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Information for Authors

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From the Editor

This issue has an unusually striking set of articles, linked by their timeliness and their potential impact within our field and beyond. Michael Silver's "Attending to the Nightingale: On a Multispecies Ethnomusicology" draws from an historiography of the study of birds in the ethnomusicological scholarship, and the author's research on music and birds in Brazil. He proposes an approach to ethnomusicology that emphasizes nonhuman factors and their own properties and effects as a method for better understanding music as a meaningful human phenomenon. Catherine Appert and Sidra Lawrence's article "Ethnomusicology beyond #MeToo: Listening for the Violences of the Field" responds to an increasing sense of urgency about harassment and assault during ethnographic fieldwork in the era of #MeToo, and offers a lesson plan for effecting systemic change in our discipline. Timothy D. Taylor's article "Circulation, Value, and Exchange in the Movement of Music" moves beyond the familiar metaphor of "flows" to describe how music moves in an era commonly thought of as globalized. Drawing on Marx, as well as anthropologists who have studied value and exchange, the author uses the case study of radio to argue that things circulate because they have value, and circulation, therefore, manifests as the constant exchange of time, money, goods, and more, thus always (re)making social life and relations. Brian Fairley's article "Blackbirds in the Archive: Genealogy and Media in a Century of Georgian Folk Song" examines early recordings of Georgian folk music and their use by present-day singers through the dual lens of ethnography and media archaeology. The author focusses on one song in particular, recorded in 1907 and re-created in concert in 2009, which demonstrates a complex negotiation between changing ideals of vocal timbre and the desire to be faithful to all aspects of the original recording, even mistakes or idiosyncrasies. This issue also showcases the Presidential Call-and-Response Roundtable from 2018, "Humanities' Responses to the Anthropocene." Timothy Cooley asks the Roundtable a series of questions, to include, "How might we retune our abilities to better enable humans to hear, feel, see, smell, and sense empathetically, not just other humans but other biological beings as well so that we might live together sustainably? Can we position ethnomusicology and musicology at the

forefront of the battles for environmental justice?" Not surprisingly, panelist responses are in-depth, provocative, and diverse (do take the time to read this!).

The Journal's book review editors (Katherine Brucher and Mark DeWitt) continue their intrepid and dedicated work, and forwarded several book reviews, to include Joshua Brown's review of Neil V. Rosenburg's book, Bluegrass Generation: A Memoir; Steven F. Pond's review of Dale Chapman's The Jazz Bubble: Neoclassical Jazz in Neoliberal Culture; and Denise Von Glahn's review of Rachely Mundy's Animal Musicalities: Birds, Beasts, and Evolutionary Listening. Ben Harbert, who edits the Film, Video and Multimedia Reviews section, sent along Miranda Sousa's review of *Híbridos: The Spirits of Brazil* (directed by Priscilla Telmon and Vincent Moon); Rachel Colwell's review of The Man Behind the Microphone (directed and written by Claire Belhassine); and Theresa A. Allison and Jennie M. Gubner's review of Alive Inside (directed and produced by Michael Rossato-Bennett). We also have two outstanding recording reviews capably edited by Donna Lee Kwon—one by Ruth Mueller, of Silk Butterfly: Yi Ji-young Gayageum Compilation (Performed by Yi Ji-young, Kim Eung-seo, Lee Yong-koo, Lee Tae-baek, Heo Yoon-jeong, Kim Woong-sik, Svetlin Roussev, and William Youn); and a review essay by Benjamin DuPriest, of Parchman Farm: Photographs and Field Recordings, 1947–1959 (recorded by Alan Lomax, produced by Steven Lance Ledbetter and Nathan Salsburg), and Voices of Mississippi: Artists and Musicians Documented by William Ferris (produced by William Ferris, April Ledbetter, and Steven Lance Ledbetter).

Special thanks, once again, are due to a handful of wonderful people for their guidance and counsel, especially SEM Executive Director Stephen Stuempfle, SEM President Timothy Cooley, and Kate Kemball, Journal Productions Editor at University of Illinois Press. Drew Griffin, our journal's assistant editor, keeps things real and in good humor as always. Thanks also go to the hard-working Journal Editorial Board, as well as to all of the anonymous readers of journal articles. Prospective authors, please keep the top-notch articles coming in; our wonderful reviewers are asked to shorten the time to publication with quick turnarounds, and you, intrepid readers, are asked to enjoy the latest efforts of your colleagues.

Frank Gunderson

Notes on Contributing Authors

Catherine M. Appert, associate professor in the Department of Music at Cornell University, holds a PhD in Ethnomusicology with a graduate certificate in Women's Studies from the University of California, Los Angeles. Her research on popular music in Senegal, The Gambia, and US urban centers focuses on questions of globalization, migration, and diaspora; the ethnographic study of musical genre; global racial constructs; and gender and research methods. Her book, *In Hip Hop Time: Music, Memory, and Social Change in Urban Senegal* was published in 2018 with Oxford University Press.

Aaron S. Allen is director of the Environment & Sustainability Program in the Department of Geography, Environment, and Sustainability, College of Arts and Sciences, and associate professor of musicology in the School of Music, College of Visual and Performing Arts, at UNC Greensboro. A fellow of the American Academy in Rome, he earned a PhD from Harvard University with a dissertation on the nineteenth-century Italian reception of Beethoven. His BA in music and BS in ecological studies are from Tulane University. He is co-editor with Kevin Dawe of the collection *Current Directions in Ecomusicology: Music, Culture, Nature* (Routledge 2016), which was the 2018 recipient of the Ellen Koskoff Edited Volume Prize from the Society for Ethnomusicology.

Timothy J. Cooley is Professor of Ethnomusicology and Global Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara. He teaches courses on vernacular and popular musics in Central European and the USA. His edited volume, *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*, edited with Greg Barz and now in its second edition, is a standard text for students of ethnomusicology. His second book, *Making Music in the Polish Tatras: Tourists, Ethnographers, and Mountain Musicians*, won the 2006 Orbis Prize for Polish Studies. Cooley's second monography, *Surfing about Music*, considers how surfers musically express their ideas about surfing, and how surfing as a sport and lifestyle is represented in popular culture. Most recently he was the contributing editor of *Cultural Sustainabilities*. Currently he is serving as the President of SEM.

Brian Fairley is a PhD candidate in ethnomusicology at New York University. His dissertation traces a media history of multichannel recording experiments in Georgian traditional music while critically examining the emergence of "polyphony" as the dominant paradigm for hearing and understanding Georgian music. He received a master's degree from Wesleyan University in 2017, with a thesis on memory, media, and improvisation in the Gurian trio song. Formerly the music director and dramaturg for Double Edge Theatre in Ashfield, Massachusetts, Brian also researches experimental theatre in the Polish tradition, music and corporeal movement in Western esotericism, and the theory and ethics of fieldwork by performing artists. He is a piano accompanist and a member of Gamelan Kusuma Laras in New York.

Ruth Hellier-Tinoco (PhD) is a scholar-creative artist and professor at the University of California, Santa Barbara. In the UK she followed successful careers as an actor, musician, performer, arts facilitator and Head of Music in the 1980s and early 1990s before undertaking long-term research in Mexico. She focuses on experimental performance-making, the politics~poetics of performance in Mexico and Europe, environmental and community arts and embodied vocality, engaging with the disciplines of performance studies, ethnomusicology and music studies, critical dance and theatre studies, history and feminist studies. She is editor of the multidisciplinary journal Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos (University of California Press). Her publications include: Embodying Mexico: Tourism, Nationalism, and Performance (Oxford University Press); Women Singers in Global Contexts: Music, Biography, Identity (University of Illinois Press); and Performing Palimpsest Bodies: Postmemory Theatre Experiments in Mexico (Intellect and University of Chicago Press).

Sidra Lawrence, associate professor of ethnomusicology at Bowling Green State University, holds a PhD in Ethnomusicology and a doctoral portfolio in Women's and Gender Studies from the University of Texas at Austin. Her research utilizes an intersectional approach to address the ways that race, gender, and sexuality shape meaning in the music and sound worlds of Africa and the African diasporas. She has concentrated on the ethnographic aspects of this work, conducting research based on feminist traditions that prioritize informal conversations, daily interactions, and everyday performativities. Based on ethnographic work in Ghana and Burkina Faso, in her book manuscript in progress, "this animal called culture: Performing Feminism and the Politics of Everyday Solidarities," Lawrence argues for a re-theorization of resistance that centralizes feminist coalition building, an indigenous politics of solidarity, and intimacy between women.

Mark Pedelty is a Professor of Communication Studies and Anthropology at the University of Minnesota and Fellow at the Institute on the Environment. His two most recent books are Ecomusicology: Rock, Folk and the Environment (Temple University Press, 2012) and A Song to Save the Salish Sea: Musical Performance as Environmental Activism (Indiana University Press, 2016). Dr. Pedelty has conducted ethnographic field research in El Salvador, Mexico, British Columbia, and Washington State. He also directs music videos, composes, and performs for Ecosong.net. Pedelty teaches courses in environmental communication, research methods, and music.

Jennifer C. Post specializes in research on Central and South Asian music and on musical instruments and their production. Her research in Mongolia with Kazakh pastoralists living in the Altai Mountain region addresses music in relation to homeland and place, new mobilities, well-being, and environmental change. Recent work in collaboration with ecologists explores music and sound in social-ecological systems in Mongolia and other locations. Publications on these topics have appeared in edited collections and in the journals Ethnomusicology Forum, Journal of Ethnobiology, MUSICultures, and Yearbook for Traditional Music. She is currently co-editing a volume on Mongolian music titled Mongolian Sound Worlds and completing a book on the impact of global environmental issues on musical instrument production (both University of Illinois Press). She currently teaches ethnomusicology at the University of Arizona.

Michael Silvers is an associate professor of musicology at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. He is the author of *Voices of Drought: The Politics of Music and Environment in Northeastern Brazil* (University of Illinois Press, 2018).

Timothy D. Taylor is a professor in the Department of Ethnomusicology at UCLA. He is the author of numerous articles and books, including: *Global Pop: World Music, World Markets* (Routledge, 1997), *Strange Sounds: Music, Technology and Culture* (Routledge, 2001), *Beyond Exoticism: Western Music and the World* (Duke, 2007), *The Sounds of Capitalism: Advertising, Music, and the Conquest of Culture* (Chicago, 2012), *Music and Capitalism: A History of the Present* (Chicago, 2016), *Music in the World: Selected Essays* (Chicago, 2017), and editor, with Mark Katz and Tony Grajeda, of *Music, Sound, and Technology in America: A Documentary History of Early Phonograph, Cinema, and Radio* (Duke, 2012). Current book projects include an ethnographic study of film and television musicians in Los Angeles, and co-editing, with Anna Morcom, *The Oxford Handbook of Economic Ethnomusicology*.

Jeff Todd Titon is professor of music, emeritus, at Brown University where for 27 years he directed the PhD program in ethnomusicology. He is known for collaborative ethnographic field research based in reciprocity and friendship, and as a pioneer in establishing an applied ethnomusicology based in social responsibility. The first to propose that musical cultures could be understood as ecosystems, he is known for developing an ecological approach to cultural and musical sustainability. In 2012 he issued an appeal for a sound commons for all living creatures, part of his current project that theorizes a sound ecology. His most recent book, co-edited with Svanibor Pettan, is the *Oxford Handbook of Applied Ethnomusicology* (Oxford University Press, 2015). *Toward a Sound Ecology: New and Selected Essays* by Jeff Todd Titon (Indiana University Press) is forthcoming in 2020.

Denise Von Glahn is the Curtis Mayes Orpheus Professor and Coordinator of the Musicology area at Florida State University where she also directs the Center for Music of the Americas. She has published two books on music and nature topics: *The Sounds of Place: Music and the American Cultural Landscape*, which won a 2004 ASCAP-Deems Taylor Award, and *Music and the Skillful Listener: American Women Compose the Natural World*, which won the Pauline Alderman Award of 2015. Her scholarship has appeared in *JAMS, JSAM*, and *American Music*, as well as journals and essay collections in the U.S. and abroad. In 2017 Von Glahn published *Libby Larsen: Composing an American Life*, a title in the Music in American Life series at University of Illinois Press.



Attending to the Nightingale: On a Multispecies Ethnomusicology

MICHAEL SILVERS / University of Illinois

Abstract. Posthumanism, now in the mainstream of the humanities and humanistic social sciences, poses a challenge to ethnomusicology, a discipline inherently focused on the human and social aspects of music. Drawing from a survey of birds in the ethnomusicological scholarship and the author's research on music and birds in Brazil, this article proposes an approach to ethnomusicology that emphasizes nonhuman factors and their own properties and effects as a method for better understanding music as a meaningful human phenomenon.

Resumo. O pós-humanismo, hoje no centro das correntes das ciências humanas e sociais, coloca um desafio à etnomusicologia, área intrinsecamente focada nos aspectos humanos e sociais da música. Partindo de uma visão geral das aves no campo etnomusicológico e da pesquisa do autor sobre música e aves no Brasil, o presente artigo propõe uma abordagem etnomusicológica que dá ênfase a fatores não humanos e suas propriedades e efeitos característicos como um método para entender melhor a música como um fenômeno humano significativo.

To the memory of a mentor and friend.

Ethnomusicologists are increasingly interested in posthumanism, a vast and varied literature that decenters questions of human agency and is motivated in part by environmentalist and postcolonial concerns. It has shown that the human and humanism are culturally and historically situated discourses (Badmington 2003; Descola 2013; Viveiros de Castro 2012). It has called attention to and described the stakes of our effect on ecosystems and the planet itself—many physical scientists believe we are now living in the Anthropocene (Latour 1993; Lorimer 2012; Alaimo 2016; Boes and Marshall

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2014; Chakrabarty 2009; for an early proposal for the term "Anthropocene," see Crutzen and Stoermer 2000). It has demonstrated that technology has shaped us, even as it is of our own making (Haraway 1991; Whitehead and Wesch 2012; Escobar et al. 1994). And it has demanded that we confront the reality that our fates are tied to those of other species, which in many cases, moreover, exhibit behaviors and capabilities previously understood as uniquely human (beat induction, to name one musical example) (Latour 2005; Haraway 2003; Marvin and McHugh 2014; Lestel and Taylor 2013; Latimer and Miele 2013; Feinberg, Nason, and Sridharan 2013).¹

But of what practical use is posthumanism, a concept now in the mainstream of the humanities and social sciences, to ethnomusicology? Ethnomusicologists are invested in the humanness of music. We understand music as human behavior (Merriam 1969), as human culture (Merriam 1964), and as humanly organized sound (Blacking [1973] 1977). Ethnomusicology has been defined as the study of "people making music" (Titon 2015). Ethnography and cultural history, both essentially concerned with *people*, are still our primary genres of writing.

Posthumanism undoubtedly pushes at the boundaries of our discipline. Here, I address how it might be relevant to some of the primary questions of ethnomusicology over the past few decades: music's relationship to transnationalism, to group conflict, and to race, gender, and class, among other persistent poststructuralist concerns, not to mention the making of music itself. To demonstrate its applicability to these concerns and to our field in general, I identify and justify posthumanism's emergence in ethnomusicology, examine its deep roots in (and thus relevance to) our field, and offer a particular application of it to contemporary scholarship based on my own research, which involves music and the nonhuman in Brazil.

Questions of multiple (and relational) ontologies, of anthropogenic ecological change, of the reciprocal effect of our own creations on ourselves, and of human exceptionalism—the observations I outline in the opening paragraph—are of crucial significance to the various social factors that contribute to the making of our contemporary (sonorous) world. Posthumanism does not deny the social constructedness of much of our world; rather, it challenges us to question received wisdom about our place within it. Whereas the late twentieth century's reflexive turn was a crisis of epistemology, the early twenty-first century's posthuman turn is a crisis of ontology (Whitehead 2012:218). This unsettling of the basic categories of being and thus the undoing of key dualisms—nature/culture, human/nonhuman, subject/object—has led social scientists and humanists to consider the agency (or quasi agency) of nonhumans, in many cases describing it as emergent from assemblages of or interactions among humans and nonhumans alike (Bennett 2010; Latour 2014; Barad 1996, 2003).

Scholarship on nonhumans, influenced by the work of scholars such as Donna Haraway, Bruno Latour, Gilles Deleuze, Félix Guattari, and Tim Ingold, has demonstrated that the human experience is also a more-than-human experience and that humanity emerges from its encounter with nonhumans. Our bodies are composed of bacteria and viruses—each human is "a Being made of beings" (Sagan 2011), and companion species such as dogs (Haraway 2003), insects (Raffles 2010), and mushrooms (Tsing 2012; see also Pouliot and Ryan 2013) are coconstructing.

Such ideas have produced new methodological possibilities for anthropology, including multispecies ethnography, an approach that can serve as a model for ethnomusicologists.² Eben Kirksey and Stefan Helmreich write that "multispecies ethnography centers on how a multitude of organisms' livelihoods shape and are shaped by political, economic, and cultural forces" and entails the study of "naturalcultural borderlands" (2010:545, 546). They continue: "Multispecies ethnography involves writing culture in the anthropocene, attending to the remaking of anthropos as well as its companion and stranger species on planet Earth" (549). Laura Ogden, Billy Hall, and Kimiko Tanita expand the definition of multispecies ethnography to include inorganic beings and "the magical ways objects animate life itself": "Multispecies ethnography is a project that seeks to understand the world as materially real, partially knowable, multicultured and multinatured, magical, and emergent through the contingent relations of multiple beings and entities. Accordingly, the nonhuman world of multispecies encounters has its own logic and rules of engagement that exist within the larger articulations of the human world, encompassing the flow of nutrients and matter, the liveliness of animals, plants, bacteria, and other beings" (2013:6).

In this article, I call for a multispecies ethnomusicology. By studying music and nonhumans, we not only better comprehend human musicking but do so via an ethically and empirically motivated acknowledgment that we live among nonhuman beings who help us make our world meaningful, who affect us, and whom we affect in return. Moreover, we recognize that music is inseparable from the complex web of signification, political economies, and ecosystems.

Ethnomusicologists have been doing research that can be described as posthumanist since the 1980s, and we have been doing so explicitly in the past decade. In my view, there have been two predominant applications of posthumanism to ethnomusicological research: the study of musical instruments as objects (existing beyond but also in relation to the individual human actors who make and play them) (Bates 2012; Roda 2014; Tucker 2016); and music and sound's relationship to perspectivist ontologies (Seeger 2015; Simonett 2015; Ochoa Gautier 2016; Brabec de Mori 2013). The ripples of posthumanism can also be felt in the study of music and technoculture (Lysloff and Gay 2013; Katz

2010), voice studies (Eidsheim 2011; Rahaim 2012; Schlichter 2011), music and disability studies (Bakan 2018; Schwartz 2015), and acoustemology and sound studies (Feld [1982] 2012, 1996; Erlmann 2005), as well as ecomusicology (Guy 2009; Guyette and Post 2015; Titon 2013), all of which at times explore material bodies (only some of them human) and their articulations with music, culture, and society.

Other ethnomusicologists have also recently called for the study of nonhuman animals. Tina Ramnarine, who calls into question the nature/culture binary and music's position as a mediator across it, encourages us to understand music-making as existing "within sonic ecosystems and across species-boundaries" (2009:205). Similarly, Marcello Sorce Keller (2012) has called on us to integrate ethnomusicology and zoomusicology because, he argues, we ourselves are animals and because knowledge of nonhuman animal sound behavior can help us better understand human musicality. I extend these calls by suggesting that in addition to studying the sounds and sound behaviors of nonhuman animals and other beings, we should also study their bodies and material properties, their histories, and their nonmusical or nonsounded behavior, including their movements, migrations, and interactions. Furthermore, I suggest we pay particular attention to the economic, political, and biological entanglements of beings and their multifaceted relationships to music and sound.

Although I am using the term "beings" in the broadest sense possible, I limit my case study for the remainder of this article to birds. I have chosen to write about birds for several reasons, including their presence in my research in Brazil (Silvers 2015, 2018) and the simple fact that I cohabitate with a parrot who makes my quotidian soundscape a noisy avian one. Primarily, I write about birds here because they appear frequently in the ethnomusicological literature and are an easily intelligible example of musically relevant nonhumans. Indeed, they are among our most musical companions on this planet and are therefore common themes and resources in the world's musics. I encountered nearly 150 distinct articles in ethnomusicological journals that refer to birds, and my search was not exhaustive. Ethnomusicologists have written about birds in such a vast range of contexts and to such different ends that we have demonstrated a multiplicity of relationships between nonhumans and music.

Here, I examine birds and ethnomusicology from three angles. First, I consider prior justifications for the study of the nonhuman by ethnomusicologists and then offer several additional justifications of my own. Second, through an extended literature review of birds in the ethnomusicological scholarship, I demonstrate that nonhumans (in this case, birds) are demonstrably important both to musickers and to ethnomusicologists, a fact that justifies continued engagement with the other-than-human. Last, I offer a methodological illustration

of a multispecies ethnomusicology by examining how I have studied birds in my research on music as it relates to sociopolitical and environmental crises in Brazil.

Justifications for a Multispecies Ethnomusicology

In 1939 Otto Kinkeldey defined the discipline of musicology as, in part, the study of the relationship between animals and music. He called the field "the whole body of systematized knowledge about music," and it included, among other things, the study of "the relation of man in general (*or even animals*) to that art" (Kinkeldey 1939:1218, emphasis added). What did Kinkeldey mean when he wrote "or even animals"? Did he believe musicologists should study animal communication? And, importantly, why?

"Among the various kinds of musicologists," Bruno Nettl writes, "it's ethnomusicologists who might welcome contributions on communications by birds, whales, and gibbons" (2006:66). For Nettl, this is due to the egalitarianism typical of an ethnomusicological approach to music scholarship. Any musical sound—whether classifiable as music or not—is a legitimate topic for ethnomusicologists; in the second decade of the twenty-first century, many of us investigate the meaningful production and experience of *all* sounds, including some sounds with no discernible link to musicking.

Despite his assertion, Nettl seems uncertain about the value of scholarship on animals by ethnomusicologists. He goes on to ask, "I am not sure how they [birds, whales, and gibbons] are relevant, except by analogy, to the human picture in which we don't even have a cross-culturally valid concept of music, nor any really reliable accounting of universals" (Nettl 2006:66).

Yet in studies of two distinct geographic, cultural, and musical contexts, Nettl has shown that birds and their vocalizations are relevant to ethnomusicologists (not exclusively by analogy) precisely because they are and have been relevant to many kinds of music-makers. Even in cases in which birds and their vocalizations are metaphors, he shows them to offer significant clues about understandings of music-making and also about the meaning of birds to humans. In one case, attributes of birdsong are generative of a music theory. In another, definitions of music and personhood entail understandings of animal communication and ideas about listening/audiences/reception.

In his writing on Persian music, Nettl writes how the nightingale, a symbol of "things Persian" and "particularly of Persian classical music," served as a useful musical metaphor for his teacher, Nour-Ali Boroumand, when explaining the approach to repetition in the *radif*, a canon of Persian melodies (1992:189). Nettl writes: "[He] asked us to be quiet and to listen to the nightingale singing in one

of his trees.... After a minute of the bird's song, he interrupted, saying it was important to attend to the nightingale in order to understand Persian music" (2013:116). According to Boroumand, just as the nightingale never repeats its melody in precisely the same way, so too the musician should never repeat a melody exactly. (Nooshin [1998] also refers to this metaphor.)

Is this an observation about birds? About Persians? About musical improvisation? Significantly, it is about all three. Boroumand's belief in the nightingale's tendency to repeat similar melodic fragments in infinite variations highlights the bird's symbolic importance to Persians, or at least to Boroumand, and is a key to understanding the logic of melodic variation in Persian improvisation for Nettl's teacher. More importantly, it taught Nettl about Persian musical values.

On Blackfoot music, Nettl draws significance from the fact that the Blackfoot do not consider vocal communication between birds (or between birds and humans in quotidian contexts) a form of music but that in visions, birds sing to Blackfoot visionaries. In this musical system, birds sing—they make music—but only in visions and only to humans, and these songs sound like Blackfoot music to Blackfoot listeners. Nettl, writing in 1989 about the nonhuman, writes that the supernatural are the sources of Blackfoot music and that "the principal function of music is to moderate between humans and nonhumans" (1989:60). The Blackfoot understanding of birdsong—that its definition is context and listener dependent—is helpful for understanding Blackfoot cosmology. In asking about the nature of nonhuman music and the Blackfoot, Nettl seems to provide an answer to his own question about the relevance of birdsong for ethnomusicologists:

Do animals, birds, spirits, or stars perform music for themselves, for each other, or for humans?

For the world's cultures, the answers to such questions are greatly varied and provide interesting comparative insights. One may be reminded of the Havasupai belief system, in which spirits sang to each other before humans arrived on the scene and began to use speech (Nettl 1983:165, with information from Leanne Hinton); and of the Bolivian Amuesha, where the story implies that people don't become properly human until they learn to sing (Smith 1984:137-38). These beliefs may have far reaching implications, as much as the widespread European belief that communication among the members of certain species (e.g., birds) is music, but of others (e.g., cats), not. Some African folklore presents the idea that animals make music. In European folklore, animals and objects such as pots, brooms, and tables may sing, and it is often their particularly important utterances that are presented as songs. The notion in modern Western society that birds or whales may sing seems to me to be related to the protective attitude widely taken toward these creatures. Passive creatures sing, we are perhaps saying, while the sounds of aggressive ones are otherwise classified. On the other hand, in Iran the suggestion that animals sing and that computers, even when instructed by humans, produce music was not

readily accepted. The study of the association of music with other beings may tell much about a society's use of music as sound and symbol. (Nettl 1989:58–59)

Both the Persian and the Blackfoot cases demonstrate the significance of birds to music-makers. In one case, birdsong relates to a music culture's theory of musical improvisation. In another, it involves a local cosmology and, relatedly, an understanding of the ontology of music itself. Nettl's teacher instructed him to pay attention to the nightingale because it would, and did, help him understand ways of thinking about music.

More recent justifications for the ethnomusicological study of the nonhuman have called for shifting the emphasis away from the human. Keller's (2012) proposal for integrating ethnomusicology and zoomusicology, described above, reminds us of speciesism and brings attention to the anthropocentrism of understanding musicality as uniquely human. Another compelling justification was offered to me by Tara Hatfield, who, based on her reading of Carl Safina (2015), argued that it could be beneficial from an animal rights perspective to anthropomorphize nonhuman animals in our work. Describing nonhuman animal communication as music and nonhuman animal musical behavior as social encourages imaginative empathy, often lacking in scholarship in the physical sciences. Ontological critiques of nature/culture and human/nonhuman binaries tend to be postcolonial in nature and remind us of the Eurocentrism inherent in binarism that divides humanity from everything else (Ramnarine 2009; Brabec de Mori and Seeger 2013; Brabec de Mori 2017; Seeger 2015; Ochoa Gautier 2016).

In addition to these humanist and posthumanist justifications above, I suggest we consider nonhumans for the following reasons: (1) because knowledge of the nonhuman can elucidate relationships between music and contemporary crises (Silvers 2018; Schwartz 2012; Daughtry 2015); (2) because music and musicking affect the nonhuman (Pedelty 2012, 2016; Allen 2012; Ivarsdotter 2002; Campbell 1951; Vissel 2002); and (3) because music's effect on the nonhuman in turn affects musical meaning and relationships between music and society—there is a reciprocal and complex relationship between music (as a human behavior, signifier, and sound) and the (nonhuman) world with which it interfaces. A multispecies ethnomusicology provides a more-than-human comprehension of music's place in the contemporary world.

Birds in Ethnomusicology

Bioacousticians, biomusicologists, and zoomusicologists have a particular set of perspectives on birdsong—many consider it a form of music, while others suggest it can help us locate the origin of music (Keller 2012; Mâche 1997; Martinelli

2009; Fitch 2006, 2015a, 2015b; Rothenberg 2005, 2008, 2013; Taylor 2008, 2011, 2017; Taylor and Lestel 2011; also see the *Grove Dictionary* entry titled "Animal Music" on animal communication [Slater and Doolittle 2014]). And historical musicologists have their perspective—birdsong has influenced many composers (for a general overview, see Doolittle 2008; on birds and Bartók, see Harley 1994). Mozart and Messiaen come to mind as obvious examples in the Western canon (Head 1997; Jensen 1985). One article suggests that birdsong inspired Beethoven's Fate Motive (Bowden 2008). Birdsong is sufficiently musical to warrant its own entry in *Grove* (Harley 2001), which, following a brief global introduction, surveys the quotation of bird vocalizations by Western art music composers.

So what exactly has been the ethnomusicological perspective or approach? How have we ethnomusicologists made sense of our fellow melody-makers? What do ethnomusicological references to birds tell us about our understanding of ourselves and of music-making? I found references to birds and birdsong in articles that span the theoretical and topical breadth of the discipline, from the origins of music, to organology, to the significance of the human voice and the construction of social identity via popular music. My survey included not just works that focus on birds or birdsong but also those that mention birds merely in passing.

Ethnomusicologists have always, since before the founding of the Society for Ethnomusicology, looked beyond the human, typically not to better understand the nonhuman world but because it has helped us have a fuller picture of human behavior, systems of meaning, and the complex contexts in which we live. The ethnomusicological approach to birds has consistently been in dialogue with well-established ethnomusicological claims about human behavior and music-making. These include ideas about the problematization of tradition and authenticity, about music's constitutive role in the social and conceptual world, about music as a form of communicative expression, and about the music concept itself. Yet in all of these cases, we see music as a human behavior that often entails birds; music may be humanly organized sound, but it exists in contexts in which nonhumans are significant factors—not just for the production of musical meaning but for the production of musical sound as well.

Imani Sanga (2006) identifies three types of relationships between bird sounds and music found in music cultures, or at least found in music scholarship: birds as singers, musicians as birds, and bird vocalizations as a compositional/musical resource. Expanding beyond bird sounds to birds more generally, I observe some additional types in the scholarship: birds as physical materials for musical instruments, birds as listeners, birds as supernatural beings, birds as companions and fellow travelers, and birds as (metaphors for) politically situated subjects. These types, including those identified by Sanga, often overlap. The

bird's ethnomusicological relevance has as much to do with its ability to fly as it does with its ability to sing and as much to do with the relationship between birds as with the animal's relationship to humans and humanity.

Over the past seven decades, there have been only eleven years in which birds do not appear in the journals *Ethnomusicology*, the *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, the *world of music*, and *Ethnomusicology Forum* (including the predecessors to these journals) (see figure 1). Ethnomusicological references to birds and birdsong have been integral to and reflective of changes in the discipline. Birds have been a part of the conversation as we have broadened our purview to include dance, popular music, speech, and other nonmusical sounds; transitioned from studying music in its cultural context to music in/as culture; grappled with the culture concept; embraced musical change; acknowledged globalization, neoliberalism, and various social ills, concerns, and crises; and, recently, questioned the centrality of the human in the humanities.

In my survey of (primarily) the four English-language journals mentioned above, the earliest reference to birds I encountered was in a short essay (Fricker 1949) that mentioned the significance of the image of a griffin and that was published in the first issue of the *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* the year before Jaap Kunst first printed the term "ethno-musicology."

In the 1960s, birds appeared not infrequently in scholarship, including in works by Walter Wiora (1961), Judith Becker (1964), George List (1966a, 1966b), and Alan Merriam (1965). In these articles, birds are largely musical resources: choreographic, melodic, and material. Merriam's 1965 "The Importance of Song in the Flathead Indian Vision Quest," an article published one year after his *Anthropology of Music*, describes the acquisition of song from nonhuman sources, a theme that appears in a couple canonical works of ethnomusicological

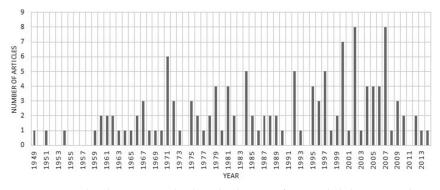


Figure 1. Articles that mention birds or birdsong in four English-language ethnomusicological journals per year (1949–2013).

scholarship in the 1980s (Feld [1982] 2012; Seeger [1987] 2004). Merriam quotes an individual who describes the learning of a song: "There's two little marriage birds; you see them way down in the meadows, in the hay fields, in the grain fields. . . . They sound lonesome when the sun is going down. You can hear them in Grass Valley. The two birds are singing this song. I learned this from the birds" (1965:94). Another article from the 1960s describes birds as sources of music in quite a different way: B. M. Bakkegard and E. A. Morris's 1961 article "Seventh Century Flutes from Arizona" describes the use of birdskins and feathers in the making of flutes. Several other articles from that decade also refer to birds as physical materials in the construction of musical instruments (List 1966b; Brown 1967) or as inspiration for shapes for musical instruments (Picken 1960, 1962).

