibility and the audibility is still a positive sign of progress, but a society lacking of such imagination is not.

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