In the early 1970s, as ethnomusicology grew and perhaps due to the influence of cognitive anthropology, birds began appearing frequently in the literature. As evident in figure 1, references to birds peaked in 1971, a year in which there were relevant articles on prehistoric music in the American Southwest, where bird bones were used as whistles (Brown 1971), on bird beaks as materials for musical instruments (Montagu and Burton 1971), on birds as significant mythical figures (Crossley-Holland and Marzac 1971), on bird calls as onomatopoetic sources for lyrical material, as well as melodic sources (Crossley-Holland and Marzac 1971), and as inspiration for dance movements (Kaeppler 1971). Similar topics appeared through the seventies, linking the symbolism of birds to the melodic or kinesthetic inspiration of birds and to the incorporation of their flesh, their feathers, their guts, their beaks, and their bones into musical instruments. In 1979 George List wrote that "birdsong is without the province of ethnomusicology" (1979:1). Yet as ethnomusicologists had shown in the previous two decades, birds and birdsong were known sources of music in a variety of contexts in Asia, Europe, Oceania, the Americas, and Africa.

In the 1980s birds became an explicit object of ethnomusicological research via works such as Monique Brandily's "Songs to Birds among the Teda of Chad," published in *Ethnomusicology* in 1982, the same year that Steven Feld published *Sound and Sentiment*. In Brandily's article, singing to birds is not a romanticized sort of interspecies communication but is instead a hunting technique used by boys to direct the birds into snares and to distinguish between edible and inedible types of birds—edible birds are, evidently, those that are good listeners. Brandily writes, "To supplement [their] meager diet, the boys make snares, and then drive certain species of birds towards them with their singing. Once caught, the birds are roasted on the spot" (1982:372).⁵

Feld's Sound and Sentiment ([1982] 2012) warrants some discussion here as the best-known work on birds in ethnomusicology. What Feld managed to

do in his forward-looking book was unite many of the various discussions and preoccupations examined above while presaging our present-day interest in sound, affect, and posthumanism. For the Kaluli, bird songs are compositional resources, but they are also emotive expressions of human ancestors who are themselves birds. For Feld, the Kaluli don't merely take inspiration from birds; they listen with birds, they vocalize with birds, and they become birds.

In the late 1980s and 1990s, birds began to appear more frequently in the scholarship as metaphors or terms for singers. In Jane Sugarman's 1989 "The Nightingale and the Partridge: Singing and Gender among Prespa Albanians," as well as in her 1997 Engendering Song: Singing and Subjectivity at Prespa Albanian Weddings, she describes the portrayal of certain young men as nightingales and certain young women as partridges and ringdoves or turtledoves. In Lucy Duran's "Birds of Wasulu: Freedom of Expression and Expressions of Freedom in the Popular Music of Southern Mali" (1995), she describes socially critical musicians, who, like birds, possess a degree of freedom. What these articles primarily have in common is an interest in social identity and subjectivity rather than birds, yet in both studies, the local meaning of the birds is significant for untangling the meaning of distinct local identity categories. In John Baily's 1997 "Afghan Perceptions of Birdsong," he writes that it is an expression of praise in Afghanistan to call a singer a nightingale. He also notes that birdsong can be heard as the call to prayer (1997:56), and he goes on to describe the common presence of songbirds at musical performances: "Birdsong is regarded by Afghans as another music culture, one which they enjoy mixing with their own human music, but as two independent streams. The sound of music plus the singing of birds responding to it constitutes the height of musical enjoyment" (56).6

Into the 2000s ethnomusicologists brought birds into discussions of globalization, affect, modernity, hybridity, postcolonialism, and migration while continuing many of the concerns of previous decades. On identity, place-making, and geopolitics among Kazakhs living in Mongolia, Jennifer Post (2007) writes how musicians imitate and describe birds, among other strategies, to connect with their Mongolian homeland. In an article on national identity and emotion in Korean *p'ansori*, Heather Willoughby (2000) writes about singers who channel Korean emotional expression; one piece involves naming various kinds of falcons in its lyrics, mimicking the birds' crying, and melodically depicting their ascending flight. T. M. Scruggs (2005) mentions vocal imitations of birds in a Nicaraguan folk mass as part of a process of the "re-indigenization" of Catholicism after Vatican II. In her ecocritical article on the significance of a Taiwanese river, Nancy Guy (2009) describes a song about an angry black-faced spoonbill who resents migrating to polluted Taiwan, and she discusses other songs that mention birds in relation to the river.⁷

Ethnomusicologists in the early twenty-first century have also considered the complex ways birds are themselves subjects, the ways humanity affects birds, the ways birds are kinds of humans, and the ways a nature/culture binary must be undone more generally. Imani Sanga writes that by listening to, imitating, and metaphorizing the vocalizations of ring-necked doves and African ground hornbills, the Wawanji of Tanzania "interacted with the natural world making it part of their life, and themselves, likewise, part of it" (2006:98). In her examination of authorship, postcolonialism, and environmental activism in the works of a Finnish symphonic composer and *joiking*, a Sami vocal practice that evokes (rather than describes) its extramusical subjects, Tina Ramnarine insists on dismantling a notion of music and sound as mediators between humans and "their environments" (2009:205). Rather, as mentioned earlier in this article, she suggests we "consider human musical creativity situated within sonic ecosystems and across species-boundaries" (205). Helena Simonett's (2014) sophisticated exploration of music, multinaturalism, and sensory perception among the Yoreme of Mexico suggests that the "sonic turn" oversimplifies multisensory experience. Several other works examine indigenous perspectivist, or multinaturalist, ontologies in which people become birds and in which birds and other nonhuman entities are considered humans or are ontologically equivalent (see Brabec de Mori 2013; Menezes Bastos 2013; Seeger 2013; Uzendoski, Hertica, and Calapucha Tapuy 2005).

In sum, birds have appeared in the ethnomusicological scholarship as listeners, as raw materials for musical instruments, as vocalists, as sources of and models for musical behavior and elements such as melody, timbre, and dance, as topics of song, and as metaphors for social identities. Although few ethnomusicologists have taken birds as the subjects of their research, birds have been useful for making sense of human musicking in its vast diversity and across theoretical and topical paradigms.

A Method for a Multispecies Ethnomusicology

Timothy Rice (2014) has noted that ethnomusicology in the early twenty-first century has focused less on place-based, group-based, or genre-based study of music than on music's relationship to social concerns and crises, including conflict, poverty, and environmental disasters. In my research on music in northeastern Brazil, I have observed birds as important clues to understanding the value of local ecological knowledge in an inhospitable climate, political repression, and the experience of ecorefugees. In each case, qualities inherent to specific birds, including their vocalizations and their migratory patterns, encode musical meaning. Knowledge of these particular birds is significant for local listeners and observers, which is to say that knowledge of birds can

also be necessary for the comprehension of music by outsider music scholars. Furthermore, the birds help us understand broader extramusical processes and concerns related to cultural, political, and environmental crises. These processes are not exclusively human, even if at times they appear primarily social in nature. Birds are implicated in processes of meaning-making. They are implicated in political processes—affected by them, but also affecting them. And they are, of course, associated with environmental processes—affected by phenomena such as climate change, but also at times affecting them and our experience of them. In short, we share this planet with birds, and thus we have shared experiences with them. In some cases, we depend on them, and in others, they on us. Importantly, music is a factor in our mutual and interdependent experience of the world.

In this section, I offer three suggested methodological approaches, with related research questions, for a multispecies ethnomusicology. Some of these methods and questions have been fruitful for prior ethnomusicologists, and I see them as integral to a multispecies ethnomusicology. I illustrate each suggestion with a brief analysis of an example from my research in Brazil. All three examples involve songs that describe birds and pertain to local knowledge about birds, and the sounds and meanings of these songs entail properties and behaviors of birds themselves. My research involved a bit of soundscape recording along with standard ethnomusicological methods, such as musical and textual analysis, cultural history, interviews, and participant observation.

For a multispecies ethnomusicological study, I suggest the researcher first consider the properties (sonic and otherwise) of the nonhuman. For example, consider what a bird's call sounds like, and discover the context in which it makes that sound. Such knowledge can be critical for understanding musical meaning. In my research, understanding a peacock's loud call and its tendency to vocalize during the night permitted me to analyze the meaning of a popular song that I had mistaken for a love song until I understood the peacock's call. The song was, in fact, written as political protest during Brazil's military dictatorship that lasted from 1964 to 1985.

The peacock plays an important role in northeastern Brazilian folklore. The bird was the topic of a widely read work of chapbook poetry (*literatura de cordel*) called "The Story of the Mysterious Peacock." The poem spoke of a man who rescues a beautiful countess held captive by her father. He sends a motorized metal peacock to her window to wake her in the middle of the night.

In 1974 Ednardo, a recording artist from the state of Ceará, recorded a song about the mysterious peacock. In the song, the first piece of popular music to employ the *maracatu Cearense* rhythm of Ceará's unique Carnival processions, the magical bird, its flight, and allusions to the story of the young man and the

countess are actually metaphors for the experience of living under a military dictatorship:

Mysterious peacock beautiful bird In the darkness of this night help me to sing Pavão misterioso meu pássaro formoso No escuro dessa noite me ajuda a cantar

During the dictatorship, musicians coded their lyrics to avoid censorship by the government. What appears to be a love song based on a regional chapbook poem was a coded message about political repression. The song is a call to action—to waken the Brazilian people in the darkness of night.

I learned firsthand about the peacock's vocalizations during a soundscaperecording trip to a town called Guaramiranga, Ceará, in 2016. One night, its loud sound, like a wailing infant, startled me from my sleep every few minutes. As the sun began to rise, I opened the window of my second-story room in the small cabin to find a regal peacock perched on the awning over the doorway.

Knowledge of the bird's loud nighttime call rather than knowledge of the famous chapbook poem alone provided the key for me to unlock Ednardo's code. I was unfamiliar with the peacock's call until I conducted soundscape research in Ceará and was attentive to birds and their calls. Had I not learned about the bird's call (not its meaning but its sound—its timbre and volume), its temporal qualities (sometimes at night), and its relationship to humans (when it calls at night, it can wake people up), my analysis of the song would have been different. Indeed, the peacock helped me make further sense out of music under a dictatorship.

Second, a researcher could consider the agency (or quasi agency) of the nonhuman. For example, consider how the bird behaves, and examine why it behaves that way. As with the previous suggestion, this can be critical for understanding musical meaning. Furthermore, birds' behaviors can demonstrate how birds and humans are both linked to broader processes and circumstances, thus illustrating our shared and interrelated experience of the world.

My second set of examples involves the migratory patterns of birds and humans, which not only elucidate the meaning of songs and their relationship to local knowledge but also demonstrate the shared multispecies experiences of migration and drought. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, during an era of intense urbanization in cities such as Rio de Janeiro, many Brazilians understood bluebirds as links between rural and urban spaces. In

the mid-twentieth century, many people in northeastern Brazil understood the Picazuro pigeon to be the last bird to leave the hinterlands during a severe drought. These two migratory patterns—from rural to urban places and from the Northeast to the Southeast in times of drought—characterize significant elements of Brazil's development in the twentieth century.

Two iconic Brazilian songs employ birds as metaphors for human migration but do so based on specific Brazilian understandings of specific birds' migratory behaviors. In Jayme Ovalle's "Azulão" (Bluebird), a famous example of *modinha*, a song form considered one of the nation's first mass-mediated popular musics, the protagonist, who lives in the backlands, asks the bird to fly to the city to see his lover and tell her he misses her. In Luiz Gonzaga and Humberto Teixeira's canonical song (1947) "Asa Branca" (White wing, or Picazuro pigeon), the protagonist must leave his drought-plagued home, saying that even the pigeon had departed.

Knowledge of bird migration, however, does more than reveal the meaning of lyrics. Bird and human migrations between country and city and the Northeast and Southeast demonstrate the constructedness of and ecological interconnectedness between rural and urban places and the shared effects of drought on the populations of multiple species. The bluebird and pigeon helped me make sense of music and migration, urbanization, and drought.

Finally, consider the interaction between nonhuman behavior and human behavior. For example, contemplate whether birds communicate information in ways that are intelligible to humans. Ask not only if this is critical for understanding musical meaning, or if this information involves circumstances that link bird experience to human experience, but also if the interaction demonstrates that different species depend upon each other in significant ways, such as for environmental adaptation or for the politics of social identity.

This last example involves music and the vocalizations of the laughing falcon before and during drought, which some individuals in Brazil's semiarid *sertão* region hear as harbingers of a "bad winter" (a prolonged drought). My analysis entails knowledge of the sound of bird vocalizations, local understandings of when and why they occur, musical quotations and descriptions of those vocalizations and their meanings, and local understandings of that music as it relates to those bird vocalizations and drought.

The laughing falcon's most common song is characterized by a long-short-long rhythmic phrase, with a repeating pitch on the first and second notes and then descending on the third, but slurred with the previous note.⁸ The calls are loud. Many northeastern Brazilians have described them as occurring before and during periods of drought, and they are thus read as predicting coming droughts.

In the mid-twentieth century, Luiz Gonzaga recorded a song about the laughing falcon, called the *acauã* in Portuguese. In the song "Acauã," cowritten with Zé Dantas, Gonzaga sings about the meaning of the bird's cry—he calls it an augur of drought—and he imitates its sound rhythmically, melodically, and timbrally as he sings and caws the word "acauã" to the contour of the call itself. For listeners, the song not only described the climate conditions of the region and mimicked local sounds but did both while referring to locally known (and locally meaningful) ecological knowledge encoded in the sound of the bird's call.

In 2011 I interviewed a northeastern man known for his abilities to predict coming periods of drought. One of his predictive techniques involves listening to birdsong, including the call of the *acauã*, which he noted was sung about by Gonzaga.

The man's reception and citation of Gonzaga's song and the meaning of the song more generally depend upon knowledge of the local understanding of the falcon's call and its significance in the region's harsh climate. In this last case, I examined the properties of the nonhuman (the sound of the bird vocalization), the agency of the nonhuman (how it made its call, in what contexts, and what for), and the interaction between the nonhuman and the human. Some listeners in the sertão depend upon the sounds of birds for environmental adaptation. And they depend upon the memory and voice of Luiz Gonzaga for affirming local and regional identity, in part because some of his songs, such as the one described here, include this vital ecological knowledge and mimic the local soundscape. The falcon helped me make sense of music and the multispecies experience of drought, as well as the construction of identity, an identity that is on the receiving end of racialized prejudice (see Silvers 2018). This case demonstrates that drought is a multispecies phenomenon and that distinct species communicate with and rely upon each other—through the medium of sound—in the context of the experience of drought.

A multispecies ethnomusicology could go a step beyond the research I have already conducted not only by asking how birds coexist with and affect us but through interrogating our influence on birds: on their songs, their social behaviors, their bodies, and their movements. What might I have learned by asking about our effect on the peacock, the Picazuro pigeon, and the laughing falcon? Have political changes—perhaps resulting in the electrification of the northeastern Brazilian interior—altered the peacock's tendency to vocalize at night? Has anthropogenic climate change (and prolonged droughts) affected the migratory patterns of the Picazuro pigeon, the *asa branca*? Might asas brancas travel south but fail to return home to the Northeast? And has human action related to climate or broadcast sound affected the laughing falcon's (perceived) tendency to vocalize during periods of drought in northeastern Brazil? Wouldn't knowledge of our impact on these three birds offer me a more comprehensive

understanding of the effects of Brazilian politics, of climate and migration, and of drought adaptation, regional identity, and local knowledge? More specifically, wouldn't such knowledge offer me a richer understanding of sound ecologies, auditory culture, and mass-mediated music?

In all three cases, birds are musically related to human crises: as a call for political awareness under a repressive regime, in the sung experience of (in one case ecological) migration, through the acoustemological adaptation to drought in a semiarid climate, and integrated into the musical response to racialized regional bias. And these analyses required specific knowledge of birds: a peacock's loud call during the night, a bluebird's migration to and from urban areas, a pigeon's tendency to be the last bird to migrate south during a drought, and a falcon's augur of a "bad winter." Additional research could show how these social crises in turn affect birds and these specific qualities and behaviors. Knowing something about nonhuman beings—what they are, what they do, why they do it, and how they affect us, as well as how we affect them—can offer a fuller understanding of these crises and their relationships to music and sound.

Concluding Thoughts on Music and Complexity

In this article, I have argued for the importance of the nonhuman in ethnomusicological scholarship. I offered several justifications for the ethnomusicological study of the nonhuman. I claimed that, echoing Nettl, it can tell us about society and its "use of music as sound and symbol." It can address and move beyond speciesism and can offer an empathetic perspective on nonhumans, nonhuman animals in particular. It can allow us to examine the basic ontologies of our discipline and acknowledge structures of epistemological hegemony. It can also, I argue, help us study music and crisis, acknowledge music's effects on the nonhuman, and recognize the multispecies coconstructedness of our world, a world in which music is entangled. With my review of ethnomusicological scholarship that involves birds, I demonstrated that nonhumans have been pertinent to the field and many of its major preoccupations and paradigms over the past seven decades. They remain relevant, I claim, as they are useful for the study of music's relationship to political, cultural, and environmental crises. To that end, we should consider the properties of nonhumans, their capacity to act and their behaviors, and their interactions with humans and human behavior.

I am not necessarily calling for a greater application of actor-network theory, although I believe that Latour's actor-networks, Deleuze and Guattari's rhizomes, and Elizabeth Grosz's Möbius strips provide methods and metaphors that could be useful for making sense of more-than-human mutual *becomings*. Nor am I proposing a sort of biomusicology (Fitch 2015b), which acknowledges but obscures the social constructedness of music, nor am I calling for a

more musical and more anthropological acoustic ecology, which in many ways describes acoustemology. Steven Feld's 2017 essay, "On Post-ethnomusicology Alternatives: Acoustemology," is required reading. In it, he reminds us that acoustemology is not an approach to ethnomusicology but a posthumanist, social scientific approach to the study of sound. Feld, we should acknowledge, developed actual skills in ornithology.

Furthermore, I am not calling for more ecomusicological research by ethnomusicologists, at least not per se. Importantly, we coexist with many nonhumans that vastly impact our sound worlds that are not directly related to the discourse of nature—cellphones, for example. Moreover, as Timothy Rice (2013) has noted, many ethnomusicologists who study traditional music, or at least many who did so in the twentieth century, work with people who spend much of the day outdoors, and so music-making often relates to agriculture, to seasons, and so on. This research, which falls within the lineage of scholarship I am discussing here, was never called ecomusicology, and it was rarely written for a readership of anyone other than ethnomusicologists. Moreover, much of it continues to remain outside the canon of ecomusicological readings, generally because it is not concerned explicitly with discourses of nature or the environment. Nor am I calling for more zoomusicology or (new materialist) organology. Rather, I am building upon insights from these various subdisciplines to suggest that a consideration of the nonhuman should be integral to the ethnomusicological project in general. That is, I am arguing for a holistic consideration of the nonhuman in our understanding of music. Nonhumans are significant to musical sound, musical meaning, and musical behavior. And although I believe that not all of us must conduct scholarship motivated by environmentalism or animal rights, I nevertheless understand that no human context exists apart from nonhuman factors.

We should embrace the insights of posthumanism through a general recognition that theories of social constructivism and the uneven, expansive spread of modernity, capitalism, technologies, people, ideologies, and so on are incomplete explanations of sociocultural realities. The social effects of sea-level rise, unpredictable weather patterns, and increasingly frequent environmental disasters make clear the unavoidable and consequential entanglement of the material and the social.

I conclude this essay by returning to Nettl's assertion that for the Blackfoot, "the principal function of music is to moderate between humans and non-humans" (1989:60). Other ethnomusicologists have made similar statements about other music cultures, oftentimes ones that practice shamanism (Seeger [1987] 2004; Roseman 1991; Levin 2006; Brabec de Mori 2013; Menezes Bastos 2013). Music can not only moderate between humans and nonhumans but more

generally be a vital element in a matrix that includes humans and a range of nonhumans.

It is important to note, however, that to examine music's relationship to both humans and nonhumans is not necessarily to examine its relationship to culture and nature, as this latter dichotomy is not universal (see Ramnarine 2009; Ochoa Gautier 2016). In our efforts to forgo taken-for-granted categories of culture and nature, we must think beyond the human with the requisite untidy complexity. What I am arguing is simply that music is a salient factor—a being, if you will—in the coconstruction of the world. Ethnomusicologists have already struggled with and theorized the music object and its materiality, and so an understanding of it as one significant object among many is inherent, I believe, to a contemporary ethnomusicological approach.

Furthermore, avoiding the categories of nature and culture does not require avoiding various categories of being—bird, cat, accordion, banana, the Zika virus, samba, but also Brazilian, cis woman, queer, Protestant—so long as we recognize their local and historical ontological basis. And importantly, we must recognize that these various beings, whether identity categories, nations, nonhuman animals, technologies, or anything else, coproduce one another.

It is this cocreation that I observe in my research in Brazil. For example, I have noted the entanglement and cocreation of regional identity and related bias in Brazil with agriculture, politics, drought, migration, birds, sound reproduction technologies, and musical sound, among other factors (see Silvers 2018). These various factors relate to each other not in a linear or causal fashion but in a complex one. These are not matters of nature and culture but of complexity.

I am not proposing a new subdiscipline (Multispecies Ethnomusicology with a capital M and a capital E), because the further splintering of our already small field hinders rather than facilitates dialogue and masks rather than reveals the multifaceted interconnectedness of our world. I believe ethnomusicologists have long been doing this sort of work to varying degrees, and we should continue to do so in a concerted manner. A multispecies ethnomusicology allows us to approach a holistic comprehension of music as a meaningful phenomenon in our complex world, especially in this era of seemingly unending and perhaps insurmountable crises.

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Notes

- 1. For recent findings on nonhuman animal musicality, see Patel et al. (2009); Honing et al. (2015); Fitch (2015a, 2015b); or search YouTube for Snowball the cockatiel and Ronan the sea lion.
- 2. See also Fuentes and Kohn (2012) on "anthropology beyond the human"; Kohn (2007) on "an anthropology of life"; Ingold (2013) on "anthropology beyond humanity."
- 3. Anthony Seeger gives a particularly clear definition of perspectivism: "In this view, all animals and humans have souls or spirits and every species sees itself as human, speaks a language, uses tools, and engages in ceremonies in which music and dance are usually a part. Members of each type of animal look like humans to one another, but other types do not look like humans to them. And each type has a somewhat distinctive perspective on the world of which they are a part (thus 'perspectivism'). For example, the delicious ceremonial food of vultures looks like rotten flesh to humans" (2015:92–93).
- 4. In a similar vein, zoomusicologist Dario Martinelli (2009) describes ethnomusicology as a subdiscipline of zoomusicology.
- 5. For other references to music as a kind of violence against animals, see Ojamaa (2005) on vocal imitation as a decoy in northern Siberia; Muktupāvels (2002) on Baltic rattles used to scare away birds; and, astonishingly, IJzermans (1995) on a symbiotic relationship between humans in birds in which humans play an ocarina to birds, who lead the people to beehives. After smoking out the hive, the humans eat the honey, and the birds eat the larvae. In conversation, Donna Buchanan also reminded me of the use of duck whistles in duck hunting.
- 6. Also see Marian-Bălaşa (2002) on jailed Rom fiddlers as caged birds; Wolffram (2006) on dancing as constituting personhood and membership in "small bird" or "big bird" moieties; and Mora (2008) on paired dimorphic birds in the creation myth of the Southeast Asian T'boli—the two birds embody vocal parts, ancestral deities, and gender difference.
- 7. Richard Keeling (2012) offers a diffusionist geographical survey of indigenous songs that imitate or describe animals.
- 8. These three notes are described on the website of the Cornell Lab of Ornithology as a "two note pattern" because, I suspect, of the slur between the second and third notes. The Cornell Lab of Ornithology is an excellent resource on bird vocalizations. For a description and recording of the laughing falcon, see https://neotropical.birds.cornell.edu/Species-Account/nb/species/laufal1/sounds.

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Ethnomusicology beyond #MeToo: Listening for the Violences of the Field

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Abstract. Responding to an increasing sense of urgency about sexual harassment and assault during ethnographic fieldwork in the era of #MeToo, this article offers a lesson plan for effecting systemic change in the discipline of ethnomusicology. We show how disciplinary assumptions about the field where harassment occurs reify colonizing histories of racial othering, reinscribe heteronormativity, and alternately conflate or erase specific types of violences. We identify feminist scholarly genealogies that provide alternate models for theorizing in and through personal experience. We argue that this analytical work cannot and must not be absent from the important questions of how we practically approach and prepare students for fieldwork in ethnomusicology.

What might it mean to radically transform a discipline? Where and how does change begin? What are the strategies and techniques of transformation? Among the countless moments and movements that have sparked calls for change within academic institutions, #MeToo provides a timely example of how broad social movements intersect with and affect academic spaces and offers a starting point for exploring the possibilities and pitfalls of calls for transformation within those spaces.

The discipline of ethnomusicology currently faces its own cultural moment of confronting sexual harassment and assault on a wider scale than in the past. The phrase "#MeToo" pervaded the 2017 and 2018 conferences of the Society for Ethnomusicology, where conversations about fieldwork experiences of sexual harassment and assault arose in special interest groups and section meetings, during panels and roundtables, and as the focus of professional development workshops; many people called for the society's leadership to produce a position statement on these issues. Taken together, these efforts speak to a shared sense

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of increased urgency about an issue whose importance certainly precedes,² and must go beyond, the current moment.

For such a moment to become a turning point toward social change requires reflection on where we have come from and attention to where we plan to go. In October 2018, family law expert and social justice advocate Dorothy Roberts, professor of social policy, law, and women's studies Anita Hill, and critical race theorist and feminist scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw conversed publicly at the University of Pennsylvania. Reflecting on both the progress and the lack of broad systemic change around women's equality and issues of sexual harassment in the time that had elapsed between Anita Hill's 1991 testimony against then Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas and Christine Blasey Ford's 2018 testimony against then nominee Brett Kavanaugh, Crenshaw asked, "What is the lesson plan that comes out of this teachable moment? '#MeToo' is a moment. '91 was a moment. The question is, 'Can we draw a new baseline understanding out of these moments?' [One] that everyone gets" (Baker 2018). In this article, we offer such a lesson plan for ethnomusicology, thinking beyond the current moment while acknowledging the genealogies that foreclose and those that enable transformation.

Foundational to this task is a (re)definition of structural change that decenters the institution of the Society for Ethnomusicology—that is, its leadership, public statements, and bylaws—in the transformative project we call for here. We advocate for radical structural change across the constellation of spaces that comprise the discipline of ethnomusicology: the formal institutional structures of its society, its journals, and its conferences, to be sure, but also, and more importantly, its classrooms, its quotidian practices, and its foundational discourses. This question of the location of intervention, recognition, and change is central to our claims; in what follows, we challenge the location of scholarly intervention in personal testimony, of structural change in institutional leadership and the nonbinding language of position statements and bylaws, and of harassment and assault in an othered field but not on othered bodies. We argue that ethnomusicologists working to give visibility to experiences of sexual harassment in the field must recognize how personal testimony can enact further harm on survivors, does not stand in for and may prevent systemic change, and marginalizes the voices of already marginalized people.

Yet how do we reconcile this critique—that personal testimony does not do the work of structural reversal—with long-standing feminist claims that speaking under oppressive conditions is an act of liberation? As we explore in greater depth below, centering women's experiences includes situating both the capacity to speak and the incapacity to speak; in other words, it requires understanding both the speech act and that which is silenced or rendered inaudible by structures of power that dictate hearing, listening, and responding. So while

speaking out is often an important facet of liberation, we cannot make claims as to the impact of speech without first analyzing the power hierarchies within which it is situated.

We argue that these power hierarchies simply cannot be accounted for in projects directed at the institution of the Society for Ethnomusicology. Instead, we focus on the spaces and ways in which people practice ethnomusicology in order to identify the overlapping disciplinary violences through which speech is performed and received. In other words, we are less interested in the Society for Ethnomusicology as a governing body and more interested in ethnomusicologists who operate within a particular set of disciplinary assumptions as they teach, employ methods, produce scholarship, engage in dialogue, and mentor students. This is where the violences of the field are most forcefully (re)produced, and this is where they can be exposed and perhaps transformed.

We call, then, for ethnomusicology to move beyond #MeToo and toward structural change on the genetic level. We call for individual ethnomusicologists to work to actively remake the systems of our discipline on a daily basis in order that it be transformed. We call not only for individual awareness or self-reflection, nor only for discursive acknowledgments of power and privilege, but also for mindful and deliberate labor to shift the norms and boundaries of ethnomusicological practice.

In what follows, we first explore in greater detail how the framing of #MeToo binds conversations about harassment and assault to a performance of solidarity, one that fails to shift the technologies that produce the violences of our field and, in so failing, reproduces those very violences. We then outline the necessary groundwork for disciplinary change through two intersecting projects: a frank critique of ethnomusicological constructions of field sites and subjects and an intellectual engagement with extant feminist frameworks and methods. We approach these through a series of three broad analytical interventions, pairing each with a practical action point for graduate student training—the space where ethnomusicologists are produced—to underscore how this crucial work of analysis necessarily informs practical considerations of disciplinary training and mentoring. We insist that this theoretical and analytical work cannot and must not be absent from the critically important questions of how ethnomusicologists practically prepare for and undertake fieldwork or how we subsequently write about racialized, gendered, and sexualized experiences therein. Clearly these points can, and we believe should, be implemented by scholars at any stage in their careers; we cannot transform the way we train students without first transforming ourselves.

The project we outline here is premised on our conviction that an assumption of universal whiteness continues to inform dominant ethnomusicological discourses and methods and therefore shapes current conversations around

sexual harassment and assault. In other words, despite the presence and legacy of marginalized scholars whose work centers experiences and ways of knowing not based in whiteness,³ the *discipline* of ethnomusicology as we have delimited it here continues to privilege whiteness in myriad ways, failing—and often refusing—to account for its historical erasures of those intellectual histories, scholarly practices, and epistemologies.⁴ This normative whiteness is a primary target of our critique; as such, at times it necessarily is centered in the discussion that follows.

The paired analytical/action points that comprise our lesson plan:

- critique how disciplinary constructions of fieldsites, fieldworkers, and fieldwork subjects continue to operate through racialized othering;
- challenge the imposition of universalizing sexual norms that conscribe sex in the field to violent encounters while rendering encounters with cultural difference always already traumatic; and
- advocate for an explicit engagement with feminist theory and methods for all scholars, regardless of their identities or research topics.

Implementing this lesson plan would not only change how we mentor our students to prepare for, conduct, and interpret fieldwork but also, we believe, transform how we evaluate manuscripts and abstracts, how we respond to scholarly publications and presentations, how we cite and acknowledge existing work, and how we interact during informal encounters. In challenging the nexus of race, gender, sexuality, and violence that marks the field of ethnomusicology in its current state, we take an initial step toward radical systemic change: a shift to the structures of ethnomusicology that originates in a shift to its DNA, its composite and fundamental parts.

The (Un)Safe Space of #MeToo

Though the phrase "me too" was coined as part of a social justice movement by activist Tarana Burke in 2006, it spread in late 2017 when actress Alyssa Milano tweeted a call to victims of sexual assault and harassment to post #MeToo to their social media in order to demonstrate the depth and breadth of survivors' experiences. "Social media was soon flooded with stories of harassment and assault, as #MeToo became a way for users to tell their experience with sexual violence and stand in solidarity with other survivors. The hashtag was widely used on Twitter, Facebook, Snapchat, and other platforms; on Facebook, it was shared in more than 12 million posts and reactions in the first 24 hours, according to The Associated Press" (Garcia 2017). As a basic premise, #MeToo asked women to publicly share their experiences of harassment and sexual assault as a means to draw attention to the scope and span of violences that women experience in both micro and macro forms. ⁵ For many, #MeToo brought a much-needed visibility to

the widespread nature of sexual violence, from harassment to assault; its public solidarity provided a balm for those suffering from years of silence, shame, inaudibility, and pain. The movement grew at the same time that a number of prominent figures in politics, media and entertainment industries, and sports were charged with and indicted for sexual crimes. Since then, the movement has widely been considered an important historical moment for exposing gendered forms of violence that often are not resolved within the legal justice system. In turn, ethnomusicologists have invoked the movement to frame long-standing concerns about the gendered forms of violence that shape many of their research experiences and to question how these may even inhere in the very methods that stand as cornerstones of ethnomusicological inquiry.

The #MeToo movement's focus on the sharing of stories as a form of restorative justice has been particularly influential in these discussions; because inaudibility is a primary tactic of sexual harassment and assault, working against silencing is a mode of reclaiming power for victims/survivors. In a recent interview discussing the next steps of the movement, however, #MeToo founder Tarana Burke highlighted some of the problems with how the movement has been deployed:

It's hard because the idea of sharing your story has become so popularized. We are in a time where the more you share about yourself, the more people like you; the more likes you get, the more attention you get on social media. So things are framed so that they have to be public and they have to be popular in order to be valid. What we're trying to do is counter that narrative and say, "You don't have to tell your story publicly. You don't have to tell anybody what happened to you." You have to get it out—but it doesn't have to be at a poetry reading. It doesn't have to be on social media at all. It could be a trusted friend. It could be your journal.

That's hard for survivors because people are always saying, "Tell your story." It's like a balancing act because I have to acknowledge that stories are important, and sometimes saying the words, "This happened to me" and "This is what he did" is cathartic to get out. I think there's enough evidence in this world of survival and recovery to show that repeating that doesn't help you, though. Reliving that doesn't help you. (Harris 2018)

As Burke notes, in #MeToo's wildfire spread through social media and other channels, there has been an elision between public sharing and healing that may, in fact, re-create damage to survivors. In a highly audible/visible recent example, Christine Blasey Ford's 2018 public testimony about her sexual assault at the hands of now Supreme Court justice Brett Kavanaugh was filtered through publicly mediated discourse about believability and credibility that turned the interrogation onto the victim/survivor. Here, the microexamination of testimony coupled with the technologies of repetition (Lawrence 2019) and the way the hearings dominated social space were intensely retraumatizing. Not only Blasey Ford but also countless other survivors were forced to relive their trauma

through national scrutiny of her story; the failure of her compelled testimony to materially intervene in the inevitability of Kavanaugh's appointment echoed, on a national stage, the experiences of countless survivors of sexual assault whose testimonies have failed to procure justice through the legal system.⁶ The ideological position that it is powerful to speak out is therefore complicated by the trauma and violence of speaking under certain conditions, being compelled to repeat over and over, being interrogated as part of speaking, or being rendered uncredible or inaudible *while speaking*.

Feminist scholars across disciplines have examined the ways in which the presentation and representation of violence and witnessing impact survivors and also shape public discourse on human rights, vulnerability, and injustice. This research has shown that spectatorship and witnessing reinforce and generate power asymmetry while generating empathy that is operationalized in ways that only increase harm to subjects undergoing violence or injustice (Chouliaraki 2004, 2006a, 2006b, 2008, 2013; Hesford and Kozol 2005; Hesford 2011; Kozol 2014; Adelman and Kozol 2014, 2016). Ultimately these studies point us to a clearer understanding of how violence and risk to survivors can be exacerbated rather than relieved through testimonial procedures designed to harness empathy as a political tactic.

If the spaces in which we live, work, and interact become unsafe when they are flooded with others' testimonies and the reminders of failed justice that inhere in them, then what does this mean for how a scholarly society can or should engage with the lessons of #MeToo? How can ethnomusicologists recognize and address #MeToo's slippage between sharing and justice in the context of our discipline-specific conversations about sexual violence? As a starting point, we caution against demanding a spectacle of testimony, where testimony functions as a necessary element of a performative, responsive solidarity that insists survivors speak and repeat while ignoring the resonant trauma of enforced hearing that requires we be present to witness the testimony of others. Here, the need to hear and to witness in order to be able to publicly profess allyship can manifest as a violent refusal of silence, forcing others into "safe" spaces that are by nature unsafe for survivors of sexual assault.

Put simply, this means that just declaring certain spaces—our annual conference, our classrooms, our social media feeds—safe does not make them so and indeed may do the opposite. Calls for position statements, for example, which would declare institutional spaces safe, performatively mask the very issues they ostensibly address. Position statements seek to make harassment and assault audible/visible on an institutional level even as, like personal testimony, they fail to effect structural change; as feminist scholar Sara Ahmed writes, "The speech act, in its performance, is taken up as having shown that the institution has overcome what it is that the speech act admits to" (2006:108). Likewise,

the public designation of specific places in which professional interpersonal interactions occur as "safe" for survivors of assault is what Ahmed designates a nonperformative speech act that fails to realize its own claims without focused further action (104). While we might wish to make a space safe simply by voicing our desire that it be so, the act of naming is necessarily partial, incomplete, and open-ended. It does not perform the thing we want it to: the actual creation of safety; rather, it gives the impression of performativity while remaining non-performative. When speech is imagined to be enough, the declaration of "safe spaces" in fact creates spaces in which oppression masquerades as empathy, demanding that some people speak and that others listen and be present in particular spaces, even when that listening or presence may itself trigger and harm.

Indeed, as feminist scholars and activists have noted, #MeToo's reliance on visibility through audibility has actually served to further marginalize those who are not safe to speak out and share their stories, those whose stories are not yet ready to be shared, and those who have been historically outside of dominant social positions (see Dastagir 2018; Onwuachi-Willig 2018; Tambe 2018). In her 2018 article on the silences of #MeToo, Ashwini Tambe critiques the way in which #MeToo, in its focus on personal testimony, advances a particular type of public feminism that relies upon the dual arcs of centering white women's pain and invisibilizing violences that do not predominantly affect white women. Likewise, Titilope F. Ajayi (2018) notes how depictions of #MeToo as a "global" justice movement are predicated on an idea of the global that centers white liberal saviordom, excludes most of Africa and the Middle East, and invisibilizes the many indigenous social movements that preceded #MeToo and that are often better positioned to speak to the local specificity of gendered violence. As we address below in the specific context of ethnomusicology, such applications of #MeToo's testimonial impetus center whiteness even as they invisibilize it through appeals to gender identity, thereby reproducing the ways in which white feminism has historically elided racial and class difference by foregrounding gender identity (Combahee River Collective [1977] 1979; Smith 1977; Hull, Bell-Scott, and Smith 1982) while paying lip service to inclusion by appropriating and depoliticizing women of color's work (Collins 2000; hooks [1984] 2000; Lorde 1984). Within both our professional society and its broader US context, ethnomusicologists must attentively listen for the voices that remain silenced by liberal public feminism if we are to offer critiques of the systems that produce violence and trauma.

What follows is an attempt to not only critique but also intervene in those systems. Rather than eliciting surface-level institutional responses to violence, the following series of paired action points aims to create the conditions for meaningful disciplinary change by linking each of three broad analytical

interventions with its practical implications for the formative years of graduate study. For if the violences of the field are located in its foundational practices and frameworks—in how we act in the world as ethnomusicologists—then what is called for is a transformation of the field into one that might preempt those violences rather than simply responding to them.

The Field and Its Others

Ethnomusicological discussions of gendered violence in the field must begin from a critical assessment of the disciplinary values and assumptions that shape how we approach and interpret fieldwork experiences.

Practically speaking, this means that graduate mentoring must foreground the power dynamics of fieldwork in a way that (1) prioritizes physical and psychological safety in the process of choosing a research site and topic; (2) acknowledges how sexed, gendered, and raced bodies are differently visible—and therefore surveilled, immobilized, or endangered—in different "fields"; and (3) explicitly addresses how race functions in particular contexts and intersects with gender and sexuality and with cultural codes.

We have noted how normative whiteness pervades the discipline of ethnomusicology. Here, we turn to how those same racialized assumptions structure conversations about experiences of gendered violence in the field. Indeed, the "field" as the spaces where we conduct research and the "field" as the discipline of ethnomusicology are "politically and epistemologically intertwined; to think critically about one requires a readiness to question the other" (Gupta and Ferguson 1997:3). The universalizing assumptions about gender and race that frame the field (in both senses) overdetermine method and therefore the conversations that are possible to have about sex, violence, and sexual violence. We suggest that a multilayered discursive violence inheres in still-dominant constructions of the field of fieldwork as a geographically distant place where assault happens to (discursively racially unmarked) female researchers at the hands of Other men.8 This, in turn, elides how fieldwork, like all experience, is always marked by and marks raced, sexed, and gendered bodies.9

While studying in Anglophone North American institutions, graduate students in ethnomusicology are commonly encouraged to go elsewhere to do research, reflecting long-standing biases, inherited from anthropology, as to what constitutes legitimate fieldwork. While ethnomusicology may increasingly recognize research in US fieldsites, and although "insider ethnography" has challenged norms of the distant field and assumptions of difference between researcher and subject, institutional support continues to privilege nondomestic research, particularly in terms of prestigious external research funding, from which professional status is often derived and for which non-US citizens are

frequently ineligible. ¹⁰ This creates often-unacknowledged problems for those who are at increased risk in—and on the way to—"fields" whose geographical and cultural distance may lead to a range of safety, accessibility, legal, and medical issues. Gender-variant individuals, for example, are subject to higher levels of scrutiny in travel situations and at border crossings, as are people whom security forces perceive as nonwhite. ¹¹ Being trans, queer, or gender-variant remains illegal in many places and may have severe legal, social, and physical consequences. Beyond questions of race, gender, and sexuality, norms of geographical distance and immersive participatory research also disadvantage disabled or chronically ill researchers. ¹²

It is not surprising, then, that despite what is at this point a long-standing scholarly critique of such constructions of the field that remind us that the field can be anywhere, not only at a distance (Gupta and Ferguson 1992, 1997; Clifford 1997), dominant conversations about violence in the field are often conversations about violence somewhere else. We can imagine why, for some ethnomusicologists, experiences of sexual harassment and assault during fieldwork may seem exceptional. First, white cisgender ethnomusicologists are accustomed to moving safely and unremarked through public space in the United States, exempt from violent state surveillance and racist vigilantism. Second, queer researchers moving through particular sites in the United States and abroad may be forced to rapidly entrain their bodies into gendered behavioral codes, choosing between the possibility of physical harm and the harm of embodied acquiescence to local forms of heteronormativity (see Silvers 2019). Third, many researchers doing ethnographic work at a geographic distance have limited resources for structural and interpersonal support; flaws in our mentoring systems and disciplinary silences can make it difficult to discuss issues of harassment and assault.13 Fourth, ethnomusicology may also be uniquely problematic in the extent to which the discipline privileges particular kinds of fieldwork interactions that create space for gendered violences, for example, the idea that we must work with certain people because of their position in a musical scene or community, even when doing so makes the researcher vulnerable or places them at risk because of their raced, gendered, sexed, or otherwise marked body. 14 Finally, as we address below, because the cultural coding of violence is complex and not universal, when we are "away" our interpretive framing on violent experience can be askew or incomplete. All of these points, however, call into question the disciplinary norms that take for granted our inherent right to be present in any field and to be treated there according to our own cultural expectations (see Johnson 2017).

A discursive framing of the field as an exceptional site of gendered violence brings this latter issue to the forefront while reinscribing the problematic constructions of difference that have historically been central to ethnomusicology. 234

By defining the field against our own implicitly racialized national identities, so that people in the field are people who are not like "us," white ethnomusicologists fall back on the self/other dichotomy that has been thoroughly criticized among ethnographers of many disciplines. At the same time, such binary constructions of the field elide difference—national, racial, etc.—as it exists within the discipline of ethnomusicology; that is, they flatten out who "we" ethnomusicologists are in a reciprocally racializing process that assumes a homogeneous community of researchers that encounters difference only in the distant field.¹⁵

In turn, defining the field as our elsewhere erases that it is, first and foremost, someone else's "here." Indeed, calls for position statements expose this very slippage—where what is really meant by "the field" is our experiences there and not a specific geographic location where women are being assaulted whether we are there or not. Ostensibly universalizing narratives about researchers' experiences of sexual harassment and violence in the field thus reproduce the historical exclusions of white feminist discourse not only by masking various forms of difference that exist among ethnomusicologists themselves, but also by eliding the experiences or even the presence of the women who exist in "our" field before, while, and after we are there. This epistemological sidelining of the people who reside in the places where we conduct research fails to address the ways that sexual trauma (like other forms of violence) is used as a regulatory tactic for vulnerable populations around the world. 16 Important, too, is thinking about how the researcher's presence actually might increase retributive violence against the people with whom we work (Stacey 1988; Lawrence 2011). Our marked bodies have consequences not only for us but also for those with whom we interact.

At the same time, by locating violence as something that happens in this othered field, we uphold a pathologized historical construct of men in other parts of the world as hypersexual, violent, and uncontrollable.¹⁷ Even phenotypically white men who reside in a distant-enough field are racialized precisely through these historically othering constructions. Fear of black and brown men has been operationalized to justify imperialism, militarization, and global capitalism and is often rhetorically cast as protecting and saving women (Mohanty 2006; Bhattacharyya 2008). This pathologizing of "other" men, who are denied the opportunity to respond to or contradict researchers' narratives of harassment and assault, resonates uneasily with a history of black male vulnerability to criminal accusation in the context of the United States, a history that complicates #MeToo's emphasis on circumventing a justice system that often refuses to hear, believe, or act on women's stories of assault.¹⁸ As Stacey Patton (2018) writes, "For many Americans, sexual violence and assault most commonly vacillate around the female body as victim to male aggression. But what resonance does this have in a world where young Black boys have been criminalized and killed by nothing more than the words of white women?" Taken together, the

racialized context of both #MeToo and discipline-specific conversations about assault in the field mean that we must be vigilantly attentive to the blind spots of who makes claims, how they are received, and who, if anyone, is allowed to speak back to them.¹⁹

Sex in the Field

Rather than ascribing value to sexual encounter based on where it occurs, ethnomusicologists must acknowledge the white heteronormative patriarchy of our discipline that limits conversations about sexuality "in the field" to those about harassment and assault when it allows for them at all.

Concretely, this means that graduate mentoring would entail frank and open conversations that (1) address different types of violent encounters; (2) encourage researchers to develop careful cultural skills for recognizing and responding in safe ways to interpersonal interactions that their inherited cultural knowledge codes as sexualized or violent; and (3) consider how consensually erotic experience and sexual encounters inform how we understand ethnographic methods and interactions.

There is, then, a cyclical relationship between disciplinary histories of how we construct and exist in the field and how we speak about sexual violence; both rely on and reinscribe processes of othering that expose how our discipline has not yet abandoned its racialized colonial legacy. Indeed, the overdetermining focus on the assaultive aspects of sexuality in the field emerges from and perpetuates long-standing anxieties in anthropology and ethnomusicology about the myriad ways in which erotics and racial difference are tightly bound. 20 These racialized constructs of (sex in) the geographically distant field work in tandem with a distancing between what we do there—that is, fieldwork—and real life.21 Yet violent encounters mark daily life as much as the specific moments (of participant observation, for example) that constitute ethnographic fieldwork. When the field is portrayed as *the* site of gendered violence, and those for whom the field is home are portrayed as perpetrators of gendered violence, then the interactions between fieldworker and subject come to constitute the conditions of possibility, or even inevitability, of gendered violence. Framing the field and fieldwork in these terms leads to the conflation of wildly varying experiences, from harassment to rape; to the imposition of ethnocentric interpretative frameworks on gendered encounters in ways that refuse to understand harassment as contextually defined; and to the contradictory positioning of all sex "in the field" as violent and nonconsensual when it involves western women and as normative and nonviolent to the point of invisibility when it involves local women.

Taken together, these processes ultimately replicate the public spaces generated by #MeToo. First, like the white public feminist appropriation of #MeToo,

the implicit centering of whiteness in ethnomusicological narratives of harassment and assault during fieldwork renders inaudible the violences against black and brown people that occur globally. Second, the public yet guarded assertion of "#MeToo" on social media, meant as an act of solidarity or witnessing, inadvertently creates a slippage between one poster's survival of physical assault and another's frustration at unwanted verbal attention from men. As a spectrum of violent acts is reduced and flattened, all sexualized interactions, including verbal and visual ones, become predatory and coercive (Tambe 2018). Yet being raped (in the field) is not the same as being catcalled (in the field); being coerced to have sex with an interlocutor is not the same as being ogled in the street.²² Assault is not the same as harassment.

Neither, however, is harassment itself so cut-and-dried. Disciplinary conversations about harassment and assault in the field need to begin by acknowledging that sexual encounters, just like other forms of social relationships we study as ethnomusicologists, are situational, mediated by culturally specific interpretive frames, and informed by multiple moral and ethical universes. Zeroing in on violent encounters reinscribes western sexual mores that align sexual behavior with selfhood, virtue, and morality (Irigaray [1977] 1985; Foucault 1978; Butler 1993; Berlant and Warner 1998). Coupled with the racialized othering of the field, it portrays the white female body as in danger from Other men and as the property of white men while portraying the black female body as simultaneously hypersexualized, dehumanized, and nonagentive (Stoler 1995, 2002; McClintock 1995; McClintock, Mufti, and Shohat 1997; Collins 2000, 2004; Lawrence 2020).²³ But what I understand through a western liberal interpretive lens as sexual harassment, another woman may interpret through her own cultural lens as courtship; what she experiences as harassment or assaultive, I may not. In other words, we can only understand sex, like harassment, as situation specific—it has no universal value or set of consequences. As ethnographers, developing a contextual frame for power asymmetry allows us to discuss a range of (possibly) sexualized interactions in nuanced terms and to analyze how power is deployed and negotiated in the field (Appert 2017).

In short, the geographic distancing of the field, the centering of whiteness in conversations about harassment, and a focus on assaultive sexual encounters combine to effectively reinscribe a moral universe that proclaims that first, we only have sex in the field when it is against our will (harassment and assault); second, we are entitled to do ethnographic work with the sexual norms of US society mapped onto all parts of the world; and finally, violation of the social mores that we ascribe to will be understood as assaultive. In turn, nonnormative sexual practices, queer perspectives, varied racial accounts, and accounts that detail a predominantly white field as the site of encounter remain largely invisible. ²⁴ So while fieldworkers should rightly critique the institutional norms and

pressures that have, until recently, silenced conversations about harassment and assault, we must also recognize and combat the white heteronormative patriarchy that bounds those conversations, lest we reinscribe the same institutional mechanisms of silencing.

Feminist Genealogies

Because of its inherent entanglement with issues of power, contemporary ethnomusicological discourse must explicitly engage feminist theoretical and methodological genealogies, regardless of whether or not a project is conceived of as being "about" gender and sexuality.

This means that training in multiple bodies of feminist scholarship should be included as a matter of course in graduate training, in order to (1) develop a toolkit for moving beyond perfunctory acknowledgments of positionality to instead interrogate the details of all our interactions in the "field" (of research, of ethnomusicology) so that we might (2) recognize how knowledge is produced and question what constitutes knowledge and (3) explore how particular narrative strategies function not merely as textual or stylistic choices but as analytical modes for theorizing through personal experience.

If, as we have laid out up to this point, an uncritical emphasis on personal testimony reinscribes Eurocentric framings of ethnographic encounters, then feminist theoretical genealogies provide us with an alternative: theorizing of and through personal experience. For personal testimony about gendered experience does not in itself amount to feminist critique. Instead, the assumption of a feminist politics that drives ethnomusicology's #MeToo moment highlights the need for a careful and ethical practice of intellectual engagement with feminist scholars, even those outside our immediate field—a field, we might add, that often celebrates its own interdisciplinarity. How should we expect fieldworkers to have critical frameworks for making sense of gendered experience in the field (which is all experience) if they do not have critical frameworks for making sense of gendered experience anywhere else? The feminist genealogies that we point to here provide the resources to engage gendered, raced, and sexed experience in all of our practices as scholars and educators. They engage ethnography as both process and product, elucidate the complex power hierarchies that infuse ethnomusicological methodologies, and provide an alternative roadmap for interpretive practices.

Within ethnomusicology, several scholars have theorized field research as an embodied pursuit that is shaped by raced, gendered, and sexed ways of knowing. For example, Michelle Kisliuk ([1997] 2008, [1998] 2001; see also Kisliuk and Mongosso 2003), Katherine Hagedorn (2001, 2002), and Carol Babiracki ([1997] 2008) have addressed how gender and sexuality bear down upon ethnographic

research. In her 1998 monograph on the music and dance of the BaAka of the Central African Republic, Kisliuk shows how an ethnography that is not explicitly about gender becomes gendered and what this reveals about deeply ingrained ideas about masculinity and femininity, the ethnographic method as a gendered pursuit, and writing as a gendered practice. Examining the broader gender constructs that inform ideas of performance, reflexivity, and embodiment, she develops "performance ethnography" as a means to articulate through her fieldwork experiences in "a continuously interwoven awareness and exploration of the interpersonal negotiations, power dynamics, and epistemological grappling involved in research and writing" ([1998] 2001:13). This primacy of experience is similarly evoked in Hagedorn's 2002 chapter exploring the pedagogical relationship with her teacher of Cuban batá drumming. Her sensory exploration of ethnographic process works through a narrative structure that is intensely personal, revealing pain, negotiation, and anxiety. This orients the reader to her methodological process and embodied knowledge and the ways in which gender and sexuality act as structural boundaries in her research. Likewise, in her essay in Shadows in the Field about her experiences studying various performance traditions in Bihar, India, Babiracki ([1997] 2008) positions herself as a sexual subject whose romantic and sexual relationship opens some ethnographic doors while closing others. One of only a handful of ethnomusicological texts that explores not only sexuality but actual sexual practice in ethnographic work, Babiracki's chapter shows how sexual life is part of what produces ethnographic knowledge.

More recent work, for example, by Eileen M. Hayes (2010) and Ama Aduonum (forthcoming), takes the crucial further step of addressing how race, in conjunction with gender and sexuality, becomes central to ethnographic process and product while highlighting the additional challenges historically faced by black scholars to produce texts that center researcher subjectivity. In one chapter of her monograph on women's music festivals, Hayes uses a diary format to center a black perspective on these festivals and to position herself within specifically "African American autoethnographical and oral traditions" (2010:10). Layering scholarly analysis, evocative description, and self-reflection, she demonstrates how embodied racial identity and imagination unfold within an environment that foregrounds gender and sexual politics; through this approach, she plays with multiple identity categories: as she saw herself, as they bore down on her in the gaze of other festival attendees, and through the overlay of the broader racial, sexual, and gender politics of the festival. Likewise, Aduonum, in a chapter on music and memories of the slave trade in Senegal and Ghana, considers how race, gender, and sexuality shaped her ethnographic engagements to reflect on how the multiple ways in which she, a black African woman living in the United States and researching in West Africa, is pulled and strained by contested racial

formations and identifications. Through performance ethnography, including poetry, description, and reflection, she reveals the multiple ways that race, gender, and sexuality, as well as the ideological weight of colonial history, language, and custom, intervene in formulations of similarity and difference. Her nuanced portrayal reveals identity categories as both locally grounded and globally informed and reveals how the silencing around erotic experiences in the field applies doubly to cultural insiders.

These representative examples point to an identifiable lineage of feminist ethnomusicology that can shape our engagement with the raced, gendered, and sexed experience of fieldwork. But although ethnomusicologists increasingly address the erotic and music, scholars in related disciplines have led the conversation about erotic ethnographic encounters, intimacy, desire, and sexual violence.²⁵ Outside of ethnomusicology, a rich body of interdisciplinary scholarship attends to erotics and sexuality as methodological issues, as epistemological positions, and as disciplinary concerns. Social scientists have analyzed experiences and consequences of sexual trauma in the field (Moreno 1995; Kenyon and Hawker 1999; Sharp and Kremer 2006; Pollard 2009; Saaverda 2013; Clancy 2013; Yates 2013; Clark and Grant 2015; Huang 2016) and addressed work in dangerous or violent fields (William, Dunlap, and Johnson 1992; Kovats-Bernat 2002; Nilan 2002; Sriram et al. 2009; Chakravarty 2012; Clark 2012; Goldstein 2014). They have explored questions related to the ethics of intimate relationships in the field (Irwin 2006), sex as a methodology (Hawkins 2010; Blinne 2012; Langarita Adiego 2017; Huysamen 2018), erotic encounter and epistemology (Newton 1993; Kulick and Willson 1995; Lewin and Leap 1996; Wekker 2006; McNamara, Tortorici, and Tovar 2015), and sex and erotics as a disciplinary concern (Ashkenazi and Markowitz 1999; Cupples 2002; Lane 2016; Berry et al. 2017).

This work, like the ethnomusicological literature cited above, demonstrates how feminist theoretical traditions provide models for interpreting sexual experiences not only as personal but also as indicators of social contexts, codes, and understandings. In other words, they provide techniques for situating our ethnographic experiences not exclusively as interpersonal encounters but as epistemically relevant to disciplinary knowledge production (Appert 2017; Lawrence 2020; Sigal, Tortorici, and Whitehead 2020). Feminist theoretical traditions that centralize personal experience through the lenses of spirituality, desire, subordination, love, abuse, and audibility offer a roadmap to a deepened interrogation of the personal as both a political and an ontological matter, showing that personal stories are reflective of social worlds that extend outside of themselves (Lorde 1984; Moraga and Anzaldúa [1981] 2015; Behar and Gordon 1995; Alexander 2005; González-López 2006).

In particular, the critical analytical mode of autoethnography provides a useful model for how to theorize through the personal. Autoethnographic work

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theorizes the personal through narrative strategies that center reflective hermeneutics. Not to be mistaken for reflective anthropological work that inserts the author into writing forms for the purpose of disclosing positionality or narrative device (Bowen 1964; Rabinow 1977; Crapanzano 1977; Chernoff 1979; Clifford and Marcus 1986; Geertz 1988; Rosaldo [1989] 1993; Lortat-Jacob 1995), autoethnography is an interpretive method and a mode or process of writing (Lorde 1980; Reed-Danahay 1997; Anderson 2006; Chang 2008; Chapkis 2010; Jones, Adams, and Ellis 2013; Denzin 2014; Boylorn and Orbe 2014; Williams and Zaini 2016; Bochner and Ellis 2016; Stephens 2019). Autoethnography differs from autobiography in both method and interpretive framing, extending beyond recounting experience to account for the cultural and social contexts, parameters, and interpretive filters that allow for qualitative inquiry (see Jones, Adams, and Ellis 2013).

Both in the field of ethnomusicology and in the related disciplines that are formative to ethnomusicologists' conceptions of ethnographic research and writing, scholars have labored to be heard and acknowledged as they write about topics and through narrative strategies that challenge normatively raced and gendered ways of being and knowing. As ethnomusicologists grapple more openly with issues of harassment and assault that have been brought to the fore in the moment of #MeToo, we must reach back to our own and interdisciplinary genealogies for crucial resources for thinking through and past this moment toward a future in which we have realized institutional change.

Conclusion: Ethnomusicology beyond #MeToo

If, in this article, we have addressed why ethnomusicology must move beyond #MeToo, we hope to have also provided some answers as to how it might do so. It is possible that ethnomusicologists' disciplinarily specific knowledge, particularly in terms of performance, sound, and embodiment, may produce distinct contributions to how we theorize fieldwork encounters. Nevertheless, while we may adapt ethnographic methods to music studies, ethnography and its attendant constructions of the field are necessarily indebted to the discipline whence they came. This means that rather than reinventing the wheel, it is incumbent on us to look to the wealth of practical and theoretical resources on ethnographic fieldwork that already exist in anthropology and the broader social sciences.

And so we have not provided detailed guidelines for fieldwork training and mentoring; the citations we provide can point readers to the decades of materials already available on these topics. Nor do we believe that asking individual scholars to do the invisible labor of providing shadow mentoring to graduate students is the answer to the issues being raised in our conferences, although this is work we both engage in ourselves in the current absence of structural

solutions. Instead, we have identified disciplinary obstacles to how ethnomusicologists approach issues of sexual harassment and assault and suggested broad
disciplinary interventions that, if implemented in ethnomusicological research
and teaching, might begin to alleviate these issues for current and future generations of scholars. What, for example, might a heterosexual white cis male
scholar do in his classroom so that his own students are not subjected to the
same kinds of traumas that he has heard about at the SEM conferences? What
could his own teachers have done to prepare him to mentor his students, both
those who share in his racial and gender privilege and those who do not? This
intervention, then, is not only at the level of representation; it is about adjusting
how we imagine—and prepare students for—fieldwork in order to mitigate the
violences of interpersonal encounters.

At present, the public performativity of support for testimony and position statements across the spaces of ethnomusicology reiterates trauma and violence while falling short of structural transformation. Such performances of allyship compound the silences and the inaudibilities of #MeToo. Our discipline will remain unsafe until everyone, not only those directly affected by violence in the field, is laboring to adjust all of the spaces of ethnomusicology: our classrooms, our journals, our conferences, our discourses. This, then, is our charge to every ethnomusicologist: that we not only be present and supportive for personal testimony about assault, but that we also acknowledge the violences that inhere in disciplinary conversations about assault and harassment and consider how our intersecting identities not only position us socially as fieldworkers but also determine our safety, our health, and our capacity to produce knowledge and receive recognition for it. To move ethnomusicology beyond #MeToo means knowing that for every audible story of trauma there are countless stories rendered inaudible; it means laboring to do the transformational work of hearing better, hearing differently, and hearing fully the violences of our field.

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Notes

1. For example, Aleysia Whitmore has collaborated with university Title IX officials to offer SEM Board–sponsored professional development workshops entitled "Harassment in the Field," where conference attendees are invited to "gain an understanding of common responses to harassment, strategies around personal boundary-setting, and practical techniques to use during and after experiencing harassment" (email communication to the SEM Gender and Sexualities Taskforce list-sery, November 14, 2018). In 2018 Jennifer Fraser, Lillie Gordon, Tanya Merchant, and Ruth

Mueller organized a panel, sponsored by the Section on the Status of Women, titled "Access, Risk, Safety, and Gender in Ethnomusicological Fieldwork: Reflections, Analysis and Directions in the Age of #MeToo." That same year, Tracy McMullen, Jeongin Lee, Janice Protopapas, and Leila Qashu presented a panel titled "Gender, Trauma and #MeToo in a Global Context."

- 2. Since 2012, the Fieldwork Mentoring Program has "[aimed] to connect students and scholars undertaking new fieldwork projects with scholars whose research experiences speak to a variety of challenges related to gender and/or sexuality in fieldwork contexts" (https://www.ethnomusicology. org/page/Resources_Mentoring). Approaching these and other issues of erotic subjectivity through collaborative scholarly analysis, in 2013 Ama Aduonum, Catherine Appert, Nicol Hammond, Michelle Kisliuk, Patricia Tang, Carol Muller, and Sidra Lawrence presented a panel, cosponsored by the Gender and Sexualities Taskforce and the African Music Section, titled "Practices of Desire: The Implications of Erotic Subjectivity in Ethnomusicological Field Research."
- 3. One example is the rich body of ethnomusicological work by African American scholars that centers African American experiences and epistemologies; a small sampling includes Hayes and Williams (2007); Gaunt (2006); Djedje (1986); Jones (2014); Mahon (2004, 2013); Maultsby and Burnim ([2006] 2015); Maultsby (1990, 2017); Jackson (2012); Burnim (1985); Keyes (2002); Johnson (2011, 2018).
- 4. This is precisely why we frame this article as being about the discipline, not the Society for Ethnomusicology (where whiteness can be visually decentered through shifts in leadership), nor the scholarship of individual researchers.
 - 5. Of course, not only women experience harassment and assault.
- 6. Indeed, the testimonial model supported by #MeToo fails to account fully for the mechanisms that make reporting and prosecuting sexual assault difficult, the epistemic consequences of pursuing legal justice for sexual crimes, and the trauma caused by police misconduct and juridical failure/bias. A 2012 report titled "Rape and Sexual Assault in the Legal System," compiled by the Women's Law Project in partnership with AEquitas: The Prosecutors' Resource on Violence against Women, details the ways in which the history of sexual assault laws—as founded in understandings of women's bodies as the property of their husbands and emphasizing only forceable penile penetration of the vagina—continues to impact how the justice system views sexual violence and how it enforces even those updated laws that are based on more expansive understandings of assault. These historic biases result in the continued imposition of "procedural anomalies" (Tracy et al. 2012:5) for sexual assault cases that set them apart from cases of nonsexual assault, including the expectation of immediate reporting, the consideration of the victim's sexual history rather than solely considering the actions of the accused, and the practice of interrogating assault victims in a manner similar to criminal interrogation. Fully "one half of rape victims report being revictimized by police" (9). In combination with the trauma of assault, these factors lead to a level of underreporting that the authors identify as unique to sex crimes and in turn to an increased likelihood that rapists—having been neither arrested nor prosecuted—will reoffend.
- 7. While much of this literature has focused on the visual dimensions of representation and has predominantly been situated within global contexts and West/non-West power relations, its insights can be applied fruitfully to other witnessing practices that are designed to generate solidarity and empathy.
- 8. This persists despite significant work in anthropology and related disciplines to problematize the ways in which boundaries of self and other are generated in ethnographic research. A large body of scholarship specifically addresses this issue theoretically, methodologically, and through the development of narrative styles that combat objectivist truth claims that hide ethnographic encounters, presuming an invisible and omnipotent (male) researcher. See, for example, Abu-Lughod (1990); Clifford and Marcus (1986); Stacey (1988); Minh-ha (1989); Agawu (2003a, 2003b); Fassin (2014); Said (1979, 1989); Rosaldo ([1989] 1993); Clifford (1988); White (2012); Lassiter (2005); Marcus and Fischer (1986); Behar (1995); Clifford (1986).

- 9. Such a focus on assault in "the field" can also mean a failure to acknowledge assault within our universities, at our conferences, and within our mentoring systems, despite the increased visibility of those violences. While we have limited the scope of this article to intervening in conversations about fieldwork and sexual violence, these conversations must also necessarily acknowledge that assault happens within the "field" of ethnomusicology as much as the field in which we do research.
- 10. That insider ethnography, or ethnography at home, continues to lack prestige is inherently tied to tacit racism and sexism in academia. The emergence of insider ethnography coincided with the emergence of women's and ethnic studies as institutional spaces and was, at least in part, similarly motivated by a desire to allow marginalized people to speak for themselves (Groves 2019; Aguilar 1981), largely relegating it to interdisciplinary programs outside of anthropology (Peirano 1998) and removing it from the comparative project of an anthropology concerned with exotic others (Aguilar 1981). Yet the foundational early edited volumes on the topic focused on North America (Messerschmidt 1981) and Europe (Jackson 1987) and primarily featured white ethnographers working in white communities. Sometimes called native or indigenous ethnography when its practitioners are not white, insider ethnography consciously intervenes in the idea of a distant field and the essentializing self/other divide. For while shared ethnicity may be a starting point for insider status (Pian 1992; Nketia 1963, 1974), factors such as gender, sexuality, and class may bear more weight (Narayan 1993), as may different perceptions of the researcher's identity (Groves 2003); ethnomusicologists also point to the importance of prior musical expertise (Chou 2002) and tradition bearer status (Burnim 1985; Nketia 1963, 1994). Academic affiliation can trouble insider status, although university researchers are not universally privileged (Villenas 1996).
- 11. Researchers engaged in medical and legal steps to correct their gender presentation require safe access to facilities that support such steps. The issue of medical safety was brought to Lawrence's attention by Alec MacIntyre during a conversation about the ways that being trans affects doing fieldwork. Alec also offered detailed comments on the privileging of a distanced geographic field as a trans safety issue (personal communication, January 10, 2018).
 - 12. See Vieth (2018) for a discussion on disability and anthropological field research.
- 13. In a 2009 special issue of Anthropology Matters, Amy Pollard's essay "Field of Screams" details the emotional and physical distress that many students experience in the field. Four responses to her essay further discuss the disciplinary and institutional problems with methods training, fieldwork expectations, safety, and the failure to account for such experiences. Sarah Delamont's response essay, however, takes Pollard and her student interlocutors to task for failing to engage and learn from earlier scholarship on these same topics; she suggests that students' lack of preparation for fieldwork is confounding at a time when resources for methods training abound. Work like that of Pollard and others who addressed these topics decades before her (see Delamont 2009:1) is why in this article we limit ourselves to the disciplinary specificity of #MeToo conversations in ethnomusicology while pointing our readers toward the wealth of practical resources that already exist on fieldwork methods and mentoring.
- 14. At the same time, discipline-specific conversations about fieldwork must acknowledge that many ethnomusicologists are ethnographers of music in ways that do not center these performance-based forms of intersubjectivity; this point underscores the significance of anthropological literature to ongoing discussions about gender and fieldwork in ethnomusicology.
- 15. In contrast, scholars have addressed how models of racial identity that do not account for its situatedness can set up an assumption of connection across sites that is quickly undermined in encounters between the researchers and those with whom they imagined a shared identity; see, for example, Hartman (2007); Aduonum (forthcoming).
- 16. Anthropological studies that address sexual and domestic violence, sex as a weapon of war, and intimacy-geopolitics and violence reveal the gendered nature of violence on a global scale. See, for example, the 2014 special issue of *Area* devoted to intimacy-geopolitics and violence and

edited by Rachel Pain and Lynn Staeheli, as well as the 2010 special issue of *Voices: A Publication* for the Association for Feminist Anthropology, edited by Lea S. McChesney and Judith Singleton, which provides anthropological perspectives on violence against women and children through ethnographic case studies on topics from how cultural context influences the meanings of rape (Singleton 2010) to rape as a weapon of genocidal regimes (Zraly 2010). In the afterword to the issue, Peggy Reeves Sanday provides an outline for "steps forward," suggesting that as fieldworkers we are especially equipped to illuminate the ways in which violence against vulnerable populations occurs in our fieldsites and to work toward an engaged practice that addresses these global systems of violence. For further studies of violence and trauma and of sex as a weapon of war, see Cohen (2013a, 2013b); Cohen and Green (2012); Cohen, Green, and Wood (2013); Cohen and Nordas (2014); Stewart (2002); Adelman (2004a, 2004b, 2000); Das (2007); Heberle and Grace (2009); Singleton (2008); Lazarus-Black (2007); Merry (2006, 2009).

- 17. The location of violence in a distant and othered field also neglects conversations about same-sex violence both during ethnographic work and in our institutional contexts. The heteronormativity implicit in the current discourse on violence and fieldwork also fails to account for how same-sex practices around the world also produce and are produced by power asymmetries and are negotiated according to localized cultural codes.
- 18. Tracy McMullen's 2018 SEM paper, for example, situated #MeToo within the racialized history of jazz and critically examined the pathologization of black men within this social movement.
- 19. Additionally, in many places the necessity for silencing around same-sex practices enshrouds these conversations in a further incapacity to speak back; scholars must consider how these factors may make it extremely difficult, unsafe, or illegal for certain individuals to make claims about harassment, assault, and other forms of violence.
- 20. Scholars in several disciplines have shown the ways in which the constructions, performances, and iterations of erotics and race inform each other. See, for example, Alexander (2005); Lawrence (2020); Holland (2012); Abdur-Rahman (2012); Gill (2018).
- 21. As Vered Amit (2000:4) writes, this distinction, of course, misrepresents the realities of field research, so that the concern over representation in the "new" ethnography is fundamentally at odds with a continued exoticizing of the fieldsite through the geographical distancing we describe here.
- 22. It is also, however, important to note the conditions in which what is being described is coercive or unpleasant. As Tambe notes, "[Coercion] hinges on whether one has power over that other person such that they might interpret a request as force—or even as a threat. If s/he faces negative consequences for saying no to a sexual advance, then that sexual advance is coercive" (2018:201). The western liberal position on consent has a reductive effect in that it assumes that "saying yes" either verbally or through nonverbal cues means that coercion is absent from sexual encounter. This set of parameters for consent fails to adequately account for contexts in which a person cannot say "no" or otherwise refuse sex or in which a person says "yes" under predatory or coercive circumstances.
- 23. Recent publications on white women's active role in the slave trade (Berry and Harris 2018) and racialized gender, intimacy, sexuality, and slavery in the Americas (Jones-Rogers 2019) provide detailed analysis of the intersectional politics of gender, race, and sexuality against the backdrop of a racialized labor system. While not employing ethnographic methods, these works offer important perspectives on sex as a crucial component to slavery, imperialism, and property.
- 24. While the recent ethnomusicological publication *Queering the Field* addresses these issues (Barz and Cheng 2020), scholars have long labored to include queer perspectives as they relate to both ethnographic method and theory, addressing gay and lesbian identity in the field, exploring queer lives and cultures, and utilizing queer theory to challenge conventional ethnographic assumptions (Lewin and Leap 1996; Lewin 1995; Blackwood 1995; Chao 1999; Hayes 2010; Browne and Nash 2016).

25. For the erotic in music, see, for example, Cusick ([1994] 2006); Kisliuk and Mongosso (2003); Lawrence (2017, 2020); Spiller (2010); Hankins (2012); Wong (2015); Waterman (2008); Mahon (2013); Fraser (2018). Erotics in music scholarship has been handled predominantly from the perspective of sexual subjectivity—in relation to music making, listening, performing—and the music of sexual practices. Recent work in ethnomusicology has also investigated sexual violence and sound, including a panel titled "Music and Sexual Violence" presented by Nomi Dave, Jenny Olivia Johnson, Amalia Mora, and Joshua Pilzer at the 2018 SEM conference; see also McMullen (2018).

26. These lists are by no means exhaustive; they provide selected examples of texts that are seminal in their theorization of reflexivity, comprehensive in their overview of method and theory, or representative of distinct applications of autoethnographic work.

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Circulation, Value, Exchange, and Music

TIMOTHY D. TAYLOR / UCLA

Circulation sweats money from every pore.

—Karl Marx, *Capital*

In the music fields (and beyond), we have for some time been in need of a better way to conceptualize and theorize how cultural goods such as music—whether physical, broadcast, or digital—circulate in an era frequently characterized as global. There hasn't been a time when music hasn't traveled, locally or regionally or internationally, especially since the rise of publishing, recording technologies such as the phonograph, and broadcasting technologies such as radio. But the digitalization of music (and many other things) necessitates going beyond or at least refining the concept of flows and various "-scapes" (ethnoscapes, mediascapes, finanscapes, technoscapes, and ideoscapes) as presented in several writings by Arjun Appadurai (collected in Appadurai 1996 and elsewhere), writings that have been quite influential in the music fields (see Feld 2000; Stokes 2004; and my own Global Pop [1997], among many publications).

Appadurai's formulation was useful in focusing the conversation on how people and things move in what was seen as an increasingly globalizing world, but, over time, it has proven to be something of a blunt instrument and has largely outlived its usefulness, as many have argued. The idea of "flows" and "-scapes" can imply a kind of uniform movement of money, ideologies, and more, but it is quite clear, of course, that there is nothing uniform about such movements, especially, perhaps, of capital; Anna Tsing (2005) argued some years ago for an understanding of just how messy and unpredictable global capitalism and its flows are. Cultural goods such as music don't circulate equally either, with some musical sounds and styles finding new roots in some places and not in others. In addition, there is the problem of binarizing the global and the

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local (or the conceptualizing of the "glocal"), as if goods simply flow globally and touch down locally. As Tsing (2000:338) reminds us, the local is (re)made all over the place, all the time. Other critics have raised the problem of agency: Where do we locate the agency of individual social actors in these flows? (Tsing 2000; Rockefeller 2011).

In many respects, understanding how things circulate is one of the oldest questions in social theory. Early German theorists of diffusionism and dissemination from Friedrich Ratzel and Leo Frobenius (Hahn 2008) to Franz Boas (e.g., 1891) considered such questions, as have more recent theorists such as Eric Wolf (1982). But the question of circulation has taken on new urgency with the rise of a world more connected than ever. How might we interpret the growing number of ethnographies of globalization and circulation?

Drawing on the anthropological literature on value, I want to move beyond conceptualization of flows to argue that things—whether tangible or intangible—circulate because they have value for people. I am less concerned here with the production or maintenance of value (for that, see Taylor 2015, 2017, 2020, n.d.b) and more with the circulation of things that are thought to be valuable. And where there is circulation and value, there is exchange, not just of money but of time, work, action. Acts of exchange contribute powerfully to social reproduction on broad scales and in small aggregations such as local music scenes. And circulation occurs in the increasingly interconnected public culture in which cosmopolitan cultural forms move (Appadurai and Breckenridge 1988).

Radio

I'll start with a case study, move to a theoretical discussion, then return to theorizing the case study. The case is radio. In today's world of individualized digitalized on-demand media, radio may seem to be a quaint or humble technology, but it is still relevant to musicians. And with radio, we find a fascinating history of attempts to understand the very question of how its messages circulated. When radio first began to be popular in the United States in the 1920s, many people (including academics) speculated about whether radio could communicate directly to individuals, whether or not they owned a receiver. Was it a form of telepathy? Such concerns gave rise to the term "mental radio." Researchers at reputable universities devised studies to ascertain if individuals could send thought waves through the ether (Sconce 2000; Taylor, Katz, and Grajeda 2012). The questions about the possibility of individual reception or transmission, occurring in a historical moment that witnessed rapid urbanization during the 1920s and other social factors, contributed to a growing sense that the US as a body of self-determining individual citizens was becoming an undifferentiated mass. There was thus a tension in this era between hopes for a new technology that seemed to have the power to reach listeners individually while at the same time uniting them into a polity, alongside fears of the loss of separate selfhood through the creation of an undifferentiated mass.

The advent of the era of mass communications raised complex new questions about the circulation of cultural goods. On the one hand, many employed discourses of democratization of access: everyone would now be able to hear what was thought by urban elites to be the world's greatest music. But at the same time, there were fears that the unwashed masses wouldn't know what to make of this music, and so there was the rise of what in music departments (at least in the United States) came to be known as "music appreciation," books and classes that teach the masses how to listen to classical music properly (see Taylor, Katz, and Grajeda 2012).¹

Before radio, at live concerts, audience behavior could be normalized and enforced, and the music could be properly apprehended (or at least, if someone's mind wandered away from the music, this did not interfere with someone else's attention). Exchange and social reproduction in the sense of the terms I will flesh out below are clearly taking place: people paid money for a ticket, they are taking time to listen, and, according to a vast body of aesthetic writings and ideological assumptions of the social groups that attend such concerts, they are hearing music that is uplifting, ennobling, enlightening. They are also justifying their high positions in the social hierarchy through such enactments of distinction (Bourdieu 1984). But if one is listening at home to the phonograph or radio, how can it be known that the music is being properly heard? How does exchange happen with mass-mediated cultural goods? Does it happen at all? Or is there a different form of exchange? Can one still be uplifted, ennobled, enlightened? Can one's social position be maintained and justified, normalized? It is in this context that intellectuals such as Walter Benjamin (1969) worried about the loss of the aura of the artwork.

Radio, as Susan J. Douglas (1999:9) observes, was probably the most important electronic invention of the last century. By the time television came into wide usage, after World War II, most Americans were accustomed to mass media. Theories of telepathy had largely dissipated. Nonetheless, the status of radio diminished over time, becoming seen as secondary to television for decades. It remains, however, an important means for the dissemination of music, even after the advent (and subsequent waning) of MTV in the early 1980s and the rise of licensing of popular music for use in film, television, and advertisements in the 1990s and after (Klein 2009; Taylor 2012).

In fact, terrestrial radio today is still the way that most people in the United States hear most new music, whether mainstream or independent (Greg Katz, lecture, 23 May 2016, Los Angeles; Cakebread 2017).² Radio, a mass communications technology nearly one hundred years in widespread usage, still matters.

Extremely specific statistics are kept about radio airplay, with radio charts noting the exact number of spins a particular song receives every week (http://americasmusiccharts.com/). This needs to be recorded so that musicians (if they are songwriters) can get paid (usually a small amount, except for hits) through their performing rights organizations, such as ASCAP (American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers) or BMI (Broadcast Music, Inc.).

Radio airplay, as is well known, represents a kind of advertising for musicians' work and is not usually much of a source of income for them. But it is a measure of popularity that can be easily translated into economic value represented by sales of recordings or licenses for use in advertising, television, or film. Greg Katz, music industry worker by day and band member, proprietor of a small indie label called New Professor, and radio DJ by night, says that "radio stations call out to their listeners and play them samples of songs to see if they dig it, so there's literally a market research aspect as to whether a song become a hit." If listeners say they don't like a song, it won't be played very often (Katz lecture).

Radio still matters, even in small local scenes such as the indie rock scene in Echo Park (a Los Angeles neighborhood), in which Katz is a figure. In fact, radio in this scene is still crucially important. Despite what one hears—almost daily, it seems—about the dying or the radically transforming record industry, for indie musicians, many of the traditional pathways for getting their music out to fans remain the same. Katz told me that as a label owner he would like to do everything he can to help raise awareness of his label's bands—securing physical distribution in stores, urging his bands to tour more (ideally in a city where their recordings can be purchased in an independent record store), and trying to get more press. And, he says, "I'd like to expand into doing more radio stuff, because as a DJ I know especially radio is the only unmediated way to encounter new music, so I want to home in on that" (interview, 1 September 2014, Los Angeles). (Katz is referring to college, public, and community radio stations, which are "unmediated" compared to commercial radio.)

Larry Little, a manager of indie bands in Los Angeles, told me how young bands espousing the indie, do-it-yourself (DIY) aesthetic need to understand that they still must rely on the traditional means of disseminating their music, including radio.

Radio is a dying thing, but it still is very powerful, and every time I think that it's not powerful I have something happen that reminds me, like a show in Buffalo where 350 people show up unannounced on a Tuesday night, and you've never been to Buffalo before, and you're not getting 300 in San Francisco or the cool cities, and you're pulling 350 in Buffalo. You need to say, "There is some power behind radio," whether you like it or not. So that doing interviews, shaking some hands with some radio guys here and there, it all plays to the fact that it drives more heads to our

show, which is more money in your gas tank and more people buying your T-shirt. It's all interrelated, and we're not living in a time where you can be so cool and aloof and give nothing back and expect it all. (interview, 4 November 2014, Los Angeles)

Clearly, indie rock bands, in and out of Echo Park, still rely heavily on radio airplay to promote themselves. Nima Kazerouni of the band So Many Wizards spoke of a colleague who "told all of her KXLU DJs about the show, and every single one played us. . . . I heard it four times in row" (So Many Wizards [band], interview, 20 November 2014, Santa Monica, CA). KXLU, a college radio station at Loyola Marymount University in Los Angeles, places its request line telephone number in a large font on its website (https://kxlu.com/contact/) so it is easy for listeners to contact the station. Word of mouth still matters, especially when it is amplified via radio. Value is created in this scene (and not only in this scene) by being on the radio, which not only might help sales of recordings and attendance at shows but also adds to a band's recognition in the scene. Radio and other forms of exchange (Taylor, n.d.a) play an important role in the social reproduction of this scene.

All this is well known, of course. Perhaps less well known is that radio time can be purchased. Musician Michael Fiore in the band Criminal Hygiene, when talking about publicizing the band in today's market, told me:

If you have leisure time and you're just living off of whatever, you have all this time to scheme up tours and talk to all these people. If you have money you can make anything happen, you can pay for the best PR, it's easy, just give them \$3,000, and they'll do it. Or you can pay for radio. If they like your song or even if they don't like it, you pay a radio promoter, they can send your song to like three other radio stations for a fee and follow up for another fee. That's all stuff that, if you do get to a label, the label will pay for. They'll start paying for your press and for your radio distribution. You'll owe them forever, or probably never make record sales back to pay them. (interview, 5 September 2014, Los Angeles)

Musicians or their representatives can pay for radio time to (potentially) create buzz and increase attendance at live shows and sales of recordings, not much different from the infamous payola practices of the past. For musicians, there is the obvious and continuing benefit of exposure (which is still so important that there are services they can pay for to obtain or increase it). Listeners can hear the music they like, be in the know, share their enthusiasms with friends, and more.³ And on it goes in a never-ending series of cycles of exchanges, of time, money, knowledge, and more.

Circulation

Now let me begin to lay out how we can theorize the circulation of music beyond flows. Some recent publications offer ethnographic studies of the global circulation of commodities, musical or not, studies that show in empirical detail just how things move and what people do with them (for just two, see Novak 2013; Sylvanus 2016). I have been especially inspired by anthropologist Purnima Mankekar's *Unsettling India* (2015), which offers deeply ethnographic interpretations of today's globalization and provides subtle and nuanced treatments of what a globalized present and recent past look like. Mankekar's insightful book offers a rich and sophisticated treatment of the movement, or the unsettled stasis, of peoples and the circulation of commodities, media, and affect (and more) in contemporary diasporic public culture. Mankekar examines how goods and commodities travel and end up in Indian stores in the San Francisco Bay Area and how media commodities move. Again and again, Mankekar takes up themes of circulation, emphasizing that the social world is never static.

The idea that money and commodities circulate everywhere was, of course, central for Marx, whose discussions of circulation are built on countless exchanges. His comparison of barter to capitalist exchange is illustrative, a comparison that features a linen weaver who sells twenty yards of linen for two pounds, then spends the two pounds for a Bible. Writes Marx,

The weaver has undoubtedly exchanged his linen for a Bible, his own commodity for someone else's. But this phenomenon is only true for him. The Bible-pusher, who prefers a warming drink to cold sheets [having purchased brandy with his proceeds], had no intention of exchanging linen for his Bible; the weaver did not know that wheat had been exchanged for his linen. B's commodity replaces that of A, but A and B do not mutually exchange their commodities. It may in fact happen that A and B buy from each other, but a particular relationship of this kind is by no means the necessary result of the general conditions of the circulation of commodities. (Marx 1976:207)

Marx then makes a point about how the exchange of commodities takes on a life of its own apart from the participating individuals: "There develops a whole network of social connections of natural origin, entirely beyond the control of the human agents. Only because the farmer has sold his wheat is the weaver able to sell his linen, only because the weaver has sold his linen is our rash and intemperate friend able to sell his Bible, and only because the latter already has the water of everlasting life is the distiller able to sell his eau-de-vie. And so it goes on" (Marx 1976:207–8, emphasis added).

For Marx, capitalist circulation, since it involves money, entails its continuing movement. Goods move as well, but more fitfully. "The process of circulation," he writes,

unlike the direct exchange of products, does not disappear from view once the usevalues have changed places and changed hands. The money does not vanish when it finally drops out of the series of metamorphoses undergone by a commodity. It always leaves behind a precipitate at a point in the arena of circulation vacated by the commodities. In the complete metamorphosis of the linen, for example, linenmoney–Bible, the linen first falls out of circulation, and money steps into its place. Then the Bible falls out of circulation, and again money takes its place. When one commodity replaces another, the money commodity always sticks to the hands of some third person. Circulation sweats money from every pore. (Marx 1976:208)

Here, I am more concerned with the circulation of commodities rather than money, but it is clear from Marx that it is money that makes possible the circulation of commodities. But if we understand value to be represented by tokens of value beyond money—music fandom, for example, represented in playlists and other shareable and movable tokens—Marx's conception is still useful. Things circulate on thoroughfares of commonly understood conceptions of value, whether or not these thoroughfares are made of money, to the extent that, as anthropologists Benjamin Lee and Edward LiPuma (2002:210) have argued, today's globalized neoliberal capitalism is circulation-based, a new stage in capitalism's history.

Gabriel Tarde on Circulation and Exchange

I have also found the French sociologist and jurist Gabriel Tarde (1843–1904) to be useful in understanding processes of circulation and exchange. Tarde didn't possess a concept of culture, which is normally a position with which I would take issue. But the absence of this concept is a potent reason why his ideas are valuable in helping us to think through how ideas and other things spread (and, I would say, gain a foothold or coalesce in particular cultures or social groups in particular places and times): we can't simply attribute the movement of something to cultural causes. Tarde's theories were predicated on the idea that social energy, ideas, affect circulated from one person to the next like a contagion—going viral in a nineteenth-century manner. Re-presenting Tarde's ideas, however, requires a bit of introduction, since he did not subscribe to what is now social theoretical orthodoxy and his thinking isn't as well known as more canonical social theorists.⁴

Drawing on economist Charles Gide (uncle of writer André) to outline what he considers to be the four parts of political economy, Tarde posits production (which he glosses as reproduction), circulation, distribution, and consumption. Circulation for Tarde is only the "imitative repetition of needs, labours, interests and their reciprocal radiation by exchange" (1902:75).⁵ "Imitative repetition," or, simply, "imitation," formed one of Tarde's main theoretical foundations. "Socially," he writes, "everything is either invention or imitation" (Tarde 1903:3). That is, everything is either new or not and, regardless, imitated or not. Ideas, desires, needs move from person to person, radiating out like ripples following a stone tossed into a pond. Society itself consists of those imitating others, or "counter-imitating" them, that is, doing the opposite of others (xvii).

Tarde believed that ideas or practices gained a footing in the world not for social or cultural reasons but because of their transmission, person to person. Opinion and its dissemination mattered. Long before Jürgen Habermas (1991), Benedict Anderson, (1991) and others, Tarde considered the importance of the newspaper in spreading and solidifying public opinion: "If the individual members separate to the point of no longer seeing each other or remain so separated beyond a certain short period of time, they cease to be associates. . . . However, not all communications from mind to mind, from soul to soul, are necessarily based on physical proximity. This condition is fulfilled less and less often in our civilized societies when *currents of opinion* take shape" (1969:278, emphasis in original). These "currents of opinion" can occur through disparate people reading the newspaper:

The strange thing about it is that these men who are swept along in this way, who persuade each other, or rather who transmit to one another suggestions from above—these men do not come in contact, do not meet or hear each other; they are all sitting in their own homes scattered over a vast territory, reading the same newspaper. What is then the bond between them? This bond lies in their simultaneous conviction or passion and in their awareness of sharing at the same time an idea or a wish with a great number of other men. It suffices for a man to know this, even without seeing these others, to be influenced by them *en masse* and not just by the journalist, who is the common inspiration of them all and is himself all the more fascinating for being invisible and unknown. (Tarde 1969:278)

Newspapers participate in creating currents of opinion by spreading ideas that are transmitted from one person to another. Tarde's aversion to the idea that "society" or "culture" is a whole greater than the sum of its parts necessitated the development of an extensive theory of circulation, both by word of mouth and through publication in what we now call public culture. Marx observed the sorts of endless circulations—of money and commodities—in the capitalist world, but Tarde gives us a way of understanding how immaterial things such as ideas—or radio music or digitalized music—circulate.⁶

Circulation and Value

Thus far, I have mainly shown that circulation entails exchange. In this section, I want to argue that things circulate because they have value for people. This theory of circulation is thus predicated on conceptions of value, a position that is clearly evident in Marx: "The owner of a commodity is prepared to part with it only in return for other commodities whose use value satisfies his own need" (1976:180). Things produce exchange value in the form of money realized for a seller and use value for the buyer, though the latter can turn around and realize exchange value herself if she desires. And on and on.

The first part of this argument to flesh out here is that things—including intangible things such as ideas and music—circulate and are exchanged because they have value for people. Koray Çalışkan and Michel Callon make this point in linking circulation, transformation, and valuation. "Nothing moves on its own," they write. Goods are produced because they possess value for those who produce them; goods are distributed because they have value for distributors; and goods are consumed because they have value for consumers. Things circulate because they are valued (Çalışkan and Callon 2009:389). On the question of value here, these authors, as well as Tarde, are not that different from Marx.

Things of value circulate whether or not they are considered to possess economic value. And here, Tarde is useful again, for he recognized that there were other forms of value beyond the economic. Tarde thought that economists had focused too much on wealth as the only measure of value when it was perfectly clear that conceptions of value existed in other domains (or what Appadurai [1986] has usefully called "regimes of value"), and that in these domains, or regimes, value was quantified as well with the creation of hierarchies and other sorts of sorting criteria. And Tarde recognized the importance of conversation: "Economists have given the name *market* to the geographical and social domain where the system of market values is circumscribed in solidarity with each other and where there is uniformity of price. What corresponds to the 'market' made of moral, scientific or artistic values? Wouldn't it be society in the narrow sense of the word, the 'world' where conversation rolls on the same subjects, where one received instruction and a common education?" (1902:59, emphasis in original).8 Tarde spends a good deal of time fleshing out this idea, even positing the need for a "glorymeter" (gloriomètre) to measure the glory of people (56), which isn't that different from Bourdieu's conception of symbolic capital.

For cultural goods, value outside of market value can be a complex matter, Tarde says: "The *value* of a book is an ambiguous expression, because each of its copies, to the extent that it is tangible, appropriable, exchangeable and consumable, has a market value that expresses *desirability* but that, in itself, is essentially intelligible, inappropriable, unexchangeable, and inconsumable, which does not mean indestructible; it possesses a scientific value, which expresses its degree of *credibility*, without counting its literary value, which signifies its degree of expressive seduction" (2007:621, emphasis in original, translation edited).

All this may seem rather elusive. Yet it has been axiomatic in the cultural industries for decades, if not centuries, that there is more to value than exchange value as expressed as price, as we know from the creation of canons of great works, the awarding of prizes, grants, and fellowships, and, outside of the academy, the creation of "best of the year" sorts of lists, prizes, awards, and much more. These sorts of values of cultural goods just haven't been theorized as much by those who study them (though see Taylor n.d.b).

The second point I want to explicate from Tarde is that value is not simply conveyed through circulation—conversation, communication, opinion—passed person-to-person or, more broadly, through newspapers. Circulation *creates* value. Anticipating in 1897 an argument forwarded by Georg Simmel in 1901 in *The Philosophy of Money* (2004) (and extended in Appadurai 1986), Tarde writes:

As it grows within an individual, the desire for a thing becomes a *special need for that thing*; as it spreads in an outside group, this desire becomes the *value of that thing*. Through the knowledge that this thing is desired or capable of being desired by someone else, or through the judgment on the capacity of this thing to satisfy a desire, there takes place a combination of belief and desire which, quite as much as the communicability of the belief and the desire, is essential to the idea of value. (1969:227, emphasis in original)

I am arguing that value can be created in this same way for cultural goods since they move through circuits of conversation, opinion, and communication, whether face-to-face or mechanically or digitally in public culture (see also Taylor 2020).

Rather like Tarde, Lee and LiPuma have also made room for other regimes of value in the forms of circulation evident today. Circulation as they conceive it possesses "its own forms of abstraction, evaluation, and constraint," depending on the specific sorts of interactions of what circulates and the communities around what circulates. These sorts of specificities lead them to argue for their concept of what they call "cultures of circulation" (Lee and LiPuma 2002:192), which I would say is another way of conceptualizing regimes of value.

I also want to echo Tsing's (2015:64) extremely useful point, that capitalism coexists with other modes of the production of value, sometimes "translating" them into its own regime, sometimes not; "translation" is the term she uses to label the processes by which values produced in varied noncapitalist modes of production are converted into capitalist inventory. In the case of cultural goods, performed music is converted into inventory in the form of recordings. Paying attention to every step in the capitalist supply chain, every act of translation, can help us understand how today's globalized capitalism works. To put it simply, while the concept of "regimes of value" is a useful way to understand consumption of goods and the values they can acquire, we need Tsing's insights to understand that there are not just different regimes of value but different regimes of the production of value.

Exchange and Social Reproduction

In attempting to move from "flows" to "circulation," I am arguing that we must also consider value. And if things thought to possess value are circulating, then we must consider exchange, both of tangible and of intangible things. Several

anthropologists have argued for the importance of circulation and exchange in social reproduction, and in this section I will draw on some of those theories to help refine my conceptions of circulation, value, and exchange.

Anthropologist Jane Fajans critiques theories of exchange, especially Mauss and Lévi-Strauss, for focusing too closely on acts of exchange and reciprocity and not understanding the broader role played by exchange in social production and reproduction. Her conception of production includes the production not only of products but also of their values, which are realized once the product is integrated into the wider society.

It is through circulation, Fajans writes, that social values are realized: "Exchange is the point at which the latent value created in production processes and embedded in the products is transformed into publicly recognized forms of value" (1993:8). I have argued elsewhere, drawing on Clifford Geertz (1973), that the search for value is another way of understanding Geertz's insistence on the centrality of meaning in the lives of social actors (Taylor 2017). Fajans (1993:8) argues similarly that exchange is normally the context in which the search for meaning is consummated. For her, therefore, exchange is a crucial aspect of social production and reproduction.

Indeed, according to some anthropologists, it is exchange that continually (re)constitutes society. Annette Weiner posits exchange in terms of what she theorizes as *reproduction*: "Any society must reproduce and regenerate certain elements of value in order for the society to continue" (1980:71). Weiner focuses her argument on Melanesian systems, in which reproduction and regeneration are culturally articulated and elaborated. For her, "exchange interaction is reflective of the kinds of symbolic and material values a society accords its productive and regenerative flow. . . . [T]his flow must be 'fed' or the system (or part of it) begins to collapse. The *modus operandi* of this 'feeding' is exchange" (72). The years-long circulation of objects reproduces, nurtures, and regenerates social relations (79). While Weiner is mainly concerned with Melanesia, I think these insights are useful for understanding complex societies, which is what, in part, my efforts here are about.

But back to Fajans. She makes clear, as I am arguing here, that to understand circulation and exchange, we must be attentive to cultural and historical specificities. She argues that exchange is a common and important medium of circulation (Fajans 1993:7), but if we seek the source of exchange values in the act of exchange, we will miss something. Exchange values, as all values and other social phenomena, she writes, are produced in concrete activities, which are then, through circulation and exchange, integrated into a society's system of social production (8).

Most theorists of exchange confine themselves to a consideration of the exchange of physical goods, not those that are intangible. Fajans is rather

inconsistent on this point, sometimes stating that exchange, and therefore the realization of value, can only occur in the exchange of objects. But she also says that it is possible that circulation occurs where there is no exchange (1993:7), mentioning the exchange of knowledge. She discusses at some length the circulation and exchange of values, citing public displays as an example of circulation and exchange occurring simultaneously, without the exchange of physical objects.

Despite this example, Fajans generally assumes that there is no realization of value without exchange of objects. But I view circulation as constituted by exchanges without a physical object necessarily being exchanged. In the case of concerts or museums, there is the cost of the ticket, which can represent money exchanged for time, or, rather, action: one must decide to go to the show or museum, and so what is being exchanged in that action is one's time and attention for whatever one hopes to realize from viewing the painting, seeing the play, hearing the concert. In making this claim, I am building on and extending an argument made elsewhere in which I said that value was stored up through rehearsals and all the things that go into a public performance display. Musical performances are the moments during which stored-up value (through rehearsals, individual practice, instrument manufacture and repair, costume design and manufacture, and much more) is potentially realized (Taylor 2020).

It was perhaps because of this question of the exchange of intangible objects that Tarde considered the production and circulation of the book and its value, as well as the production of knowledge and its exchange. But exchange, he says, is an economic concept that doesn't transfer to the sort of value represented by books:

In fact, giving and theft are moral notions, foreign to political economy, but *exchange* is a purely economic concept. It is through metaphor or misnomer that we say of two interlocutors that they "exchange their ideas" and their admiration. Trade, in fact, of beacons and beauties does not mean sacrifice, it means mutual influence by reciprocating the gift, but a gift quite privileged, which has nothing in common with wealth. There, the giver divests himself by giving; in fact, as for truths, as well as beauties, *he gives* and *retains* both. (Tarde 1902:61, emphasis in original)⁹

Tarde also argued, "Unlike wealth, which can only be changed at the cost of someone's sacrifice and which, consequently, requires some measure to regulate the extent of this sacrifice, the exchange of knowledge is an addition on both sides, not a subtraction," except, he says, "when the knowledge is contradictory; but in this case there is no exchange but a duel to the death either in the enclosed field of an individual mind or on the battlefields of sects or parties or religious wars" (Tarde 1969:227).

I would continue to argue here that the exchange of ideas and other intangible things is a kind of exchange if we are thinking in terms of regimes of value:

people on the giving side may believe themselves to be receiving something in return, and those on the receiving side also believe themselves to be receiving something beyond the ideas themselves. In short, "exchange" as I am employing the term here thus encompasses production, circulation, and consumption of tangible or intangible things, all of which, of course, are shot through with conceptions of value. There is precedent for such a conception in Marx's thinking.

The term "circulation" might imply a kind of agentless process, or a process (not much different from that of flows) in which agents' desires and intentions—by which I mean the regimes of value into which they place goods—are not taken into consideration, just as "consumption" can too often be taken to refer simply to the act of purchase or the use value of the goods. By "exchange," I mean to refer to the myriad acts by which social actors acquire and dispose of cultural goods, tangible or intangible, because of the value they are perceived to possess or represent to those social actors. Exchange is more than just the exchange of money and commodities or the giving and receiving of gifts. Most recorded music that circulates, for example, was originally conceived as a commodity, but it exists in that regime of value and other regimes once it begins to move, according to innumerable social actors' acts. The exchanges for music that occur take the form of action required to download this rather than that, listen, create a playlist, share a playlist, and more (Taylor 2017), the sort of sharing of ideas theorized by Tarde. This is time exchanged for the labor and actions of those who made the music, recorded it, distributed, advertised, marketed it, and more.

Public Culture

In some of the passages above, Tarde is clearly gesturing toward what we would now call public culture (Appadurai and Breckenridge 1988), the realm of the circulation of representational and mediational forms in which goods increasingly circulate, emanating from outside a country's or region's borders, but also available to diasporic subjects around the world. This constitutes one of the primary loci of analysis of Purnima Mankekar's book and in a way distinguishes her approach to questions of circulation from that of Tsing's (2015), who is concerned with the circulation of a particular commodity, the matsutake mushroom, gathered in Oregon but ending up in Japan.

Appadurai and Breckenridge (1988:8) offered a plea to scholars to abandon traditional lenses of analysis such as "popular," "folk," and "traditional" in order to try to come to grips with the complex way that cosmopolitan cultural goods could circulate. "Public culture" is the term they propose to attempt to understand the countless cultural forms in circulation today, cultural forms that act

as media for cultural significance and that can be used in the construction of group identities (5).

Mankekar (2015:7), also drawing on Appadurai and Breckenridge's conception of public culture, views the relatively conglomerated international media companies not as monopolistic but as "rhizomatic and nodal," constructed in specific times and places with particular institutions, such as the state or a particular media industry. And she is concerned not with how a new transnational public culture replaces something that has gone before but with how the newer representations, affects, and sensations interact with the older ones and how each remediates the other in what I would call an endless series of exchanges.

The circulation of cultural goods in globalized public cultures also facilitates people finding others like themselves, forming alliances, fashioning identities, as Appadurai and Breckenridge argue and as Mankekar demonstrates ethnographically. Fajans (1993:8) made the same point with respect to exchange, writing that exchange is the way that social actors' labor in production is given meaning socially and that actors adopt this value as an aspect of their social identity. What is more, societies (tribes, groups, or other social aggregations) can be formed through the movement of ideas and opinions, as Tarde recognized: "This transformation of all the normal groups in public is expressed by a growing need for sociability, which necessitates regular communication associated with a continuous stream of information and joint excitations. It is therefore inevitable. And it is important to seek the consequences it has or will have, in all probability, on the intended and transformed groups in terms of their duration, their solidity, their strength, their struggles, or their alliances" ([1901] 1989:17).¹⁰ Such an argument predates many later theorizations of subcultures, tribes, "little cultures," and more, which have become quite commonplace in theorizations of the present and recent past.

Radio, Exchange, and Circulation

Now let me return to radio. This medium, as I said above, remains, perhaps surprisingly, the most important means of the dissemination of new music to most listeners in the United States, and it is scarcely different in the rest of the world, where radio continues to play an important role in presenting music and performing all sorts of social and cultural work (Fisher 2015), participating in countless exchanges. Radio or any communications medium is predicated on the idea of exchange. People listen or watch or read or view because they believe they are receiving something of value: entertainment in the form of music or something else, information, inspiration to become musicians (see Turino 2000:79). Those who produce believe themselves to be receiving something in return:

people's attention, either to propaganda (Rice 1994) or to what is considered to be useful information and much more.

If we are to think of the act of listening to radio as part of the countless exchanges that occur in a public culture, then it is useful to revisit the famous argument by the Canadian economist Dallas Smythe (1977) identifying the audience as the commodity in broadcasting. Smythe's (1994:259) position is predicated on Marx's theory of commodity exchange, and, indeed, Smythe considered exchange at some length, arguing that communication as a form of exchange is the same as the exchange of money, though what he really means, I think, is that the exchange of money and communication are both social acts.

Smythe's understanding of the audience commodity is straightforward: "Because audience power is produced, sold, purchased and consumed, it commands a price and is a commodity" (1981:26). Advertisers purchase "the services of audiences with predictable specifications which will pay attention in predictable numbers and at particular times to particular means of communication . . . in particular marketed areas" (27). This involves labor by consumers, who effectively work, unpaid, while watching and in exchange receive program material and advertisements (33). Audiences thus labor to market things to themselves (4).

Smythe's (1977:16) argument is that Marx's thinking about the nature of production, that production produces consumption, can be used to help us understand the processes of the advertising and branding of commodities under our more recent capitalism. For Smythe, the relationship of the listener or viewer to broadcasters and advertisers wasn't simply one of the received or proffered ideologies (creating false consciousnesses) or narcotizing messages but was a relationship producing surplus value for capitalists (Fuchs 2012) in what I am characterizing as forms of exchange.

Before proceeding further down the Smythian path, let me acknowledge that there have been plenty of critiques of his arguments. The issue some critics have raised, for example, concerns Marx's labor theory of value: Is the consumption of broadcasts actually labor if audience members aren't being paid for their time? (Arvidsson 2011). I don't think there is a need to try to force the "audience as commodity" argument into a rigid, technical, Marxoid straitjacket. I am more in agreement with Tsing's (2015) argument in various places that capitalism has always relied on, as it continues to do, noncapitalist forms of the production of value; value can be produced in regimes that aren't capitalist or economic. Against the critics of Smythe who find his arguments to be simplistic or reductionist (e.g., Carraway 2011; Hesmondhalgh 2010; see Fuchs 2012 for a defense of Smythe), I would say that his main point is that broadcasting and reception (and advertising during broadcasts) are forms of exchange of value(s). Some

of these exchanges are capitalist exchanges, and some—perhaps especially in alternative media such as college radio—are less commodity exchanges than other sorts of exchanges—of symbolic capital, for example.¹¹ That is, even in cases of mainstream mass-media broadcasting when one's case is strongest that the audience could be considered to be a commodity, we still need to pay attention to other forms of value production that might be taking place and thus how these exchanges work. Regimes of value that appear to be remote from economic regimes can coexist alongside economic regimes, and noncapitalist forms of value can be "translated" (Tsing 2015) into capitalist forms.

A final point about radio is that it exists in regimes of value like anything else. That is, certain individuals, certain social groups can value one form of communication over another, with perhaps the best example being young people who prefer text messaging to email. Radio is easily accessible to young people at colleges (hence the important role played by college radio in the United States in disseminating indie rock and other sorts of music), and pirate radio is also easy and cheap to set up (there are many online guides)—two reasons why radio still matters for indie rock musicians. The point here is that certain media can be valued by certain social groups for circulating their music (or whatever), and those media can themselves be placed in regimes of value of particular social groups.

Conclusions

This article has sketched out a way of thinking about circulation of cultural goods, tangible and intangible, that attempts to complicate and add nuance to the useful framework offered by Arjun Appadurai a couple of decades ago (though such concerns are part of a longer history of attempting to understand how things circulate). Although this case study is of an old technology that remains relevant, the perspectives presented here should be useful in furthering our understanding of how music moves through various means, whether broadcast, digitally, or physically. While much has been made about how the internet has changed everything (what I have elsewhere called "technological triumphalism" [Taylor 2016]), people mostly use technologies to do what they have always done, including making music, listening to music, sharing music, sharing ideas about music, recommending artists, songs, genres, recordings, and much more. But with today's digital technologies, such acts can occur faster and travel farther. Regardless of speed or reach, all of the actions involved in making and listening to music and disseminating it reveal and produce what particular social actors value. If something is valued, it will be exchanged, and when something is exchanged, it acquires value.

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Notes

- 1. See Adorno (1994) for a scathing critique of such endeavors.
- 2. According to Nielsen Music 360, 49 percent of people discover new music from the radio, 40 percent from friends and relatives, 27 percent from online music services, 25 percent from social media, 23 percent from online radio, and 14 percent from satellite radio (Cakebread 2017).
 - 3. For more on indie and college radio in Los Angeles, see Finkel (2014) and Waits (2008).
- 4. This introduction is necessarily brief; for a more substantial introduction and overview, see Terry N. Clark's introduction to Tarde (1969) and Latour and Lépinay (2009).
- 5. "Circulation et répartition des richesses ne sont qu'un effet de la répétition imitative des besoins, des travaux, des intérêts et de leur rayonnement réciproque par l'échange." All translations are mine unless indicated otherwise.
- 6. Some have found such arguments to be useful in describing electronic mass communication and the effects of social media today (see Katz, Ali, and Kim 2014), though one must still culturalize these approaches through ethnographic and/or historical research.
 - 7. Thanks are due to Hannah Appel, who recommended this article.
- 8. "Les économistes ont donné le nom de *marché* au domaine géographique et social où est circonscrit le système des valeurs vénales solidaires les unes des autres et où règne l'uniformité de prix. Qu'est-ce qui correspond au 'marché' en fait de valeurs morales, de valeurs scientifiques ou artistiques? Ne serait-ce pas la société dans le sens étroit du mot, le 'monde' où la conversation roule sur les mêmes sujets, où l'on a reçu une instruction et une éducation communes?"
- 9. "Et, de fait, la donation et le vol sont des notions morales, étrangères en soi à l'économie politique, mais *l'échange* est une notion proprement économique. C'est par métaphore ou abus de langage qu'on dit de deux interlocuteurs qu'ils 'échangent leurs idées' ou leurs admirations. Échange, en fait de lumières et de beautés, ne veut pas dire sacrifice, il signifie mutuel rayonnement, par réciprocité de don, mais d'un don tout à fait privilégié, qui n'a rien de commun avec celui des richesses. Ici, le donateur se dépouille en donnant; en fait de vérités, et aussi bien de beautés, *il donne* et *retient* à la fois."
- 10. "Cette transformation de tous les groupes quelconques en publics s'exprime par un besoin croissant de sociabilité qui rend nécessaire la mise en communication régulière des associés par un courant continu d'informations et d'excitations communes. Elle est donc inévitable. Et il importe de rechercher les conséquences qu'elle a ou qu'elle aura, suivant toutes les vraisemblances, sur les destinés des groupes ainsi transformés, au point de vue de leur durée, de leur solidité, de leur force, de leurs luttes ou de leurs alliances."
 - 11. See Wall (2007) for more on college radio.

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Blackbirds in the Archive: Genealogy and Media in a Century of Georgian Folk Song

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Abstract. This article examines early recordings of Georgian folk music and their use by present-day singers through the dual lens of ethnography and media archaeology. One song in particular, recorded in 1907 and re-created in concert in 2009, demonstrates a complex negotiation between changing ideals of vocal timbre and the desire to be faithful to all aspects of the original recording, even mistakes or idiosyncrasies. Throughout, Anzor Erkomaishvili looms large as a dominant figure: founder of the most famous ensemble in Georgia, archivist in search of old records, and elegiac narrator of a family saga at the heart of Georgian music history.

რეზიუმე. წინამდებარე სტატია განიხილავს ქართული ხალხური მუსიკის აღრუულ ჩანაწურებს და მათზე აღბეჭდილი სიმდერების შესრულებას თანამედროვე მომღერლების მიერ. საკითხი განხილურია, როგორც ეთნოგრაფიულ, ისე მედია არქეოლოგიურ ჭრილში. ნაშრომში ყურადღება გამახვილებულია 1907 წლის ჩანაწერში აღბეჭდილ სიმღერაზე, რომლის სცენაზე კვლავწარმოების მომსწრე, 2009 წელს გავხდით. აღნიშნული შესრულება, იმ რთულ პროცესს წარმოაჩენს, რომელიც ხმის ტემბრთან დაკავშირებული იღეალების ცვლილებას და პირველწყაროში არსებული ეცელა ასპექტის მიმართ ერთგულებას გულისხმობს. შემსრულებლები, პირველწყაროში არსებულ შეცდომებს, ჩანაწერის ხარვეზებისა და სხვა თავისებულებებსაც ითვალისწინებენ. ანზორ ერქომაიშვილის მოღვაწეობა, საკითხის განხილვისას – ერთგვარ გამადიდებულ შუშას წარმოადგენს. მან დააარსა ყველაზე ცნობილი ანსამბლი საქართველოში; ის გახლავთ ძველი ჩანაწერების მაძიებელი, არქივისტი და ქართული მუსიკის გულში აღმოცენებული ოჯახური საგას ელეგიური მთხრობელი.

On 19 February 2009 Anzor Erkomaishvili stood onstage in the Grand Hall of the Tbilisi State Conservatoire to introduce a performance by the Georgian folk ensemble Basiani. His brief remarks offered some context for the piece about to be sung: "Our work songs [naduri] have a very long and extensive history. We

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could call them a unique phenomenon in the world." He then announced that Basiani "will now perform for us the exact same variant [of this naduri] that Gigo Erkomaishvili's group recorded in 1907." Though not explicitly stated here, Anzor Erkomaishvili's relationship to Gigo Erkomaishvili would have been well known to those in the audience: Anzor is the great-grandson of Gigo, a master singer and choir leader from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Anzor's own credentials would also have been well known to the audience. As founder and director of the Rustavi Ensemble, Anzor has arguably done more than any other individual to popularize traditional Georgian music at home and abroad. He also successfully lobbied for Georgian polyphonic singing's recognition as a UNESCO-proclaimed masterpiece of intangible cultural heritage (Tsitsishvili 2009).

Anzor is famous in Georgia as a performer and public intellectual, yet his appearance in the Grand Hall with Basiani pointed to another of his roles: keeper of the archive of Georgian music, presenting and restoring forgotten treasures from over a century of audio recording. The concert, in fact, was held to celebrate the recent publication of a book and CD of archival recordings (Erkomaishvili and Rodonaia 2006). The performance by Basiani that immediately followed his speech quoted above—a virtuosic re-creation of the "Sajavakhura naduri" recorded by Gigo Erkomaishvili's group in 1907—is emblematic of his multifaceted legacy. The group's professional concert presentation owes much to the model of Anzor's Rustavi Ensemble, which has captivated audiences around the world since the 1960s, although aspects of Basiani's repertoire and performance style—their vocal timbre especially—represent a break with Rustavi's so-called academic style.

"Sajavakhura naduri," the piece performed onstage, is an agricultural work song from western Georgia that is named for the village of Sajavakho. It is sung antiphonally by an all-male, unaccompanied vocal ensemble. Basiani's performance begins with a solo call, quickly answered by another singer with a twisting, descending line. Typical of songs from western Georgia, the text of this piece largely consists of "nonsense" syllables like wo and de la da, resonant vocables lacking lexical significance but harboring expressive power (see Ninoshvili 2010; Tuite 2015). The song takes time to build up, with two groups trading long phrases back and forth while the lower voices sustain single-pitch drones. Gradually, the tempo picks up and the rhythm becomes sharper as solo voices in each group execute dense passages of three-part counterpoint. Now new sonic elements emerge: vocal techniques like gamqivani, named for a rooster's crowing (qivili), and k'rimanch'uli, a high-pitched yodeling ostinato. As the antiphonal exchanges become shorter and shorter, Basiani's yodelers maintain their stamina and brilliance. One could imagine two teams of farmhands who begin several miles apart and ruthlessly scythe the fields between them until only a few yards

remain. In a kind of stretto, the groups trade phrases of eight beats, then four, then two, until the tension cannot be sustained any longer, and all the voices resolve in a ringing unison.³ These work songs are among the longest, most challenging pieces in any ensemble's repertoire. Even more remarkable, then, is Basiani's achievement in matching, note for note, a performance recorded a hundred years before.

In this article, I present a media archaeology of three moments in Georgian traditional music history. Two of them occupy the bulk of my analysis, operating in intimate dialogue a century apart: the 2009 performance by Basiani and the 1907 gramophone recording by Gigo Erkomaishvili on which it is based. As an epilogue, I recount a third instance of significant media practice chronologically halfway between the other two: the 1966 tape recordings of Artem Erkomaishvili, the last master chanter in the Georgian Orthodox Church tradition. These moments are most obviously linked by the presence of three generations of the same family—Gigo (1840–1947), Gigo's son Artem (1887–1967), and Artem's grandson Anzor (b. 1940)—yet they do more than tell a family story (see figure 1). Here, family genealogy becomes media history, and decades of performance



Figure 1. Front row, from left: Gigo, Artem, and Davit Erkomaishvili (Anzor's father) in 1934. Photo courtesy of Anzor Erkomaishvili.

practice hinge on the archival efforts of one man seeking to hear the voices of his forebears.

By identifying my method as "media archaeology," I engage with a heterogeneous set of practices cutting across disciplines from comparative literature to science and technology studies. What unites these practices is a commitment to writing histories of culture and technology that are antiteleological and resist master narratives of progress and innovation. General introductions to media archaeology (Parikka 2012; Huhtamo and Parikka 2011) identify such precursors as Walter Benjamin, Aby Warburg, and Marshall McLuhan while emphasizing the influence of Michel Foucault, especially *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972). An oft-cited figure is the literary theorist Friedrich Kittler (1990), who never identified his work as media archaeology yet who argued that literary history must take account of the "discourse networks" (*Aufschreibesysteme*) that encode and store cultural data in material form, be it writing, sound recording, or digital media.

Although cinema and visual culture have tended to dominate in histories of media, technologies of sound recording and reproduction have been rich resources for media archaeology (Kittler 1999; Gitelman 1999, 2008; Sterne 2003; Thompson 2004; Mills 2012). Within musicology, Gavin Williams (2011), Andrea Bohlman (2016), and Roger Moseley (2016) make explicit use of the term "media archaeology" and its attendant methodologies (cf. Rehding 2017), as does a special issue of Twentieth-Century Music (Bohlman and McMurray 2017) dedicated to sound on tape. While ethnomusicologists have long been attentive to technologies of sound recording and the social structures they entail (Manuel 1993; Meintjes 2003; Greene and Porcello 2005), applications of media archaeology discourse to ethnomusicology are still rare. Notably, Peter McMurray's (2019) media-archaeological work on the Milman Parry Collection of Oral Literature—and the afterlife of its media artifacts—shares with this article an ethnographic attention to the family genealogies that become bound up in an archive and entangled with the politics of repatriation and redistribution. Above all, what I draw from media archaeology is a way of writing history that recognizes the enduring significance of different periods and artifacts of media practice, offering insights into the lives of users liberated and constrained by those technologies.

The media archaeologist "sees media cultures as sedimented and layered, a fold of time and materiality where the past might be suddenly discovered anew" (Parikka 2012). The archival recordings of Georgian folk and sacred music that I examine here enact such a fold. They have influenced performing groups from the 1980s onward and provoked renewed interest in the pre-Soviet soundscape of Georgian culture. In the process, accidents and idiosyncrasies—even, as I argue below, *mistakes* on these source recordings—became canonic, repeated

features of live performance. While my attention to such "noisy" elements is firmly in line with leading currents of media archaeology, especially the work of Wolfgang Ernst (2013), I also address a gap in much media theory by incorporating ethnography based on my ongoing fieldwork in Georgia, which entails a greater awareness of live performance contexts and embodied vocal practices. In this way, my method here resonates with more recent trends in German media theory, particularly the "cultural techniques" (*Kulturtechnik*) approach, which attempts to assimilate bodily techniques into general theories of technology, restoring agency to human actors while acknowledging the constraints imposed by media systems (Siegert 2008; Geoghegan 2013).

My focus in this article on Anzor Erkomaishvili further underscores the need for a multifaceted approach to media and memory, since Anzor has shaped the performance of Georgian music not only as a highly respected singer, teacher, and transmitter of an oral tradition but also as a master operator within networks of media creation and dissemination. Accordingly, I draw on Jacques Derrida's (1996) theorization of the archive to render legible Anzor's outsize influence, cultivated over a half-century career. Attention to dominant figures like Anzor, I suggest, is crucial in any history of traditional music in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, offering an alternative to impersonal or reductive theories of autonomous stylistic change or the one-way influence of Western paradigms of modernity.

Readers may recognize counterparts from other traditions. Taking, for example, the case of Irish music in the twentieth century, one could point to Seán Ó Riada as the most important person in establishing and policing the canonical practices of Irish traditional music (Williams and Ó Laoire 2011:30–35). At the same time, media artifacts played a vital role in this same revival, notably the records made in the 1920s and 1930s by the fiddler Michael Coleman, which helped establish fiddle playing from the Sligo region as the dominant national style. What sets Anzor apart, I argue, is his unique position as both an arbiter of cultural practice on a national scale, like Ó Riada, and a direct claimant, through family connection, to the authority of the earliest sound documents. In keeping this history focused on the individual, I also recognize that, for Anzor, the quest to restore to life the voices of the past is always colored by a mournful sense of familial and cultural loss.

Tracing the arc of Anzor's career will help elucidate the path to Basiani's 2009 performance, with its note-for-note imitation of the 1907 recording. This path primarily involves changes in performance practice by Georgian ensembles beginning in the 1960s. I argue that a clear dichotomy between "academic" and "neotraditional" styles, a commonplace among scholars and practitioners (Graham 2015:477), obscures a more complex interplay of varying and complementary claims on authenticity. Historical recordings—and the different uses

to which they are put by different singers—cast these claims in high relief. In the case of Basiani's performance of "Sajavakhura naduri," I identify four different conceptions of authenticity at work: the *testimonial* authority of the 1907 recording itself; the *genealogical* legitimacy of the archivist, Anzor, whose greatgrandfather sings on that record; an *iconic* authenticity in Basiani's painstaking imitation of the original recording's sounds and vocal timbres; and, finally, a kind of *existential* authenticity, expressed in the notion of "singing with your own voice" that Anzor described to me in an interview.

Given that the very notion of authenticity, a foundational concern in folklore and ethnomusicology, is justly open for deconstruction (Bendix 1997), it is not my purpose to evaluate or weigh these claims against each other. Even so, ideas of authenticity may constitute "the very core around which people build meaningful lives" (17). This is especially true for professional folk singers, for whom being seen as authentic or not has serious economic consequences (see Witulski 2018 on "negotiated authenticity"). In order, then, to see how this discourse of authenticity developed, we must turn first to the earliest sound documents and the cultural technology involved in their production.

The Gramophone in Prerevolutionary Georgia

In the early years of the twentieth century, the Russian Empire was a growing market for new record companies. Among the first to set up in Russia was the Gramophone Company, a London-based multinational corporation that had licensed the patent for Emile Berliner's disc-playing gramophone in 1898 (Jones 1985:80). An alliance between the Gramophone Company and the US-based Victor Talking Machine Company divided the world into noncompeting hemispheres, with the Gramophone Company operating in Europe, the British Empire (including India and much of Africa), the Russian Empire, and Japan. Between 1898 and 1921, the Gramophone Company produced two hundred thousand different recordings (Gronow and Saunio 1998:12). Two brothers, Frederick and William Gaisberg, were the most renowned of the company's pioneering record producers, making the voice of Enrico Caruso familiar throughout the world. While opera and Western classical music would remain the centerpiece of record catalogs for decades, these producers quickly recognized the value of capturing local genres on disc, especially as they pursued new markets outside the capital cities. "When the musical centers of Europe had been exhausted, the Gaisbergs were sent to more exotic places" (11).

In Fred Gaisberg's own words (1942:26), Russia was "that El Dorado of traders," and for the Gramophone Company, the economic promise of the Russian market was no myth. By the outbreak of the First World War, 22 percent of the company's business came from Russia (Jones 1985:89). The branch office in

Tbilisi, then known as Tiflis and capital of Russia's Caucasus Viceroyalty, was responsible for recording a wide range of ethnic and linguistic groups in the North and South Caucasus. Music from Central Asia and Iran was also handled by the Tiflis office (Gronow 1981:256). From 1901 to 1914, approximately 170 Gramophone Company records featured Georgian folk music in the polyphonic vocal tradition (Erkomaishvili and Rodonaia 2006), including forty-nine by Gigo Erkomaishvili's choir, who made the trip in spring 1907 to the studio on Golovinsky Prospect (today Rustaveli Avenue). No recordings were made in Georgia between 1903 and 1907, perhaps owing to political instability related to the 1905 Russian Revolution, in which Gigo's home region of Guria played a significant role (Villari 1906; Jones 2005).

Exact sales numbers are hard to come by, though anecdotes attest to the ubiquity of gramophones on the outskirts of Russia. As one early engineer put it in an article for the Talking Machine World: "In the Caucasus mountains the talker can be heard in every one of the multitudinous villages; the records are played unceasingly and are therefore soon worn out, causing a result which is not particularly pleasing to [anyone] other than the Cossacks themselves who will never buy another record of the same title until one is actually broken. Even then they retain the pieces and in some cases decorate their huts with them"4 (Noble 1913:65). This engineer's account—which elsewhere narrates a robbery at the hands of brigands and a daring mountain escape—must be approached cautiously, as it clearly partakes in exoticizing stereotypes and tropes of adventure writing. Even so, this description inadvertently hits on two notable features of listening in these preradio, pre-mass-media days—namely, the wide availability of recordings and playback machines and the "intensive" listening practices (Gitelman 2008:63) that transform a record through overplaying into shiny, decorative material.

In similar terms, Anzor Erkomaishvili, who was born in 1940, explained to me that in the days before radio came to Makvaneti, the village in Guria where he grew up, "every single family in town" owned some records (interview, 30 August 2016). If they did not have a record player themselves, they would go to listen at the home of someone who did. Although the 1907 recordings of Gigo Erkomaishvili predate Anzor's memory by some four decades, we may still situate them within a social context rapidly coming to terms with mediated sound. In later years, these early sound documents would gain status as authentic testimonials to a pre-Soviet musical practice as yet unsullied by commercial or political interference. Rather than view Gigo and his fellow singers, however, as naive premoderns, captured on disc by happy chance, I suggest we recognize their agency in the media processes that preserve their voices. Why, then, did Gigo want his choir recorded? In Anzor's telling, it was a friend who encouraged

Gigo and bankrolled the recording session (interview, 30 August 2016). Beyond that, we must look to broader cultural trends for contextual clues.

"Russian record manufacturers," Anna Fishzon writes in her study of early twentieth-century opera recordings, "sold the notion that consumers acquired sophistication and status through the purchase of native 'greatness'—the experience of beautiful voices and exemplary personalities in their own language" (2011:807). While opera stars from France or Italy might sing and record Tchaikovsky in translation, by 1902 Russian singers like Fyodor Chaliapin had filled the market with arias and art songs in Russian. In Georgia, on the fringes of the empire, the desire for an audible "native greatness" embraced not only Georgian opera singers like Ia Kargareteli and Vano Sarajishvili but also folk choirs like Gigo Erkomaishvili's. Here the market principles of supply and demand dovetailed with political currents, for, beginning in the late nineteenth century, choirs dedicated to Georgia's indigenous music traditions had helped to amplify the Georgian nationalist movement, encouraged by writers like Ilia Chavchavadze and Akaki Tsereteli (Suny 1994:133). Gigo, in other words, was part of a broader social movement, and through a mechanism parallel to the one Fishzon describes for opera singers, his choir's sound recordings offered a visceral experience of authenticity.

The 1907 gramophone recordings were made at an inflection point in the history of Georgian national identity, in the immediate aftermath of revolts connected to the 1905 Russian Revolution and a decade before the short-lived Democratic Republic of Georgia (1918–21) seemed to offer a culmination of the Georgian independence movement.⁵ Likewise, the rediscovery and restoration of these recordings, which I discuss in the next section, took place in the waning years of the Soviet Union and the first decades of Georgia's post-Soviet sovereignty. Whatever significance the recordings possessed for their original audiences would be transformed and enhanced in the folk revival that began to take hold in the 1970s.

The Records Recirculate

Anzor Erkomaishvili has told the story of his rediscovery of these Gramophone Company recordings many times, whether in published accounts or in interviews for television. The most detailed narrative of his search for old records was written in 1980 and published as a chapter of his first memoir, later translated into English as "Tracing Old Phonorecords" (Erkomaishvili 1988, 2007a). In the essay, Anzor narrates an odyssey that, beginning in the early 1970s, took him through a bewildering maze of Soviet bureaucracy, with stops at archives in Leningrad, Kiev, Riga, and Krasnogorsk. He struck gold, so to speak, at the

Central State Archive of Sound Recordings in Moscow, where he found copper or brass matrices of many of the Gramophone Company recordings from which new nickel discs could be pressed and played back. By cross-checking with published catalogs—or, in some cases, by recognizing the song on an unlabeled matrix as one he had a copy of at home—Anzor was able to identify the repertoire and performers on a majority of the discs. As founder and director of the internationally renowned Rustavi Ensemble, Anzor had access to these archives and could leverage his relationship with Melodiya, the Soviet state—controlled record company, to fund the restoration of the matrices, the pressing of new discs, and their conversion to tape. In the late 1980s, Melodiya began releasing these recordings on LP, with several discs dedicated to specific singers (including recordings from the 1930s and later), as well as a five-LP set specifically devoted to the Gramophone Company records (Ziegler 1989; see the discography).

Anzor made further discoveries in 1991 at the British Institute of Recorded Sound, but these records would have to wait nearly a decade to be heard by the public. The 1990s were a period of intense political and economic instability in Georgia, with the breakup of the Soviet Union, constitutional crises, and separatist conflicts all taking their toll. Plans to release the Gramophone Company recordings on CD were abandoned during this time, and besides, Melodiya, which had released all of Anzor's music, had functionally ceased to exist.⁶ According to Carl Linich, a longtime student and friend of Anzor, the records had been transferred to DAT tapes yet were simply "sitting in a box on a shelf in [ethnomusicologist Ted Levin's] office" (interview, 17 October 2015). As a teacher and performer, Carl Linich has been a major figure in the spread of Georgian folk singing to North America (Bithell 2014), and his archival work has been equally significant. At Levin's prompting, Linich took on the task of "doing something" with the recordings. Making a selection of twenty-five songs, Linich produced Drinking Horns & Gramophones, a CD released by Traditional Crossroads in 2001.

The success of *Drinking Horns & Gramophones* was followed by a four-CD release of all extant Gramophone Company recordings in the form of a deluxe, coffee-table-style book with extensive notes in English and Georgian titled *Georgian Folk Song: The First Sound Recordings*, 1901–1914 (Erkomaishvili and Rodonaia 2006). This project rode the wave of international recognition following the 2001 UNESCO proclamation of Georgian polyphonic singing as a "masterpiece of the oral and intangible cultural heritage of humanity." New publications and recordings appeared—funded by various governmental and international entities—and new folk music ensembles were established within Georgia (Bithell 2014:581). Anzor's historical-recordings project thus played directly into a global preservationist narrative with elements of repatriation and transnational collaboration. The book and CDs were funded in part by

the United States Ambassadors Fund for Cultural Preservation, and it was at a celebration for the book's publication that Anzor delivered the speech quoted at the beginning of this article.

Keeper of the Archive

Despite this inspiring narrative of rediscovery and restoration, for Anzor the recordings were never really lost. In several cases, the best-preserved copy of a Gramophone Company disc came not from a state or corporate archive but rather from his personal collection (Erkomaishvili 2007a:31). The Erkomaishvili family, it seems, were early adopters of recording technology. In an essay about Gigo, Anzor recalls meeting his great-grandfather sometime in the mid-1940s, when Anzor was a young boy and Gigo over a hundred years old. On this occasion, Gigo's son Artem brought his father some records as a gift, and the old man took out his gramophone to have a listen. The young Anzor was fascinated by the brown box and assumed there must be a small, sound-making demon inside (Erkomaishvili 2006:12).8 This same gramophone remains in the family in working condition, and when I visited Anzor in 2016, he readily offered to play one of the original Gramophone Company discs for me. The upper floor of Anzor's apartment in Tbilisi is wholly dedicated to photographs, musical instruments, and other treasures from his years as a performer and scholar of Georgian music, an archive at once deeply personal and broad in scope.9

The question of the archive, according to Jacques Derrida, is one of outside and inside, specifically, "Where does the outside commence?" (1996:8). For Anzor, the master archivist, this question pertains to the boundary between family genealogy and the history of Georgian music more generally. Gigo Erkomaishvili's date of birth is generally given as 1839 or 1840, and Gigo himself traced his singing lineage back several generations. Thus two centuries of singing expertise lead up to Anzor. The Erkomaishvili family hails from Guria, a region of western Georgia bordering the Black Sea. Although the administrative unit called Guria today is the smallest in Georgia (apart from the capital district around Tbilisi), its musical traditions dominate the archive. Of the ninety-nine surviving Gramophone Company recordings, forty-four of them feature Gurian singers and repertoire. The other significant corpus of early Georgian recordings, those made in German and Austrian prisoner-of-war camps during World War I, likewise features the voices of many Gurians, one of whom served as a chief informant for the comparative musicologist Robert Lach (1928:7).

Guria's prominence in Georgian music history is further augmented by the importance of the Shemokmedi monastery. At Shemokmedi, near the Gurian capital of Ozurgeti, an oral tradition of church chanting was maintained into the twentieth century, longer than any other center of chant. When scholars and

composers in the late nineteenth century began to study and transcribe Georgian church chant—which, like the secular repertoire, is also unaccompanied vocal polyphony in three parts—they gave Shemokmedi special attention (Graham 2015). As I discuss in this article's epilogue, Artem Erkomaishvili, Gigo's son and Anzor's grandfather, was the last representative of the "Shemokmedi school" and made important recordings in 1966, when Anzor was still a young man.

Taking all of this into account, it is safe to say that Erkomaishvili would have been an important name in Georgian music history, even without the international fame of Anzor's Rustavi Ensemble. Nevertheless, Anzor, throughout his celebrated career, has used multiple strategies of inscription to shape public understandings of Georgian traditional music and its history. In this way, he embodies what Derrida (1996:22) terms the "archontic dimension" of the archive, an idea linked to the duality at the heart of the word's Greek etymology. Arkhē can mean both "origin" and "rule": thus Derrida's pithy formulation, "the commencement and the commandment" (1). The arkheion, in ancient Greece, was both the house of the rulers and a repository for the documents that historicized and legitimized their rule. There is always a person or group that maintains a privileged relation to the messages contained in an archive's documents and can therefore control their circulation. Anzor's privileged position may originate with his name and his early training in Gurian folk singing, yet it finds constant reinforcement in the different ways he writes himself and his family into the canonical history of Georgian music.

The concepts of "canon" and "archive," central to this story, may be seen as two modalities of cultural memory. Thus the literary theorist Aleida Assmann (2010) distinguishes between active and passive remembering (canon and archive, respectively), drawing an analogy to an individual's "working memory" or "reference memory." In her terms, cultural messages and traces in a society's canon are readily available to all members of that society, while similar items in a society's archive require special effort to access. Assmann's framework, which also describes active and passive *forgetting* (when knowledge is either lost by a society or deliberately erased), is most helpful in tracking the movement of objects, materials, processes, or technologies from canonical circulation to archival stasis and back again. "The two realms of cultural memory," Assmann writes, "are not sealed against each other." Rather, elements of the canon can "recede into the archive, while elements of the archive may be recovered and reclaimed for the canon" (104).

The process of canon formation has long been of interest to musicologists and ethnomusicologists (Bergeron and Bohlman 1992), particularly the way that canonized repertoires and practices exert a kind of coercive force on musicians. Sound recordings play a complex role here, sometimes elevated to canonical status themselves (this is especially common in jazz), sometimes relegated to an

archive, their secrets and idiosyncrasies waiting to be discovered and perhaps incorporated into future canons.

For decades, the canon of Georgian folk song was more or less synonymous with the recorded output of the Rustavi Ensemble. Founded in 1968 by graduates of the state conservatory of music in Tbilisi and led from its inception by Anzor Erkomaishvili, Rustavi appeared on no fewer than thirty LPs put out by Melodiya. Two of these albums, in their comprehensive scope, represent quintessential moves of canon formation: *Sixty Georgian Folk Songs*, released in 1981, and *One Hundred Georgian Folk Songs*, a massive eight-disc set released in 1989 (see the discography). No other ensemble attempted so complete a recording project, dedicated to representing Georgia's different regional repertoires. In the grooves of these records, Anzor and his collaborators inscribed a vision of Georgian folk music as a monumental cultural achievement on par with traditions of art music throughout the world.

Anzor's practices of inscription, however, entail both erasure and preservation. The selection of material that he and Carl Linich included in their Gramophone Company releases paints a picture of Georgian music making in the early twentieth century that is only a narrow slice of the archival record. Before the Revolution (2002), a CD compiled by Will Prentice, a sound preservationist at the British Library, also consists of pre-1917 Gramophone Company recordings and clearly demonstrates the mingling of languages and ethnicities in the regions that would become independent Georgia. The city of Tbilisi, in particular, harbored a number of urban musical styles showing Armenian, Azerbaijani, and Persian influence, and several artists recorded in multiple languages and musical styles (Ziegler 1997). As Prentice (2002) observes, such "ambiguities of cultural identity" would seem "awkward" today in the post-Soviet Caucasus. 10 Anzor's focus on Georgian vocal music "in the polyphonic tradition" ends up excluding solo songs, instrumental music, and "city songs" featuring guitar or piano accompaniment, not to mention musical traditions of the other linguistic and ethnic groups that have lived in Tbilisi for centuries.11 This is a kind of "epistemology of purification" (Ochoa Gautier 2006) that reinforces the brand of ethnonationalist narratives advanced by Georgian politicians since 1991.

More space would be needed for a full account of Anzor Erkomaishvili's dominant role in Georgian musical life, which extends to radio, film, and publishing. His organization, the International Centre for Georgian Folk Song, has published many books and musical scores, including a biographical volume dedicated to the Erkomaishvili family (Chokhonelidze and Rodonaia 2004), as well as a book of scores based on Artem's song and chant repertoire (Erkomaishvili 2005). Taken together, Anzor's efforts in a wide range of media to identify, classify, unify, and disseminate Georgia's rich musical traditions represent what Derrida calls the power of "consignation," or the "gathering together [of] signs"

(1996:3). In this framework, a keeper of the archive like Anzor Erkomaishvili "aims to coordinate a single corpus, in a system or a synchrony in which all the elements articulate the unity of an ideal configuration" (3).

Voices of Revival

The "ideal configuration" of the Georgian folk tradition, of course, involves more than texts and objects in a physical archive. It is a dynamic entity continually reenacted by living singers and dependent on embodied practices of the voice. What is perhaps most remarkable about the performance by Basiani that sparked this research is not how much their voices sound like the 1907 gramophone recording but rather how *little* they sound like the Rustavi Ensemble, a much more recent performance model. The recirculation of archival recordings must be counted as a major force in the transformation of vocal production and timbre by Georgian groups from the 1960s to today. As a result of these changes, the blended, balanced vocal style perfected by Rustavi is no longer the dominant practice, at least among professional folk groups in Tbilisi. Thus I argue that one effect of Anzor Erkomaishvili's archival efforts is a kind of genealogical slippage: thanks to technological mediation, singers in the post-Soviet generation, rather than following in Anzor's footsteps, can choose instead to be pupils of his great-grandfather Gigo.

Understanding the Georgian folk music revival demands a brief history of Georgian choral performance practice (Bithell 2014), beginning with the 1885 founding of the Kartuli Khoro. This was the first professional choir dedicated to Georgian folk music, and it was formed as part of the nineteenth-century nationalist revival movement. As a result of this choir's popular concert tours, "singing groups sprouted like mushrooms throughout Georgia" (Shilakadze 1961:10). Gigo Erkomaishvili's choir was one such group. Although Gigo's ensemble did not do this, many choirs of the time, imitating the Kartuli Khoro, added additional singers to the upper two voice parts, traditionally sung solo, and tuned their singing to equal-tempered thirds, abandoning indigenous Georgian tuning (Arakishvili 1925:45, cited in Shilakadze 1961:9). After 1917, large choirs became the norm throughout the Soviet Union, whether in the form of professional folklore groups or amateur "people's choirs" assembled for regional festivals called Olympiads (LaPasha 2004). It was on the Russian model of the Piatnitskii Choir and the Moisevev Dance Ensemble that the Georgian State Ensemble of Song and Dance was formed in 1936 (Bithell 2014:579; cf. Smith 2002; Shay 2016).13

Members of the Rustavi Ensemble, like Anzor Erkomaishvili, were students during the post-Stalin cultural thaw of the late 1950s and 1960s, and in some ways, the group they formed in 1968 may be seen as a rejection of the stale,

overblown spectacle of the state ensembles. (See Levin [1996b:45] on the "frozen music" of Soviet ensembles in Central Asia.) Dialing down the size of their choir, Rustavi focused on precision and blending in their singing, using their Western classical training to craft performances of haunting power and dynamic contrast. Their recordings for the Melodiya label, which helped spread the Rustavi sound, were skillfully engineered by Mikheil Kilosanidze and made great use of reverberant space and balance between soloists and chorus. In his liner notes to *Georgian Voices* (1989b), a compilation CD for Nonesuch Records, Theodore Levin sums up the approach: "The Rustavi's performance style synthesizes the powerful, rough-hewn sound characteristic of the traditional regional folk choirs with a newer, cleaner, more finely-honed aesthetic whose orientation is towards concert presentation—nowadays on an increasingly international scale."

Rustavi's techniques became known as the "academic" style, likely a reference to their conservatory training, and by the time of Levin's writing, it was already being challenged by a new generation of singers. In the early 1980s, a young scholar and singer named Edisher Garakanidze founded two ensembles, Mtiebi (a mixed-voice group) and Mzetamze (an all-female group). He and his colleagues were devoted to field research in villages and motivated by a desire to rediscover the original functions of folk songs, an approach that resembled the work of Dmitri Pokrovsky's influential Russian ensemble (Levin 1996a). Also part of this new revival movement was the Anchiskhati Church Choir, which made its name through careful research on the earliest sources of Georgian Orthodox chant and revived liturgical chanting as a daily practice in the oldest church in Tbilisi.

For these groups, the archival recordings beginning to be released by Anzor Erkomaishvili in the mid-1980s were incredibly valuable. In the waning years of the Soviet Union, the Gramophone Company discs especially held the key to restoring a pre-Soviet musical past. Among the salient features of the archival recordings were repertoire (songs lost or forgotten in the intervening years), tuning (evidence of an indigenous Georgian scale prior to western European influence), and, perhaps most importantly, vocal timbre. Groups like Anchiskhati developed a mode of vocal production that was bright, edgy, and individualized, the very "rough-hewn sound" (Levin 1989) smoothed over by the blended choral textures of Rustavi. In terms of vocal timbre, then, Basiani's performance of "Sajavakhura naduri" in 2009 most closely resembles this post-Rustavi wave of practice.

This historical sketch should not, however, imply a simplistic narrative in which the academic style was completely replaced by a neotraditional or "village" style. Indeed, as John Graham (2015:477) observes, when Georgian chant appears today on television—in historical documentaries or fund-raising appeals by the Orthodox Patriarchate—it is still the hushed tones of Rustavi-style

chorality that invariably greet the ear. Rather, I propose that recognizing the coexistence of these varying vocal practices provides crucial grounding for a media-archaeological analysis of the Gramophone Company recordings and their recirculation. Furthermore, close attention to embodied practices of the voice, especially elusive aspects like timbre, can disrupt the seemingly total authority of a dominant cultural figure like Anzor. Expanding on Roland Barthes's (1977) famous essay, Steven Feld and his coauthors assert, "The physical grain of the voice has a fundamentally social life" (2004:341). Although popular performers like Anzor and the Rustavi Ensemble have the power to inscribe certain practices directly on the voice, the marks they leave are ephemeral, subject to the near-infinite pliability of the voice in its social aspect.

Mistakes and Mimesis

The authority of an old phonogram record can be seen as a kind of "frozen media knowledge" that is "waiting to be unfrozen, liquefied" (Ernst 2013:60). In the case of the Gramophone Company recordings, the process of liquefying includes the efforts by folklore groups to re-create and perform songs directly based on recordings. This is another feature of the archive's archontic principle: because something is attested in the archive, it is viewed as legitimate. Its archival presence allows it to be referenced and brought back into living practice, with a powerful claim to authenticity. At times, however, the testimony of the recording is, perhaps, untrustworthy.

Thus we return to the concert with which we began, in which Anzor promised a performance of the "exact same variant" of "Sajavakhura naduri" as Gigo recorded in 1907. Carl Linich drew my attention to Basiani's performance because of something curious that happens in the first moments of singing. At the beginning of the 1907 recording, a solo voice, having just sung a circular, three-note motive, is joined for a brief moment by one or more other voices. After barely a second of overlap, the upper voices cut out, and the solo voice continues to the end of the phrase (musical example 1). ¹⁶ Linich was convinced



Music Example 1. Opening moments of "Sajavakhura naduri," recorded by Gigo Erkomaishvili's group in 1907.

that this had been a mistake, that the brief clash of voices occurred because one or more singers jumped in too early. In Basiani's 2009 performance, however, they reproduced the 1907 "mistake" precisely.

Linich's claim that the 1907 singers made a mistake has evidence to support it. Most tellingly, Anzor's group, Rustavi, performs the opening differently, with the first phrase immediately repeated by the second soloist before the first soloist continues (see musical example 2).¹⁷ In this, they are likely following the score published by Anzor himself (Erkomaishvili 2005:120), which is based, like all the scores in this collection, on transcriptions made by Anzor of the songs taught to him orally by his grandfather Artem. Artem, in turn, was a member of his father Gigo's choir. All of this suggests a conception of "Sajavakhura naduri"—indeed, an authoritative conception, based on the genealogical authenticity of transmission through the Erkomaishvili family—in which the clash of voices does not occur.

But is "mistake" the right word? For Anzor and the members of Basiani, the answer is no. Zurab Tskrialashvili, a founding member and now director of Basiani, thought "misunderstanding" might be better. His tentative suggestion was that in 1907 Gigo's group had decided to do a shorter opening of the song than usual—perhaps aware of the limited time available on the record—but that in the moment of recording, one of the singers began singing his usual part, forgetting the plan to shorten the opening (Zurab Tskrialashvili, Facebook messages, 8 July 2018). Not for a moment, however, did the members of Basiani consider "correcting" the opening or singing it any differently—they were committed to precise sonic fidelity to the original. ¹⁸ Furthermore, Tskrialashvili explained to me, "even mistakes by them are not mistakes at all."

The singers of Gigo's generation are held in such high esteem that the few recordings of them that exist are treated almost like relics, revered as carriers of a sonic code and as material witnesses to the lives of these singers. Audio recordings, Wolfgang Ernst writes, "contain—and thus memorize—a world of signals that operate beyond and below the cultural symbolism intended by the



Music Example 2. Opening of "Sajavakhura naduri" as performed by the Rustavi Ensemble. Based on Anzor Erkomaishvili's transcription (2005:120).

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humans involved" (2013:59). What Ernst terms the "subconscious qualities of technical media" allow the gramophone recording to preserve more than just "the song" (i.e., the item of repertoire); instead, every interval, every inspired improvisation, every cracked note or hoarse voice is preserved as well. In a folk revival movement, these subconscious qualities may become conscious choices, as the tone and timbre—and "misunderstandings"—captured on old records become part of living practice.

Anzor, too, demurred when asked about the "mistake" on Gigo's recording, but his reasoning was a bit different. Describing the members of his great-grandfather's choir as "real peasants" (namdvili glekhebi), he explained that these men would not have been comfortable on the concert stage and thus should not be judged on the same terms as a professional choir. When I asked him about groups like Basiani performing exact imitations of the old records, Anzor expressed measured approval, tempered with concern for a different kind of authenticity:

When young people sing today, they're generally imitating an old recording, but I don't think that's entirely right. . . . Of course, you need to sing [a given variant of] a song precisely, and it's great if you sing a nice variant and do it correctly, but you shouldn't make your voice—whatever voice you have—sound like an elder's. (interview, 30 August 2016)¹⁹

"You should sing with your own voice," Anzor added, an appeal for existential authenticity, for being true to oneself, that seems to override the kind of sonic mimesis practiced by some of these younger singers. In concrete terms, Anzor explained, a young singer shouldn't try to sound like "a hundred-year-old man," referencing the advanced age of Gigo and other men on these early recordings. On top of this, many of them were farmers or laborers, not full-time musicians, and had hoarse voices from years of strain and exposure. Yet in the same breath with which he cited flaws in the old singers' voices as a reason not to imitate them, Anzor celebrated those very voices as unattainable, saying that no singers today can properly reach the high notes they sang a century ago.

Anzor, in short, has an ambivalent relationship with claims to authenticity based on sonic mimesis, despite his role in bringing the old recordings to the public ear. As his writings and public statements make clear, the straightest path to authentic folk performance is genealogical, the oral transmission of music through a family dynasty like his own, the Erkomaishvilis. Personal authority is paramount: "Not many people might know better than me how a folk song should be sung," he once remarked in an interview (2007b:30). For Anzor, old recordings are immensely valuable and perhaps even necessary in a society that suffered the cultural ruptures of Soviet domination, but they are no substitute for oral transmission.

The opening of "Sajavakhura naduri," then, may not have been a mistake for Anzor, yet there was something else in the 1907 recording that needed fixing. Since "Sajavakhura naduri" was such a long piece, it had to be recorded on two discs, necessitating a break in the performance. The two sides, in fact, may have been recorded on separate days. Since the singers in 1907 would not have used a fixed pitch as a reference, the second side of the record, as it turns out, is roughly a whole step lower than the first.²⁰ Anzor discovered this when he set about combining the two sides into a single track for his LP release. Rather than leave this imperfection—the acoustically "real" record of the event—Anzor discreetly adjusted the second half of the song to match the first by speeding up the recording. This editing maneuver was not kept secret—Anzor offered the information during our interview and has mentioned it in print (2007a:32)—yet it highlights the different negotiations and compromises made in the name of fidelity to an original source. For Anzor, it seems, presenting a full, continuous performance of the song—something impossible in 1907, given the time limits on disc technology—is the way to stay true to the original, even if it means sacrificing or transforming elements of the original performance, such as pitch and tempo. To borrow terms from performance theorist Diana Taylor (2003), Anzor's studio trick perhaps reveals a preference for repertoire (i.e., live performance) over archive. A full, seamless rendition of a song is more likely to inspire other singers, offering them a model for their own performances, while an unedited presentation of the two mismatched record sides, though required of a scrupulous archivist, introduces obstacles for the would-be emulator, stalling the song's reentry into the lived canon. Ultimately, this labor of stitching together a complete performance using fragments from a lost age echoes events to which I turn now as epilogue: a recording experiment in 1966 that undoubtedly shaped Anzor's view of the potential for technology to help reimagine and reconstruct the past.

Epilogue: Babua's Voice

It took nearly eighty years for the recordings of Gigo Erkomaishvili to reappear on disc, yet in the interim, another event of sonic mediation stands out: the recording of chants by Artem Erkomaishvili at the Tbilisi conservatory in 1966. Artem was a major figure in his grandson Anzor's life, especially after his father Davit's death. Both of Anzor's published memoirs (1988, 2006) include a chapter titled "Babua" (Grandfather) devoted to Artem, and selections from these volumes were recently translated into English (Erkomaishvili 2018). In his writing, Anzor often likens his grandfather to a blackbird (*shavi shashvi*), for whom song is as natural as breathing.

Artem was born in 1887, studied chant with Melkisedek Nakashidze at the Shemokmedi monastery, and was known as a *sruli mgalobeli*, someone who had mastered the tradition in all three voice parts (Graham 2015:281). The Bolshevik seizure of religious property closed these monastery schools, and by the 1960s, Artem was the only chanter still living who knew the corpus of chant melodies and their traditional harmonizations. Artem, according to Anzor, did not share his knowledge, even with his family: "Grandfather Artem would conceal even from me the invaluable treasury he owned" (Erkomaishvili 2007b:29). In the post-Stalin years, there was increased interest in the Georgian Orthodox chant tradition, and Artem, who led a folk ensemble in Ozurgeti, often came to Tbilisi to teach chants to members of the Gordela ensemble, including his grandson Anzor. In 1966 Artem's advanced age and failing health led the musicologists Grigol Chkhikvadze and Kakhi Rosebashvili to undertake an ambitious, urgent project: preserving in sound some portion of Artem's knowledge.

The technology they used is significant. Recording via electromagnetic tape, which came to the Soviet Union after World War II, permitted instantaneous playback and greater flexibility for multiple takes than had been possible using wax-cylinder phonographs or gramophone discs (McMurray 2017). Chkhikvadze and Rosebashvili set up a reel-to-reel tape recorder at the Tbilisi conservatory, and Artem sang all three voice parts in succession, beginning with the upper voice, which contains the main melody of the chant. Then, while the recording of the first voice was played back, Artem sang the middle part into the microphone, harmonizing with himself on a separate track. The process was repeated for the third, lowest voice part. The recording engineers, however, apparently did not have Artem wear headphones, so the previously recorded parts were played back into the room and can be heard in the background of each subsequent part. This accounts in part for the considerable distortion on the recordings. In all, over a hundred chants were recorded, including some different variants of the same chant. Beyond the extraordinary focus and stamina, not to mention memory, that this project required of Artem, it marked a decisive shift in the methods available for the preservation of Georgian traditional music.²¹

Without proposing a deep ontological divide between the mechanical engraving of the 1907 Gramophone Company discs and the electromagnetic capture of these 1966 chants, there are uniquely spectral elements involved in these tape recordings. In particular, there are several orders of displacement occurring, primarily vocal and temporal. The vocal displacement allows Artem's voice to exist independently of his body and, with the innovation of playback techniques, creates the possibility for dialogue with his own voice, essentially a rewriting of one recording through the addition of other voices.²² The temporal displacement allows musical processes typically enacted simultaneously to become sequential

instead. This has implications for understanding the cognitive processes involved in Artem's chanting. As John Graham (2013:169–72) argues persuasively, the upper voice in Shemokmedi-style chant may take unexpected turns away from the expected chant melody (e.g., descending below its typical range), forcing the lower two voices to adjust spontaneously. When adding a second- or third-voice part to his initial recording of the first voice, Artem had the advantage of already knowing what the first-voice singer (he himself) was going to do. This likely lessened the cognitive burden of improvisation. A final displacement—almost a haunting—may be recognized in the fact that since Artem was the last of the recognized master chanters, his voice(s) stand in place of the dead, in place of singers worthy of forming a trio with him, who are all absent. In this way, Artem's recordings are the incarnation of an imagined or remembered community.

Like the Gramophone Company records, Artem's "conservatory chant" recordings have a prominent afterlife in the post-Soviet revival of folk singing and church chant. David Shugliashvili (2014) has published transcriptions in staff notation, and a CD was released in 2013 by the Georgian Chant Foundation titled *Pearls of Georgian Chant*. Here the three voices, which Artem had recorded sequentially, are combined in a simultaneous three-voice mix, with Adobe Audition software used to clean and edit the recordings (Ilia Jgarkava, email, 12 March 2017). I have uploaded to YouTube an audio sequence of the opening two phrases of the chant "Angelozi ghaghadebs" (The angel cried), first with each of the three separate voices in succession, as recorded in 1966, followed by those same three parts edited together for the 2013 release.²³

The original raw recordings have also served as fodder for scholarship, whether as a model for reconstructing an indigenous Georgian scale (Tsereteli and Veshapidze 2015) or as a case study in methods for determining the fundamental frequency trajectories of singing within "complex sound mixtures" (Müller et al. 2017). The authors of the latter study in particular demonstrate the potential for computer-aided analysis to address questions of long standing in ethnomusicology, including how to make precise measurements of pitch and notate sound without recourse to the Western five-line staff. There are more secrets to be uncovered, it seems, in Artem's recordings.

Listening to these recordings now, aware of the poignancy and drama of the moment—the last chanter, doing the work of three men at once in order to save his cultural treasure—I must acknowledge a strong temptation to try to divine or intuit Artem's inner thoughts and motivations. As the media historian Jonathan Sterne (2003:15) reminds us, however, the idea of a "pure interiority" in the hearing, speaking, or singing subject is more theological than empirical. With recordings, we are dealing fundamentally with a form of exteriority. To invoke Derrida again, where does the outside commence? "Like the body embalmed,"

Sterne writes, "recorded sound continues to be able to have a social presence or significance precisely because its interior composition is transformed in the very process of recording" (332–33). This association of sound recording with death—the body embalmed, or the resonant tomb—points to a general feature of the archive and its mediation between the living and the dead.

The way Anzor Erkomaishvili retells his archival search brings this point home. In one of his memoirs, Anzor is twice on the verge of discovering a lost photograph or recording, only to have the archivist who knew its whereabouts die suddenly (Erkomaishvili 2006:7–9). One page later, the narrative moves from these archive deaths to the great loss that shaped Anzor's early life: the death of his father, Davit, in a car accident at age thirty-two. Even here, music heightens the drama: before leaving the house on the day of the accident, Davit promised his son Anzor that he would teach him a certain good song (not identified) when he got home. The promise, of course, could not be kept. Personal grief melts into the affective melancholy aspect of the archive.

"Shavi shashvi" (The blackbird) is a beloved Gurian song whose opening line gave Anzor the title of his first memoir (1988). With the second line added, its lyrics neatly schematize the dynamic between the singer of the past and the listener of the present: "Shavi shashvi chioda / net'av rasa chioda" (The blackbird sang / I wonder what it said?). The history of sound recording in Georgia seems filled with blackbirds and thrushes, roosters and swallows: isolated voices captured in moments of exuberant display. Their internal meanings and motivations may be lost, yet their exterior manifestations endure, engraved not only in recording substrates of wax, shellac, or tape but in the tenuous materiality of voices reaching for an imagined yet tangible past.

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Notes

- 1. Transcription from performance video (https://youtu.be/0O89ChVAk4s): ჩვენს ნადურს ძალიან გრძელი, ვრცელი ისტორია აქვს და იგი შეიძლება ჩავთვალოთ მსოფლიოში უნიკალური მოვლენად. ეხლა "ბასიანი" შეგვისრულებს სწორედ იმ ვარიანტს, რომელიც გიგო ერქომაიშვილის გუნდმა ჩაწერა 1907 წელს.
- 2. Because many of the figures I discuss have the same surname, I use given names to refer to members of the Erkomaishvili family.
- 3. A short film from 1958 by Otar Chiaureli based on the work of musicologist Vladimer Akhobadze featured a staged naduri in a cornfield with superimposed images of musical notation (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HlhHlV2murM).
- 4. Noble's reference to these people as "Cossacks" is likely a generic term for villagers of the Caucasus, who elsewhere are identified more specifically as Ingush or Chechen, if not explicitly Georgian.
- 5. A more robust understanding of early twentieth-century Georgian aurality would necessarily build on the work of Lauren Ninoshvili (2011), which juxtaposes early folkloric investigations into Georgian vocal music with contemporaneous sonic experimentation by literary modernists.
- 6. The demise of Melodiya is a source of frustration to Anzor still. He does not retain the rights to any of his Soviet-era records—whether Rustavi albums or his archival releases—and bristles when he hears about reissues by unknown companies or high-priced resales on sites like Ebay.
 - 7. https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/georgian-polyphonic-singing-00008.
- 8. Erkki Huhtamo identifies the conceit that "little people" (or fairies or demons) are responsible for the sound of a gramophone as one of media archaeology's foundational *topoi*, stereotypical formulas or clichés that "accompany and influence the development of media culture" and "mold the meaning(s) of cultural objects" (2011:27–28).
- 9. Michael Heller's *Loft Jazz* (2017:145–78) features an illuminating ethnography of percussionist Juma Sultan's private archive, highlighting the role such archives can play in processes of self-definition, especially for marginalized genres and performers.
- 10. Prentice and Erkomaishvili's differing archival projects should not be seen as antagonistic, however: Prentice himself has declared his admiration for Anzor's work, and Anzor's writings discuss many discs that do not appear on his reissue CDs (Erkomaishvili 2007a).
- 11. The *duduki* ensembles in Tbilisi represent such a tradition, which is generally excluded from Georgian folkloric categories owing to its connection to Armenian and Near Eastern musical styles. An ethnographic film by Hugo Zemp and Nino Tsitsishvili (2012) and ongoing scholarship by Tsitsishvili (2007; Helbig et al. 2008) may be seen as restorative moves in this regard.
- 12. See Fairley (2017) for further discussion of Anzor's work as a publisher, impresario, and anonymous folk-music composer.
- 13. Insightful ethnographies have been written on analogous state ensembles in Bulgaria (Rice 1994; Buchanan 1995, 2006), work to which I am deeply indebted.
- 14. Determining the precise intervallic structure of an "original" Georgian scale is one of the abiding questions in Georgian ethnomusicology, and it is pursued by scholars from Georgia (Erkvanidze 2003; Tsereteli and Veshapidze 2015) and elsewhere (Gelzer 2003; Scherbaum 2016; Müller et al. 2017). All of them, to greater or lesser degrees, rely on archival audio recordings as evidence for their theories.
- 15. To hear the difference in vocal production, compare renditions of the Georgian hymn "Shen khar venakhi" (Thou art a vineyard) by Rustavi (https://youtu.be/RH9zNz9L_VA) and Anchiskhati (https://youtu.be/JTJFX3bdMA0).
- 16. https://youtu.be/vS8T103n9-Y. Levan Veshapidze (2006:65) transcribes this opening moment somewhat differently, suggesting an intentional overlap.
- 17. Rustavi may be seen performing "Sajavakhura naduri" on YouTube (https://youtu.be/Y4csjUVesdw).

- 18. Basiani continues to sing the opening of "Sajavakhura naduri" this way, as on their CD for Ocora Radio France, *Géorgie: Polyphonies vocales profanes et sacrée* (2012).
- 19. ამიტომ, დღეს, როცა მღერიან ახალგაზრდები, უფრო ბაძავენ ძველ ჩანაწერს, თუმცა მე არ მიმაჩნია, რომ მთლად ისე სწორი არ არის . . . ვარიანტი ზუსტად უნდა იმღერო, რა საკვირველია, რაც კაი ვარიანტს იმღერებ და სწორად იმღერებ კარგია, მარა შენი ხმა—რაც შენ ხმა გაქვს—ბებერს არ უნდა მიამსგავსო. შენი ხმით უნდა იმღერო.
- 20. The split between the two sides happens at 2:04 in the restored recording of "Sajavakhura naduri" (Erkomaishvili and Rodonaia 2006:disc 1).
- 21. There is, in fact, a rather long-standing tradition of trying to capture Georgian polyphonic music by means of multiple microphones or recording devices. The earliest may have been in a prisoner-of-war camp in Austria during World War I, when two Gurian trio songs were recorded first by a group and then with each singer performing his part by himself (Lach 1928:92). The first known attempt to record multiple parts simultaneously was done in 1935 by the Russian scholar Evgeny Gippius in Leningrad (Ziegler 1993:30). Gippius employed three phonographs—one for each singer—and recorded at least twenty-four songs in this manner, over seventy wax cylinders in total (Erkomaishvili 2007a:236–41). Many of these are included on the *Echoes from the Past* series (see the discography). The use of separate audio tracks for each voice part as a pedagogical device continues in Georgian music circles to this day (Shugliashvili and Erkvanidze 2004).
- 22. The 1963 album by jazz pianist Bill Evans, *Conversations with Myself*, which makes use of three overdubbed piano tracks, offers a nearly contemporary parallel.
 - 23. https://youtube/C0F_np7irPk.

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Call and Response: SEM President's Roundtable 2018, "Humanities' Responses to the Anthropocene"

Timothy Cooley (Chair), Aaron S. Allen, Ruth Hellier, Mark Pedelty, Denise Von Glahn, Jeff Todd Titon, Jennifer C. Post

The following essays are revised versions of statements presented at the President's Roundtable, organized by Timothy Cooley and hosted by Gregory Barz, at the 63rd Annual Meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology in Albuquerque, New Mexico, November 15–18, 2018.

Call: Retooling Music Studies for a Sustainable Future

Timothy J. Cooley / University of California, Santa Barbara

What skill sets do musicians, music scholars, and ethnographers have that might be used to ameliorate humans' destructive impact on our planet's ecosystems? With our methods for interpreting human cultural practices within deep context, might ethnomusicologists in particular be well equipped to study and interpret ecosystems? How might we retune our abilities to better enable humans to hear, feel, see, smell, and sense empathetically not just other humans but also other biological beings so that we might live together sustainably? Will we adapt our research, teaching (Hellier below), and musicking (Pedelty below and 2016) to advocate for a sustainable future? Can we position ethnomusicology and musicology at the forefront of the battles for ecojustice?

The climate crisis is a call for human social action. I propose that many ethnomusicologists, musicologists, and others engaged in music studies are among the small percentage of humans with particular responsibility to hear this call. While there are significant and meaningful exceptions, the vast majority of the members of the Society for Ethnomusicology (SEM) live and work in

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industrialized societies that consume the vast majority of planet Earth's resources and generate most of the greenhouse gases that are responsible for the growing climate crisis. On the other hand, many members of SEM engage significantly with individuals and communities that produce insignificant amounts of greenhouse gases, yet those communities are among the first to have their homelands and lifeways destroyed in climate emergencies. Striking examples are Mongolian Kazakh pastoralists with whom Jennifer Post has collaborated in her research. For centuries they used traditional ecological knowledge to sustain their ecosystem (Guyette and Post 2016:47–48), but in recent years both human-caused climate and social changes have forced some pastoralists to leave the land for urban areas, since their traditional lifeways are no longer sustainable (Post 2019a). The Anthropocene is witness to the extinction of not only unprecedented numbers of biological organisms but also human traditions of ecological knowledge that are needed now more than ever.

Two words in the previous sentence implicate me personally as an ethnomusicologist and musicologist, the first newly coined and the second as old as time: "Anthropocene" and "tradition." Anthropocene, that big, controversial, and inescapable word pointing right at us in so many ways with a prefix that identifies and names humans. While we who sometimes reluctantly affiliate with the humanities may not be tasked with determining whether or not the term itself is appropriate (let's leave that to our colleagues in the earth sciences [see Zalasiewicz et al. 2008]), few among us can claim that we are not contributing to a global environmental crisis. Humans are negatively impacting the global environment; therefore, it must be humans who change, and this will be a human-cultural change. Who better to advocate for human-cultural change than those of us in the humanities, including music scholars? What can we contribute to this urgent call for change and action?

Tradition, that thing invented, that word that fascinates and vexes our fields and disciplines. Though the specter of tradition no longer defines ethnomusicology (if it ever did), ethnomusicologists are revisiting the notion of tradition as we come to terms with the implications of the material forms of its tacit antonym, the modern world as imagined by the Global North. But do we risk mining traditional ecological knowledge from our interlocutors from the Global South, the Orient, the Other, only to replicate our discipline's colonial legacy for our own enrichment (or survival) while our interlocutors become the first casualties of the climate crisis and its social and economic fallout? Musicology has a different but still salient relationship to the concept of tradition focused on, with occasional exceptions, the study of a tradition of musical practice we might call Western art music. Does this focus lend itself to efforts that sustain resource-consumptive cultural practices for an elite few (Drummond 2016; Hurley-Glowa 2019:108–9)? Does tradition trap us in human behaviors that are

detrimental to ecosystems, or might tradition remind us of our connections to other biological beings? Is it a question of good traditions versus bad?

We humans, the creators of the Anthropocene, face the challenge and the opportunity to invent new cultural practices and traditions that go beyond human exceptionalism. This is a call to consider what we individually and collectively can do to encourage positive changes—private and public. This requires deliberate thought about humans' engagement with each other and all other beings. It also requires profound listening; something at which ethnomusicologists, musicologists, and ethnographers are highly skilled (see below Von Glahn on how composer Charles Ives heard his subjects through sound and Post for ecologists' use of sound analysis to measure ecosystem dynamics). How might we in the humanities turn our particular skill sets toward enabling humans to hear, feel, see, and smell the ecosystem around us and, by listening to other biological beings, curb our deleterious impact on the global ecosystem that we all share?

This call is not new. The emergent field of ecomusicology has made strides toward bringing together the studies of musics, ecologies, and environments (e.g., Titon 2009a; Allen et al. 2011; Allen and Dawe 2016; Post and Pijanowski 2018). Even before the term "ecomusicology" tripped off tongues with all the ease (ahem) of "ethnomusicology," some touted the links between human cultures, ecologies, and the environment with musicking (e.g., Feld 1982; Schafer [1977] 1994). This was preceded by early musical ethnographies that contain a wealth of information about people's engagement with their natural environments. See, for example, Frances Densmore's Mandan and Hidatsa Music, which contains descriptions of specific Native American practices for preserving and distributing seeds for varieties of corn and other crops (1923:36–38). Indeed, one can read this document, ostensibly about songs, as a catalog of traditional ecological practices undergoing changes brought by, as Densmore put it in the language of the time, "the white man's ways" (2). In the century since Densmore researched her book, other music studies have added to our historical knowledge about changes to ecological practices brought on by expanding human consumption fueled by colonialism and capitalist systems of economy. A classic example in ethnomusicological literature is Anthony Seeger's Why Suyá Sing, "a study of society from the perspective of musical performance" (1987:xiii). While readers of that book learn much about the musicking of the Suyá Indians in Mato Grosso, Brazil, they also learn about economic and ecological conditions for Suyá that were changed by the creation of the Xingu National Park, the commercial quest for rubber, and the threat of Indigenous communities losing rights to land if they are declared to be "non-Indians" (134, 136). Western musicological thinking about the environment is often traced back to the concept of the Harmony of the Spheres, attributed to Pythagoras. These ideas share core similarities with

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much earlier Chinese musical thought (see Titon 2018:258). Still today much thinking about musicking and the Anthropocene is encumbered by the lingering resonances of Enlightenment ideas about human relationships to—and distinguished from—problematic notions of both culture and nature. Musicologists who reinterpret and problematize the impact of Western art music on natural resources include Aaron Allen and Denise Von Glahn below (see also Allen et al. 2011).

While this call is not new, the advent of the Anthropocene demands that we now listen and respond in new ways. I encourage all readers to consider the responses that follow and then to think about how you individually and collectively will respond, and how you would like our academic disciplines and fields to positively reflect and put in practice these responses.

From Anthropocentrism to Ecocentrism

Aaron S. Allen / UNC Greensboro

Paul Crutzen (2002) proposed calling our current geological epoch the Anthropocene. He shared the 1995 Nobel Prize for work understanding the chemistry of the ozone hole, and he was well aware of the science on the state of our planet. Crutzen worked with ecologist Eugene Stoermer, who previously advanced the idea of the Anthropocene. They cited precedents in Vladimir Verdnasky, who in the early twentieth century popularized the idea that life was a geological force. They also recognized Antonio Stoppani, who in the late nineteenth century proposed the "anthropozoic" era. But it was Crutzen's 2002 paper in *Nature* that popularized the Anthropocene. As one critique noted, "The concept has enjoyed a truly meteoric career" (Malm and Hornborg 2014:62). Although not officially the name of a geological epoch, Anthropocene is used regularly to reference the increasing impacts humans have on the planet, such as climate catastrophe, nuclear threats, plastic pollution, and the sixth mass extinction.

Humans cause these problems, but we must recognize that not all humans do the causing (Klein 2014; Malm and Hornborg 2014). In our global neoliberal system, fossil-fuel producers and users are most culpable. Andreas Malm and Alf Hornborg emphasize the historical roots of this unequal system: it was "a clique of white British men . . . an infinitesimal fraction of the population of *Homo sapiens* in the early 19th century . . . [who] invested in steam, laying the foundation stone for the fossil economy" (2014:64). They observe that "in the early 21st century, the poorest 45% of the human population accounted for 7% of emissions, while the richest 7% produced 50%" and that since 1850 the global North has been responsible for 72.7 percent of the carbon emitted yet in 2008 only comprised 18.8 percent of the world's population (64). So some humans

are more to blame than others—and as Cooley notes in his call, that "some" includes nearly all of us card-carrying musicologists and ethnomusicologists.

But we study sound and people making music, so surely we are not in the same category as those "extractivists" (Klein 2014:161ff.) who plunder the planet for short-term profits. Or are we? I suggest that we are no different, because we share with them an anthropocentrism that undergirds the neoliberalism that is causing the climate crisis. I agree with Malm and Hornborg that the Anthropocene is "the product of the dominance of natural science" and an "analytically defective" concept that is "inimical to action" (2014:67); moreover, the humanities have had a "late awakening" to the crises enmeshed in the Anthropocene idea (66). But what's a humanist to do? Some have suggested alternative terminology, such as the Capitalocene to explain more accurately our current planetary crisis or the Ecocene to open up a more dynamic transition to a sustainable future (Boehnert 2019). I suggest that we eschew the Anthropocene and advocate for the Ecocene, which is, however lofty a goal, something our scholarly disciplines can pursue by decreasing our anthropocentrism and increasing our ecocentrism (Allen, forthcoming).

The term "anthropocentric" means "centered on the human," but environmental philosophers define "anthropocentrism" as valuing nonhuman nature only for its instrumental contributions to humans. As Ben Minteer puts it, this perspective is the "root cause of environmental problems such as species extinction, the loss of natural areas and wilderness, and the general decline of environmental quality" (2009:58). This is a human centeredness akin to sexism, racism, ageism, or any other prejudicial power imbalance. The philosopher Arne Næss contrasted anthropocentrism with its opposite: the "biospherical egalitarianism" of someone who does fieldwork and develops respect for other ways and forms of life. To such a person, "the equal right to live and blossom" is intuitive and obvious (Næss 1973:96, emphasis original). If we instead restrict that right to humans, as is done in anthropocentrism, we end up with an anthropocentrism paradoxically detrimental to humans.

I am opposed to such a detrimental anthropocentrism, and, similarly to Næss, I believe humans must become more ecocentric and less anthropocentric. Ecocentrism is a "perspective that privileges the integrity, health, or functioning of ecological systems" (Jenkins and Bauman 2010:119). Humans are merely a part of ecological systems, not the determinants of all systems. The academic movement known as the environmental humanities aims to move us from anthropocentrism and toward ecocentrism. The environmental humanities include history, art, literary studies, and even sociology and anthropology.

However, sound and music studies have not been a part of the environmental humanities (Allen, forthcoming). Perhaps we are too focused on studying people making music (to paraphrase Jeff Titon). We emphasize the people, the

making, and the music, and in so doing, we are anthropocentric. If we want to go about "sustaining people making music" (Titon 2009a:6), we must include nonhuman life and the abiotic foundations for life that allow for human culture and musicking. We need to recognize the biased assumptions of being human-focused that are made so prominent in the idea of the Anthropocene. A better way of thinking might be to move toward what Joanna Boehnert (2019) has called the Ecocene.

One of Tim Cooley's questions in the call of this "Call and Response" speaks directly to the point I am making here: Might ethnomusicologists in particular be well equipped to study and interpret ecosystems? My response is a resounding no: ethnomusicology has little to offer the environmental humanities until we can move away from the anthropocentric study of people making music to the more ecocentric environments enabling people to make music or the equally awkward ecologies of nature and people making music. Ethnomusicologists will be ill-equipped until we can take as axiomatic and make explicit the radical notion that to go about "sustaining people making music" we must have healthy and diverse environments. Ethnomusicologists need a more holistic approach that studies humans making music while situating both them and it in our biophysical, planetary contexts. We must not ignore how cultural actions impact the environment nor how environmental conditions impact human culture. More than just affirming place and connectedness, ethnomusicologists must call out environmental exploitation and identify strategies for confronting neoliberalism and other destructive forms of domination. At the same time, we must provide useful models to rally the troops, mourn the losses of life, and celebrate victories over neoliberalism and other ecologically destructive power imbalances.

Moreover, we need to stop "sounding sustainable." We should instead use rigorous sustainability frameworks with foundations in environmental issues and ecological systems, as well as social equity and economic justice (Allen 2019). This is not a critique limited to ethnomusicology; historical musicology has even further to go and yet, similarly, also has a basis on which to build (Allen 2017a). Ecomusicology is pushing in some particularly useful directions, such as the ecological and critical (Allen and Dawe 2016), but more could certainly be done to build on ecological work (cf. Allen and Titon 2018) and to articulate the direct environmental implications of musical culture (Devine 2015 and 2019). Ethnomusicological, musicological, and ecomusicological work is relevant to the environmental liberal arts and environmental humanities movements and therefore also to a transition to the Ecocene (Allen, forthcoming). One particular place where this transition could be effected is in ethnomusicology graduate education, in which students would need to take fewer classes in anthropology and sociology and more classes in ecology and environmental studies.

For now, I remain an optimistic pessimist: although I do not find that we scholars of music and sound contribute to the study of ecosystems in relation to the great environmental crises of our time, I do believe that we can, if we become less anthropocentric and more ecocentric—if we can help get beyond the Anthropocene and aim for the Ecocene.

Echo-muse-ecology: On Collaborative Teaching and Learning with Undergraduates in Departments of Music

Ruth Hellier / University of California, Santa Barbara

For many years the political-poetical idea of echo-muse-ecology has had a deep impact on me. Steven Feld generated this provocative, multipart word in response to and to interact with ethnomusicology. For Feld, "echo' is about presence, about reverberant pasts in the present," and muse-ecology encompasses "the constant interplay of inspiration, imitation, and incorporation" (1994:9). Through his creative-scholarly intervention, Feld opened up diverse inquiries about sound, music, ecologies, and environments, offering possibilities for a multiplicity of actions and processes. In a similar vein, Ana María Ochoa Gautier has recently proposed a focus on questions around sound, music, ecologies, and environmentalism, specifically in response to ecomusicology, through her article on acoustic multinaturalism. She seems to echo Feld's interaction and transformation through her rigorous and provocative discussion, observing that "one of the fundamental political needs posed by the existential implications of climate change—the end of humans as a species and of the world as we know it—is to take the time needed to think. The way we engage with the politics of the knowledge economy . . . is a central aspect of what is questioned by the political urgency of climate change" (Ochoa Gautier 2016:140). In her final paragraph she identifies a need for "a deep critical engagement with pioneering areas within musico-anthropological studies that have questioned our very concepts of sound/music," calling for a deep engagement with transdisciplinary discussions (141). Drawing on Feld and Ochoa Gautier, for my contribution to ongoing dialogues concerning a humanities' responses to the Anthropocene, particularly within the context of the Society for Ethnomusicology, I repeat Feld's idea of echo-muse-ecology and echo Ochoa Gautier's call for taking the time to think by questioning concepts of sound/music and engaging with transdisciplinary discussions. My specific proposal is that we put these processes into action by generating courses and classes for and with our undergraduate students within the departments and schools of music where many of us work and study. All of us who are teachers and students of ethnomusicology and music (faculty and graduate students alike) are in a position to generate opportunities and to make

changes within the curriculum, changes that specifically open up questions of the more-than-human and of ecologies, environments, sound, and music. As ecology concerns relations of organisms to one another and to their physical surroundings—connecting with *oecology*, from the Greek *oikos*, meaning "house" (plus -ology)—for many SEM members, our university or college department is our quotidian ecological environment and professional home. Our local habitat is the rarefied (and usually politically problematic) context of a department/school of music (or conservatory) in an institute of higher education in the United States or other global location. This is where we can make changes and take action.

When designing a new undergraduate course focused on ecological questions, I advocate that we use forms of engaged pedagogy and radical inclusiveness by taking the lead from the very people whom we are employed to teach: the undergraduate students. These are the people who are participating in so many visible activities relating to environmental matters, from the local to the global. They are already teaching us because they are concerned for their futures. So by coplanning and collaborating with our undergraduate students within the ecosystems of a department/school of music, we can generate "a radical transformation of the conditions for posing questions" (Ochoa Gautier 2016:108).

In creating a new undergraduate course within a department of music, I am not suggesting a new discipline, disciplinary subdivision, or field. There are so many terms, ideas, practices, and literatures to draw on and work through with our undergraduate students: acoustemology, acoustic ecology, acoustic multinaturalism, biomusic, ecocritical musicology, ecocritical studies of music, ecomusicology, soundscape studies, and zoomusicology, to name a few. Indeed, as Ochoa Gautier observes, "neither Feld . . . nor [Anthony] Seeger . . . saw themselves as developing *new* fields; . . . they sought only to signal that they were reconsidering how to configure questions regarding sound" (2016:134, emphasis in original). By creating new undergraduate opportunities for engaged praxis, we can therefore provide spaces for configuring questions and for exploring values by providing "entry points" into disciplinary fields and frameworks (109).

This proposition does not erase histories of naming and ontological questions but would instead embed them into the very material of the course, enabling the interrogation of the constitution of ontological categories. Indeed, the fact that the very word "Anthropocene" is (relatively) new and is specifically a technical term of geological stratigraphy is, I suggest, a crucial element in these classes, conversations, and interventions within a department/school of music. That this word was created after years of intense debates by a transdisciplinary working group of researchers led by geologists, that these processes necessarily involved the International Commission on Nomenclature dealing with the language of geology, and that the start of the geological epoch labeled the Anthropocene has

been identified as the mid-twentieth century (Davison 2019) are all weighty and significant elements. As faculty and graduate students, we are all implicated.

Over the last few years the idea of "Anthropocene" has become a vehicle for practitioners beyond geology to generate practices and discussion about human impacts on the planet not only in other branches of the earth sciences but also in social sciences, environmental humanities, and creative arts, including (as this roundtable title suggests) music studies. Again, drawing on Ochoa Gautier (2016:140), now is the time for drastic rethinking, and now is the time for all music scholars and students to be concerned with the environment. By designing undergraduate courses in departments/schools of music that engage the Anthropocene, we can critique anthropocentrism, decenter the human, pose questions, and generate interventions to enable change as we teach and learn with our undergraduate students. For my own response, as a transdisciplinary teacher, creative artist, and scholar who engages with contexts, methods, and approaches of music studies and ethnomusicology, I have started my processes by introducing one short course in preparation for coplanning a full-credit class.

In closing this brief personal position concerning humanities' responses to the Anthropocene, I turn to a recent film project titled *ANTHROPOCENE: The Human Epoch* (2018). This collaborative endeavor uses striking photographic images to generate explorations of problems around human impacts on planet Earth. Characterizing his role in this project, photographer Edward Burtynsky describes himself as an artist who is "bearing witness to these places" by generating contexts for sharing. He explains, "I don't see myself as an environmentalist per se. . . . I'd rather see the images that I make as points of departure for a more complex conversation about 'so now that we're here, what do we do?" (quoted in Sharp and Foster 2019). Burtynsky seems to offer an example for our own possible responses as teachers and students. We do not need to see ourselves as environmentalists per se, but we can all seek to open up spaces to bear witness and to enable collaborative and complex exchanges and actions with our undergraduate students around matters of sounds, musics, ecologies, and environments.

Moving Forward with Ecomusicology

Mark Pedelty / University of Minnesota

What can music scholars do in an age of environmental exigency? Answering that question, Alexander Rehding (2002) suggested that we adopt the term "eco-musicology." At that time, few US music scholars were studying issues of environmental justice, biodiversity, climate change, and other pressing environmental questions. Of course, there were long-standing traditions of considering

musical environment(s), especially when considering "environment" in the more proximate sense. Studies of connections between animal sounds, organology, and composition predate the development of musicology itself. However, until the early 2000s, few scholars had considered music in relation to broader ecological contexts, meanings, and crises (although musicians had been doing so for quite some time). Ecomusicology provided a forum for ecocritical exchange.

As a result, many ethnomusicologists welcomed and have been taking active roles in the ecomusicological conversation. But not all. Ana María Ochoa Gautier views "the emergence of this discipline" as "a new encompassing musical field fueled by recourse to the notion of nature." She thus argues against "the value in the emergence of ecomusicology as a discipline" (2016:109). I agree. There is no value in creating a new "discipline." In fact, in 2013 I wrote that scholars involved in the discussion had been "working to build an interdisciplinary conversation rather than a separate subdiscipline" (44). To my knowledge, no one has called for such a discipline. Ecomusicology is best described as a transdisciplinary "field" (Allen 2012:193). One of the main strengths of ecomusicology is the diversity of disciplines that are contributing to the field. The use of the term "ecomusicology" spread because it is a fairly obvious appellation for environmentally focused musical research.

Ethnomusicologists have contributed a great deal to the field of ecomusicology, and in turn, the ecomusicological discussion and special interest group have played meaningful roles in the discipline of ethnomusicology. One of the most important figures in the collective effort to bring these questions to the fore has been ethnomusicologist Jeff Todd Titon, whose attention to ecological matters predates ecomusicology. Yet ecomusicological references in Titon's *Sustainable Music* blog (2008–) demonstrate how the field of ecomusicology has also contributed to the discipline of ethnomusicology. It is not a question of either/or but rather both/and.

The other knock on ecomusicology is that it is unnecessary or, even worse, invalid. Why do we need ecomusicology if ethnomusicologists like Steven Feld (1982) had been doing related work well before Rehding uttered the word "ecomusicology"? One of my ethnomusicological heroes, Anthony Seeger, expressed that sentiment well. As we sat and enjoyed listening to the Wesleyan gamelan ensemble, Seeger leaned over and wryly whispered: "I'm glad that you have given a name to something we have been doing for decades." I laughed, knowing that his point was mostly tongue-in-cheek. Yet two responses are in order. First, I did not give ecomusicology its name. I merely suggested it to my editor as a book title. As a result, *Ecomusicology: Rock, Folk, and the Environment* (2012) might have been the first book to adopt the term as title. Yet my idiosyncratic work on rock and folk is in no way representative of the field as a whole. More

importantly, I was definitely not the first to use ecomusicology as a descriptor for their research, and certainly not the most influential. For example, Nancy Guy (2009) used the term in the title of her seminal work on the Tamsui River in Taiwan. Nor was Guy the first, although hers was certainly one of the finest applications. Years later, after a critical mass of work developed, Aaron Allen and Kevin Dawe found ecomusicology to be a fitting term for their compendium, *Current Directions in Ecomusicology* (2016). My point is that people circle back to the word "ecomusicology" time and again, for lack of a better term. "Ecomusicology" is specific enough to indicate environmental relevance while sufficiently polysemic to bring together a very broad range of research. Therefore, it is little wonder that "ecomusicology" became the most common moniker for environmentally relevant research in musicology and ethnomusicology. For the same reason, it is unfortunate that an influential ethnomusicologist would call for its erasure.

Given the diversity of perspectives presented in ecomusicology, it is inaccurate to impute a singular and simplistic "notion of nature" (Ochoa Gautier 2016:109) to the field. Ecological perspectives foster relational understandings and eschew totalizing constructs. Instead, a transdisciplinary recognition of complexity, connectivity, and polysemy has been at the heart of the ecomusicological conversation. Granted, strategic essentialism is sometimes employed by those who choose to have meaningful engagements with audiences outside the academy. I made that point in discussing "the nature debate" in 2012 (76–82), although I'll admit that I have likewise tended to avoid the term.

Seeger's joke captures the gist of another criticism levied at ecomusicology: that it is redundant. Ochoa Gautier puts forth the extreme version. "In proposing a new discipline," she argues, "ecomusicology ultimately appropriates the sense of urgency that the topic of sound/music and nature has acquired today" (2016:113). I disagree with her historiography. Before ecomusicology, the music studies disciplines were not heavily invested in research dealing with environmental justice, biodiversity, and ecological crises like climate change, pollution, overconsumption, and overdevelopment. In the early 2000s I came to the AMS, SEM, and IASPM looking for colleagues doing such work. I found those kindred spirits, innovative researchers like Aaron Allen, Denise Von Glahn, Jennifer Post, and Jeff Todd Titon, to name just a few. (I will artificially limit the list there, to fellow roundtable panelists, so as not to offend anyone on the very long list of scholars involved.) These were among the people who created ecomusicology, not usurpers of some robust ongoing discussion. In the 2000s those of us doing this work had to constantly argue for the relevance of environmentally relevant musical research in the first place. Therefore, to read many years later that we all somehow "appropriated" a firmly established movement attending

to critical ecological questions does not jibe with my experience or reading of the literature. Granted, all things have antecedents, including ethnomusicology (comparative musicology and anthropology), but when the ecomusicological conversation began, precious few music scholars were doing work on the sorts of questions Timothy Cooley has asked us to address with this panel. Yes, the discussion has now taken off with a sense of "urgency," but that is at least in part thanks to ecomusicology. The term "ecomusicology" spurred a new wave of scholarship, and common use of the term at recent conferences indicates that it is still serving a productive purpose. A critical mass of publications has developed over the past two decades, as have lively exchanges of ideas at conferences, in the *Ecomusicology Review* (*ER*), and through a very active listsery community.

The "critical issue that ecomusicology will have to wrestle with," Rehding noted in 2011, "is how to implement this sense of crisis" (410). That strikes me as a better question than whether or not ecomusicology, sound studies, sound ecology, bioacoustics, ethnomusicology, anthropology, or (name your least favorite discipline or field) should be wiped from the face of the earth. Unfortunately, if we do not respond to extinction-level arguments, the space for critical work will be reduced and momentum lost. Limited good thinking is the last thing we need in an era of multiplying environmental crises.

Personally, I don't care what we call musical research that deals with environmental exigencies in a relational (i.e., ecological), critical, and pluralistic way as long as it is done. Ecomusicology serves as useful shorthand. But some might argue that R. Murray Schafer's ([1977] 1994) brainchild, acoustic ecology, obviates the need for ecomusicology. I would agree, if acoustic ecology had not become a relatively specific field. Acoustic ecology's admirable focus on soundscape is one of that field's greatest strengths. Its practitioners' deep aural exploration of soundscape(s) distinguishes the field from any single discipline, as well as from ecomusicology. However, there is complementarity and overlap rather than an either/or competition between these fields. Opening the ears to proximate ecologies (e.g., soundscapes) and to wider ecologies, crises, ecopolitics, and musical experiences is an equally valid and highly complementary approach (Guyette and Post 2016).

As an anthropologist, I am particularly drawn toward ethnomusicology's emphasis on fieldwork and bimusicality, so much so that I probably fall on the ethnomusicological side of Michelle Bigenho's (2008) comparative definition of the disciplines. Therefore, I was delighted to witness several sessions at the 2018 SEM annual meeting that included ecomusicological work. Space limitations compel me to single out just one such example: Chiao-Wen Chiang's "Tao Singing and the 2017 Anti-nuclear Waste Concert, Lanyu, Taiwan." Her

paper represented the affordances of ethnomusicology (e.g., place-based fieldwork) and ecomusicology (e.g., critical and ecologically imbricated research and theorization of musical responses to environmental injustice). Chiang's work, as well as the other papers on that panel and work presented in other sessions, instantiated anthropologist Eduardo Viveiros de Castro's (2005) concept of "multinaturalism." Ochoa Gautier contrasts that term with ecomusicology in binary fashion, but I would again suggest complementarity, the "both/and" approach Allen has repeatedly suggested for the field. Multinaturalism is not advanced through straw-person polemics. An ecocritical field should be more concerned about inequitable ecologies than internecine quarrels over polysemic metaphors. I wonder, for example, what sort of sounds and musics are made by the one hundred corporations responsible for 70 percent of greenhouse gas emissions since 1988 (Griffin 2017)? There is so much important work to be done.

Of course, ecomusicology needs to decolonize, as do the music studies disciplines and the US academy as a whole. As Ruth Hellier noted in her presentation, that requires us to go beyond "rethinking" our wordplay. As long as methods are predicated on metropolitan elites flying thousands of miles to study the musical labor of disenfranchised others (and collect academic capital), the promise of critical ecomusicology remains unmet (see https://academic-flyingblog.wordpress.com/). However, ecomusicological scholars have offered alternative visions and practices. Koji Matsunobu's (2018) work on community music in Japan and Olusegun Stephen Titus and Rachel Obonose Titus's (2017) research on climate change, flooding, and oil extraction in their home country of Nigeria are among exciting glocal approaches developing around the world. Work by place-based scholars can help us to more meaningfully match method to theory.

A bit of "studying up"—turning the ethnographic gaze on power—would also help (Nader 1969). Several young(er than me) colleagues reminded us of that point at the SEM panel's Q&A. They argued that we need to take our research beyond text and talk. I think ecomusicology provides some promising examples. Ecomusicologists' affinity for political ecology (see Post's entry to this discussion), environmental activism (Kinnear 2014), environmentally relevant performance, and critical interdisciplinary appreciation for the environmental sciences, arts, and humanities has led to several promising new praxes, an opening rather than the narrowing sometimes attributed to the field. Therefore, I hope that ecomusicology survives the slings, arrows, and broad brushes wielded by a few critics. However, it is not my business to tell ethnomusicologists what they should or should not allow into their canons and conference halls. I hope that the innovative spirit that first gave birth to ethnomusicology not so terribly long

ago might help the discipline to creatively face the Anthropocene, Capitalocene, or whatever one wants to call this current era. Ecomusicology has been central to the conversation so far, and I hope it remains so.

Ives, Michael, Machines, and River Gods

Denise Von Glahn / Florida State University

One hundred and nine years ago, a half century before Rachel Carson published *Silent Spring*, Charles Ives wrote a song he called "The New River." His pencil sketch for the piece included a brief note identifying a date (June 9, 1911), a place (the Housatonic River), and a precise location along its 139-mile stretch (Zoar Bridge). Beside these cryptic field notes Ives added a single comment: "Gas Machine kills Housatonic!" His eight-line song text explained his thinking:

Down the river comes a noise! It is not the voice of rolling waters; It's only the sounds of man: Phonographs and gasoline, Dancing halls and tambourine, Human beings gone machine. Killed is the blare of the hunting horn; The River Gods are gone.

Like fully half of Ives's 129 songs, "The New River" focused on sounds. Ives heard his subjects; he understood them through sound, much like Carson would do when she imagined the implications of a spring devoid of bird song. "The New River" was unique among Ives's songs, however, for its full-bore criticism of environmental degradation. Wiley Hitchcock heard the song as Ives "snarl[ing] angrily at noise pollution" (2004:lvi). When Ives arranged the song in 1913 for a chamber orchestra set, he renamed it "The Ruined River." Given ubiquitous news coverage of the diversion of the Tuolumne River and the flooding of the Hetch Hetchy Valley in Yosemite National Park that same year, the name change seems significant (see Von Glahn 2019:114-16). Beyond providing a general statement on violated waterways, Ives's song connected the human-degraded state of the natural world and the increased mechanization of daily life to his beloved local river, the Housatonic. This was a place he had memorialized just a few years earlier in another song, one that he had created after a honeymoon walk with his bride, Harmony Twichell. Then Ives used Robert Underwood Johnson's words and described it as "contented."

Now, with a four-word indictment—"Human beings gone machine"—Ives fired an early musical warning shot about the consequences of a technology-driven

world. And, referencing sound, he exhorted us to do something. Beyond hearing that which could not be ignored, the ubiquitous loud sounds, Ives also registered what was "gone": he heard the silence and challenged us to do the same.

October 10, 2018, Tallahassee, Florida: Hurricane Michael provided an analogous situation for me to listen to noises and "rolling waters" of a different kind. I share Ives's auditory orientation and his way of knowing the world largely through sound. So when Michael pummeled the gulf-hugging panhandle of the Sunshine State, its sounds reminded me of a question I'd kicked around with some folks on this panel a number of years ago. I'd asked: "What does climate change sound like?" And now what stays with me after experiencing this category 5 storm is not what you might think, it's not what I expected. It's not the roaring winds or pounding rain. It's not the sounds of trees creaking or groaning, or limbs snapping, or trunks breaking, or sixty-foot giants losing their grip and simply falling over and thudding on the ground, although there were hundreds of longleaf pines and live oaks doing just that in my neighborhood. And it's not the sound of debris swirling like dervishes and slapping against the windows. These are all, no doubt, part of the soundtrack of climate change.

What resonated most profoundly and has stayed with me since the fall of 2018 was the sound of quiet when we lost power—when the ubiquitous, seemingly inaudible electric thrumming of my high-tech household ceased: when it was gone. No refrigerator motor, no HVAC, no "silent" overhead Casablanca ceiling fans, no security system beeping when a door opened, no electric current at the ready when I flipped on a switch, and no traffic noises: downed trees had blocked our roads. Although traffic sounds are not an issue in my neighborhood, their complete absence was noticeable. For four days there was a rare kind of stillness in my house. It wasn't the river gods that had disappeared, it was the sounds I'd learned to ignore: the quotidian sounds of electrical current invisibly vibrating the airwaves and constantly buzzing around and through me, the muffled sounds of cars occasionally driving by. And because my home was still standing, and no one I knew had lost their life or suffered irreparable damage to their property, and I was confident that power would return, I welcomed the silence. It was even comforting. In the most unexpected of ways, the category 5 maelstrom provided what Mark Pedelty wished for in his film Loud: "a quiet place," and "a quiet time," and "a little bit of peace" (2019). It was in this stillness that I could locate my place within the sounds that regularly fill my world.

I'm left with a complex, occasionally contradictory, and convoluted sense of what climate change sounds like. There's the frighteningly loud and incessant wind and rain and the disassembling thudding and shaking of the ground, different from the feel of earthquakes I've experienced, if similarly disquieting. But these dramatic sound events were what I had expected. I assumed climate change would be loud, appropriately wrathful, apocalyptic. We would all be chastised by a fist-pounding all-knowing force shaking us from the heavens. I wasn't prepared for silence, for stillness. The sound and feel of what was not there. The sound and feel of what was gone (my equivalent of Ives's river gods). While I sank into and even welcomed the calm respite, I also considered the idea of a completely quiet world and the reasons it would be so, and I recognized that silence may be the final, ultimate sound of climate change. A state that Rachel Carson had predicted would result from a different kind of disregard: the indiscriminate use of synthetic pesticides.

Soon after Hurricane Michael moved on but before my electric power returned, the quiet was broken. Numbingly loud gas-powered generators, buzzing chain saws, and whining wood chippers filled the air with their relentless noise and inescapable, choking, fossil-fueled fumes. Life had returned to "normal": "Human Beings Gone Machine." And the moment to think about what all the sound and silence portended was gone. I am no closer to knowing with certainty what climate change sounds like, but I believe that one answer to my original question lies in the *seeming* silences that we don't pay attention to and the sounds that are not especially loud, or dramatic, or insistent but that accompany us every day. Those that shape what Jeff Todd Titon (2012) has called our "sound commons." These everyday sounds are filled with lessons and warnings, ones that as musicians and music scholars we are well trained to discern and to teach.

It may be argued that "art" songs with environmental messages or scholar-ship about the same reach too few people to matter, that they do little to impact the thinking or change the habits of a critical mass. But you are reading this essay, and before that, a couple hundred people heard it presented as part of a conference panel titled "Humanities' Responses to the Anthropocene." Not everyone can reach millions or directly inform government policies the way Rachel Carson did with her 1962 best seller, but a small, committed minority can heighten our collective awareness regarding the wisdom contained in sound. Even the humblest effort can have an impact, and 25 percent of a population can reshape society (Noonan 2018). The sensory overload of our lives may have inured us to the messages contained in the airwaves or to hearing them at all, but that only means we've got to listen more carefully and encourage others to do the same and to heed their warnings, lest the sounds cease to exist, and all of us with them.

Music's Contribution to Global Warming

Jeff Todd Titon / Brown University

How much does music contribute to global heating? If ethnomusicologists are to contribute our understandings of people making music to discussions surrounding carbon emissions, greenhouse gases, and the climate emergency, it would be useful to know at the outset how much all the activities surrounding music production, delivery, and consumption contribute to the overall emission of greenhouse gases (GHGs) that have been heating the planet.

In the preindustrial era, of course, musical activities did almost nothing to raise global temperatures. Musical activities made a larger contribution to GHG output and climate change during the industrial, mass consumption era. Musical instrument and sheet music distribution, radio, recordings, and television utilized energy resources on a larger scale, as did the shift to electronically amplified instruments. Ironically, in our postindustrial era, the delivery and consumption of music via the internet require more energy than the manufacture, distribution, and consumption of music on vinyl records, cassettes, and CDs did during their years of peak use (Brennan and Devine 2019).

Music GHG statistics are few and far between, and much more research needs doing, yet we do have reliable GHG estimates for all musical activities in the UK in 2009. We also have them for recorded music in the US from 1977 to 2016. With US figures adjusted upward to include live performances, in 2009 the musical activities in the UK and US accounted for about three million of the then-total forty-eight billion tonnes of GHG emissions, or .00625 percent, a minuscule amount.¹ Extrapolating from the UK and US to the rest of the world, the contribution of the music industry overall in 2009 is unlikely to have exceeded .02 percent, or two hundredths of 1 percent—still seemingly insignificant. When only ninety corporations, the vast majority being fossil fuel producers such as Exxon and state entities such as GAZPROM (Russian Federation) and Aramco (Saudi Arabia), contribute more than 70 percent of GHGs annually (Heede 2014), one wonders whether ethnomusicologists' time wouldn't be better spent in convincing our institutions to divest from fossil fuels than in encouraging the music industry to reduce GHGs.

Here's a more optimistic way to think about it: the US music industry contributes almost as much to the United States' annual gross domestic product (GDP) as the automobile industry.² Everyone knows that the auto industry is moving, however slowly, toward more efficient gasoline engines and hybrid and electric vehicles. Few doubt that an all-electric vehicle future would significantly reduce GHGs, so long as most of the electricity comes from renewable energy sources. The same could be said if the music industry moved to a carbon-neutral future.

Let's look at GHGs more closely (see fig. 1). Those emitted by human activities consist of carbon dioxide (${\rm CO_2}$) from burning fossil fuels (76 percent); methane from agricultural activities, waste management, energy use, and biomass (16 percent); nitrogen oxides from fertilizer use and other agricultural activities (6 percent); and fluorinated gases from industrial processes, refrigeration, and so on (2 percent). Considered in terms of energy source (see fig. 2), global GHGs come from electricity and heat production (25 percent); industries that burn fossil fuels on site for energy (21 percent); agriculture, forestry, and other land

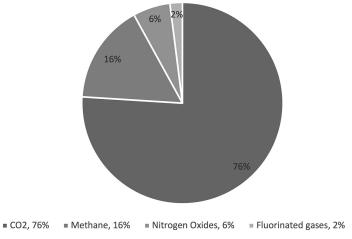


Figure 1. Sources of Greenhouse gases



- Electricity and heat production, 25%
 Fossil fuels burned on site, 21%
- Land use (agriculture, forestry, etc.), 24% Fossil fuels burned for transportation, 14%
- Fuel burned to heat and cool buildings, 6% Other, 10%

Figure 2. Anthropogenic contributions to GHGs

use (24 percent); fossil fuels burned for transportation (14 percent); fuel burned to heat and cool buildings (6 percent); and other (10 percent) (United States Environmental Protection Agency n.d.).

From 1970 to 2011 global CO_2 emissions increased by nearly 100 percent, with three-quarters of the increase coming from industrial processes and fossil fuel burning. In 2012 the total amount of GHGs emitted as a result of human activities had risen to fifty-three billion tonnes from forty-eight billion in 2009 (World Bank n.d.). Despite international efforts to reduce GHG emissions, for 2018 the total had increased to 55.3 billion tonnes, a rise at an average rate of 1.5 percent every year in the past decade (United Nations Environment Programme 2019:xiv).

Three studies of the UK and US music industries help in understanding music's contribution to global warming. First, the Environmental Change Institute at Oxford University conducted a study for the environmental organization Julie's Bicycle on the sources and amount of GHGs generated in 2007 by the UK music market (Bottrill et al. 2007; Bottrill, Lye, and Boykoff 2010). The report calculated an annual total of 540 million kilograms (540,000 tonnes) of GHGs coming from the following sources: manufacture and distribution of musical instruments, books and sheet music, and recorded music, 138 million kilograms; live performances (including audience travel, which generated 231 million kilograms), 402 million kilograms. This figure of 540,000 tonnes applied only to the UK. Although it included GHGs generated by music's share of distribution over the internet, in 2007 internet downloads and streaming were fewer than today, while correspondingly more music was delivered via CD.

A second useful study compared the amounts of GHGs required to manufacture and deliver music on plastic (vinyl, cassette, and CD) versus the internet. The study took into consideration that some albums delivered digitally over the internet were subsequently burned to CD-R discs for CD use and kept in plastic jewel cases. The authors concluded that "despite the increased energy and emissions associated with Internet data flows, purchasing music digitally reduces the energy and CO_2 emissions associated with delivering music to customers by between 40 and 80% from the best-case physical CD delivery, depending on whether a customer then burns the files to CD or not" (Weber, Koomey, and Matthews 2009). Ten years later, consumers are burning many fewer CDs; indeed, most computers today no longer contain optical drives for disc burning.

This second study predicted that a shift to internet music delivery would significantly reduce GHGs. However, as its authors acknowledge, it was conducted for two IT corporations (Microsoft and Intel) that had an interest in seeing that kind of result. What is the situation today, when most recorded music is delivered to customers via internet streaming on Spotify, Apple Music, YouTube, Pandora, and so on? The results are not quite so sanguine. In a third environmental cost

study, Matt Brennan and Kyle Devine chose to sample GHG outputs in certain key years from 1907 to 2016. Devine terms this shift from plastic to internet delivery the "dematerialization" of music. They reported total GHG outputs for the United States only, from vinyl, cassettes, and CDs, versus GHG outputs from internet delivery via mp3 and streaming. They consider only the years 1977, 1988, 2000, and 2013–16 (Brennan and Devine 2019; Devine 2019).

Figure 3 shows that in 1977, US $\rm CO_2$ emissions from the manufacture and sale of music (chiefly on vinyl records, then at their peak) were 140 million kilograms. The first CDs appeared in 1982. In 1988, when vinyl records made up roughly 19 percent of sales revenues, CDs 20 percent, and cassettes and 8-tracks 60 percent, the total $\rm CO_2$ figure for the United States was slightly lower, 136 million kilograms. In 2000, when CDs were at their peak revenue (and not many vinyl records and cassettes were sold), that number had increased to 157 million kilograms, almost all from CDs. Yet by 2016, when the revenue from CDs was one-eighth of what it had been in 2000, and when most music recordings were sold via mp3 downloads or by subscription streaming on the internet, the US energy costs of music delivery had increased to as much as 350 million kilograms of GHGs, or 350,000 tonnes (Brennan and Devine 2019; RIAA U.S. Sales Database n.d.).

How could this be? It seems counterintuitive that the environmental costs of making plastic CDs and jewel cases could be about half as much as internet music delivery with little or no plastic product (and waste), now that music appears to have exited the Plasticine. It seems inconceivable that a shift from a manufacturing economy to a service economy for recorded music could result in double the CO₂ emissions. Yet what drove up the cost of internet delivery

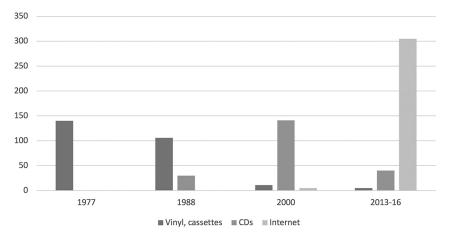


Figure 3. GHG outputs from Recordings by Source US only 1977-2016

was "the energy used to power online music listening. Storing and processing music in the cloud depends on vast data centres that use a tremendous amount of resources and energy" (Brennan and Devine 2019:3).³

To be sure, Brennan and Devine did not calculate the environmental cost of distributing LPs, cassettes, and CDs to consumers in record stores. Nor did they calculate the environmental costs of making the record, CD, and DVD players. Doing so would have increased the GHG figures for 1977, 1988, and 2000. But they also did not calculate the costs of making the smartphones, mp3 players, and computers that consumers rely on today to download and stream their music. Moreover, as the US population grew from 203 million in 1970 to 307 million in 2010, it's likely that there were proportionately half again as many music consumers in the latter year than the former, consuming 50 percent more energy. And of course, unlike the Oxford University study of UK music's carbon footprint, Brennan and Devine's study did not attempt to calculate the environmental costs of live music, which, extrapolating from the UK study (Bottrill et al. 2007), would have been for the US about three times more than for recorded music, or approximately 1.05 million tonnes of GHGs. Add that to the carbon footprint of recorded music, and in 2016 the US likely generated around 1.4 million tonnes. If the UK's footprint was 540,000 tonnes in 2009, extrapolating to 2016 from that and then adding the US figures would result in a UK plus US annual total somewhere between 2.5 and 3 million tonnes (6.6 billion US pounds) of GHGs for 2016.

Efforts to reduce the music industry's contribution to global warming have been under way for more than a decade. The 2007 Oxford study sponsored by Julie's Bicycle resulted in a variety of actions to lower music's carbon footprint, such as the change from plastic CD packaging to cardboard digipacks. In 2013 REVERB was created and dedicated to reducing touring bands' carbon footprints as much as possible. On their tours, the Dave Matthews Band, Phish, Dead and Company, Drake, Walk the Moon, and others reduce carbon use by employing solar energy, distributing reusable water bottles, providing solar charging stations at concerts, and handing out information about environmental issues, green products and tech, and so on. REVERB sponsors a Farm-to-Stage program that works with local farmers to provide artists and their crews with locally sourced food (REVERB n.d.). By 2018 Spotify had closed almost all of its data centers and reduced its carbon footprint by 1,500 tons of CO, while switching to Google cloud services, which, like competitor Apple, have "gone green." By converting to solar power and purchasing renewable energy certificates, which work like carbon offsets, Spotify can claim that its data centers are carbon neutral. In July 2019 a group of music industry professionals formed an organization called Music Declares Emergency, calling for "the music industry to acknowledge how its practices impact the environment and to commit to taking urgent action" and to "work toward making our businesses ecologically sustainable and regenerative." Some of the suggestions include reducing the energy used on tours, greening merchandise, using sustainable materials, and purchasing carbon offsets. Many musicians have signed on as supporters (MUSIC DECLARES EMERGENCY n.d.). And because music has the power to raise environmental consciousness and incite environmental activism, its impact goes well beyond the boundaries of the music industry to galvanize the environmental movement more broadly, whether targeting fossil fuel corporations, agrochemical producers, or threats to species extinction.⁴

Notes

- 1. Calculated by combining and extrapolating from Bottrill, Lye, and Boykoff (2010) and Brennan and Devine (2019). A metric tonne is 1,000 kilograms, or 2,200 pounds, which is 1.1 times the US ton of 2,000 pounds.
- 2. Siwek and Friedlander (2018) calculated that in 2015 the music industry contributed \$143 billion to the US economy, four-fifths of the auto industry's contribution.
- 3. Their study, "The Cost of Music," was widely reported in the press in April 2019. Devine's book on the subject, *Decomposed* (2019), offers more detail. Some of these data centers now are powered partly if not fully by solar energy, however.
- 4. Ecosong, a collaboration among musicians, media makers, scientists, and community organizations, is one of many such efforts (ECOSONG n.d.).

Problem Solving Ecomusicology

Jennifer C. Post / University of Arizona

Timothy Cooley asked us to respond to questions addressing sustainability issues and especially to comment on roles that we, as ethnomusicologists, might play to make a lasting difference in our rapidly changing environments. Does our training prepare us to work to help reduce humanity's destructive impact on our planet's ecosystems? Can ethnomusicologists and musicologists take leading roles in battles for environmental justice? I consider these questions as an ethnomusicologist actively engaged in fieldwork with people living in areas where residents struggle with both environmental degradation and social justice issues. Recent research in the expanding field of ecomusicology indicates that scholars have found direct relationships between music/sound and ecological systems (Ryan 2016; Simonett 2016), and references to knowledge that indicate biocultural systems linking local communities to conservation measures have been in place for generations (Ingram 2017; Impey 2018). Other studies demonstrate that ecosystem changes and opportunities for addressing them in local settings are entangled with political power (Mendívil 2016; Silvers 2018) and/or linked to spirituality (Dirksen 2018). Engaging with the climate crisis and other environmental problems, our understanding of issues is expanding, but pathways to making local/global differences still need to be cut. We will not accomplish meaningful change until we are involved in problem-solving and networking across the disciplines, actions that, when implemented, will truly integrate information on environmental issues. Developing new links will reveal new knowledge critical to human and ecological health and well-being.

Ecomusicologists need to have broader knowledge of the ecological systems that are being threatened in areas where they work. Discussions about ecosystems, the biotic communities made up of animals and plants interacting with other organisms in their physical (abiotic) environments (such as soils, nutrients, and water), have been contentious in some academic circles. The word "ecosystem" (and other sustainability-related vocabulary) is used too often in ecomusicology to support arguments with indirect relationships to actual ecosystems. We have muddied our understanding of the concept—as we did with sustainability and ecology—by establishing ecosystem analogies, such as referring to "musical ecosystems" built around place and cultural activities that help to define and characterize a location (Schippers and Grant 2016). Huib Schippers alters the meaning with references to musical ecosystems as tools for sustainability of cultural systems, such as in India, where biodiversity protections are almost nonexistent. India ranked 177 out of 180 countries in the 2018 Environmental Performance Index, and its ecosystem vitality, including its biodiversity and habitat index, sits in the bottom quartile (Environmental Performance Index 2018). Ignoring actual ecosystem issues may cause scholars to overlook some of the important links between environmental changes and cultural practices (see Allen 2017b). Focus on musical ecosystems signals support for cultural preservation, not for actions to address environmental conservation—of critical importance to the future of the earth. In the sciences and social sciences, ecosystem services include the products of human involvement (roadways, water storage systems) and services related to cultural production and maintaining traditional knowledge (Fernández-Giménez et al. 2017), opening space for collaboration among scientists and social scientists using mixed method approaches (Liu et al. 2007; Fernández-Giménez et al. 2015). When studies that focus on music/sound and ecology establish such integrated methods they will create new pathways to directly benefit ecosystems and biodiversity (Post and Pijanowski 2018).

In my current research in rural Mongolia, pastoralists who have benefited from collaborative, community-based lifeways today struggle with the climate crisis and resource degradation with unpredictable outcomes. Mongolia's grassland system, one of the largest in the world, covers 80 percent of the country and encompasses three primary ecological zones. These systems support plant diversity and water resources and provide habitats for various species (Convention on Biological Diversity 2015). The land also supports over sixty-six million head

of livestock, as well as several hundred thousand mobile pastoralists who have been stewards of the land for centuries. Healthy grasslands and adequate clean water for pastoralists are essential for their economic and ecological survival. Livestock and wildlife behavior and meteorological events often act as biocultural indicators for pastoralists; sonic practices offer acoustic pathways to knowledge, such as sounds signaling weather changes or health risks (Post 2019b). Water sources and the characteristics of grasslands and landforms figure prominently in songs that highlight their environment and reinforce the ecological, social, and spiritual value of the local resources. Support for resources is strengthened in social settings where songs are shared; songs contribute to informing and mobilizing local residents with common environmental concerns. Today in Mongolia the land and ways of life are threatened by drought, declining species diversity, and unpredictable weather patterns. New industries, most significantly mining, exploit water supplies, among other resources, and new economic systems encourage some pastoralists to swell their herds and others to abandon grasslands to move from rural to urban sites (Priess et al. 2011; Khishigbayar et al. 2018). Dispirited pastoralists now manage radically changing lifeways that impact what some herders hear, what they value, and what they know through sound and sonic practices.

How might ecomusicology contribute to problem solving and participatory action in the Mongolian grasslands? A key challenge for scientists concerned with loss of grasslands, reliable water sources, and social systems that support them is to understand the full dynamics of ecosystems and the anthropogenic roles in both degradation and stewardship. Rangeland science research during the last twenty years indicates significant changes in species composition and diversity linked to the growing climate crisis, but in-depth studies in Mongolia do not indicate that most rangelands have reached a tipping point (Khishigbayar et al. 2015). At the same time, though, declining herder populations do reveal an approaching cultural tipping point (Fernández-Giménez et al. 2017). Since soundscapes tie human and nonhuman data and experience together, sound is a means to evaluate and address ecosystem challenges. In fact, landscape ecologists now map feedbacks between land-use systems and ecosystem dynamics using sound (Pijanowski 2011), and ecomusicological research, as noted above, indicates that engagement with the environment through sound and music is a powerful cultural and ecological practice. Just as soundscape study in ecology is limited by its methods, which rely heavily on quantitative data and focus on nonhuman species richness, music study on sound production in environmental contexts conducted in ethnomusicology draws on qualitative research methods that engage in community partnerships to highlight human—and sometimes nonhuman—cultural production.

Despite epistemological differences, cultivating broader relationships among concerned actors offers opportunities for new sources of knowledge to apply to sound and listening practices in acoustic communities in order to address environmental challenges (Post and Pijanowski 2018). In educational settings, ethnomusicologists need to grow programs to encourage students and scholars to step out of the academy and into forests, waterways, and grasslands to engage in teamwork with representatives from different disciplines, fields, and walks of life. Some of these relationships can be related in what Andrew Mathews (2009) refers to as "unlikely alliances," offering greater opportunity for locally impacted people to mobilize and contribute their own beliefs to effect policy. The concept might also be applied to relationships ecomusicologists build with ecologists and ecological knowledge. Networks that are established can offer integrated methods to measure and map the effects of climate events and industrial growth and to gauge loss of ecosystem productivity. Establishing mixed methods to link sonic practices, scientific research, and local knowledge systems will contribute to broader environmental discourse. While applied ethnomusicology programs have established means for effective, collaborative, and creative work in communities, such engagement with problem-solving across these disciplines to address the climate crisis and other land degradation issues has yet to be fully established.

Ecomusicologists conducting research on biodiversity loss and music/sound practices are frequently confronted with environmental injustice, which occurs when there is an unequal distribution of environmental risk and an imbalance between policy-makers, national goals, social hierarchy, and local communities struggling both economically and ecologically (Schlosberg 2007; Mohai, Pellow, and Roberts 2009). Such risks are disproportionately experienced by Indigenous peoples, ethnic minorities, people of color, and the economically disadvantaged. In Mongolia, the government's industrial development plans and nationalist efforts have deeply impacted pastoralists, with arguably the most profound effect on minority ethnic groups—the Kazakhs, Tuvans, and others. As development plans for the nation expand, local soundscapes change and then disappear due to land degradation and resource loss. In fact, loss of sonic practices is a widespread issue. In other fieldwork, I have experienced the impact of the destruction of the Aral Sea and its natural ecosystems for economic gain on the health and well-being of Karakalpak artists in Uzbekistan, causing the loss of materials for musical instruments and loss of artists to disease brought on by environmental abuse. I also witnessed over time the expanding population and changing lifeways that have affected the Uyghur, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, and Tuvan peoples living in drylands and deserts in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region in China, drastically changing their soundscapes and musical opportunities.

Engaging with environmental injustice as an ecomusicologist requires the same knowledge shared in interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary teams addressing ecosystems and biodiversity. And while ecomusicologists may be good scholars, most are not yet good collaborators for the cause. Viewed as a social movement, ecomusicology is not fully formed and struggles still to clearly define its issues, methods, and trajectories, reflecting other emergent climate justice movements that Andrew Jamison (2010) identifies. Until ecomusicologists work with ecologists who have documented critical biological changes and those directly impacted by climate events and environmental injustice who carry other ecological knowledge, the field will remain a site for scholarly discourse rather than an interactive problem-solving network that reflects key ethnomusicological values identified with applied work: to be "inclusive, plural, and interdisciplinary" (Tan 2015:127).

We could continue to develop ecomusicology as a distinct field with its own vocabulary, using ecology as a metaphor and ecosystem as a model for music, but we would all benefit if we learned more about ecosystems and biodiversity loss and their relationships to sonic practices, as well as about human *and* ecological well-being. When we all listen to each other and harness our collaborative tendencies as ethnomusicologists, we expand exponentially our spheres of knowledge. The development of new networks will allow us to contribute more effectively to efforts to reduce ecosystem destruction and address environmental injustice, actions that will likely play critical roles in environmental repair during the next generation.

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Book Reviews

Bluegrass Generation: A Memoir. Neil V. Rosenberg. 2018. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. xvi, 304 pp., thirty-three black-and-white photographs, recordings, notes, bibliography, credits, general index, song title index.

In *Bluegrass Generation*, Neil Rosenberg tells the story of his immersion into several bluegrass communities, which required a growing commitment to performing, collecting, and recording this style of music. The book centers on the author's involvement with the Brown County Jamboree, Bill Monroe's famed Indiana music venue, from June 1961 to December 1963. During this period, the author was studying folklore and ethnomusicology as a graduate student at nearby Indiana University in Bloomington. Rosenberg has long been one of the most esteemed figures in bluegrass scholarship, and as a memoir, this volume is decidedly more personal than his other works, including *Bluegrass: A History* ([1985] 2005) and *The Music of Bill Monroe* (2007). At the same time, his preference for historical and discographic research remains clear in the latest monograph.

Bluegrass Generation is a straightforward account based on Rosenberg's various roles as visitor, aspiring banjo player, community member, and, eventually, manager at the Brown County Jamboree in Bean Blossom, Indiana. The narrative unfolds chronologically, with sections of the book divided up into seasons and chapters separated by months, as well as a range of activities. The book is built around recollections by the author that often spring from his concert recordings, photographs, business records, personal letters, and other forms of correspondence. As a result, Rosenberg's memories of events from over fifty years ago materialize remarkably as detailed stories that center on the emergence of bluegrass as a popular musical descriptor and form in the United States. Some notable moments include the release of the first long-playing bluegrass record (a 1957 compilation entitled American Banjo Scruggs Style), the first bluegrass concert at a US college (at Antioch College in March 1960), and the first appearance of a bluegrass artist on the cover of the popular folk periodical Sing Out! (Earl Scruggs in the spring of 1962).

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Beginning in April 1963, Bill Monroe, widely known as the "Father of Bluegrass," began to discuss bluegrass in historical terms onstage at the Jamboree. For Rosenberg, this marked a point in time where Monroe's popularity among young folk audiences and inquiries from a budding folklorist named Ralph Rinzler compelled the artist to reflect upon the significance of his career and music. The convergence of bluegrass and the folk revival figures considerably in this memoir because the latter movement served as the author's point of entry into Monroe's music. Rosenberg chronicles the growth of bluegrass alongside the folk revival, including the changing bookings and audiences at the Jamboree during his tenure as manager (June to December 1963).

For researchers on the history of bluegrass, this book offers valuable first-hand information regarding a host of networks that include notable musicians and promoters, as well as luthiers and instrument dealers. In the introduction, Rosenberg refers to *Bluegrass Generation* as a "grassroots music business history," and indeed it presents a direct and personal portrait of 1960s bluegrass in its many facets as culture, community, and trade (xv). Nevertheless, much of this book resembles a journal as much as a memoir because it often proceeds based on a succession of chronological but incidental developments. Fortunately for the reader, Rosenberg also recounts a number of encounters and close dealings with luminaries like Monroe and Rinzler, as well as Del McCoury, Bill "Bradford" Keith, and Grandpa Jones.

Overall, Rosenberg provides many observations and assessments of interactions and relationships, but with little analysis offered until the afterword. In July 1963, for example, the author mentions that "a small group of young black people arrived [at the Jamboree] (the first and only I ever saw there), bought tickets, and took seats in the audience" (190). As it turns out, this was an act of protest by civil rights demonstrators asserting their freedom to occupy a space that was typically off-limits. While Rosenberg describes his reaction and that of several Jamboree regulars, he misses the opportunity to sincerely reflect upon the largely monoracial makeup of this bluegrass community and others like it across the country.

In the afterword, the author explores how the concepts of generation and gentrification are employed by bluegrass scholars to describe transformations in the music and its practitioners. Whereas bluegrass expert and historian Fred Bartenstein delineates the former in terms of musicians' age groups, Rosenberg defines generation as "a group that includes not just professional musicians but a constellation of fans and enthusiasts" brought together by a love of bluegrass (240). Rosenberg also considers his role and that of his contemporaries in a generative process by which new and distinct classes of people were introduced to bluegrass: "I wasn't thinking about the roles my fellow workers and I played in taking the music in new directions. *Gentrification* was not a word we knew"

(241, italics in the original). In other words, while Rosenberg was keenly aware of his own cultural differences as a Jewish and middle-class bluegrass devotee from northern California, his dedication to this musical culture was rooted in a desire to cultivate wider appreciation, but without too much concern for the future.

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The Jazz Bubble: Neoclassical Jazz in Neoliberal Culture. Dale Chapman. 2018. Oakland: University of California Press. xii, 296 pp., black-and-white photographs, notes, bibliography, index.

In some quarters, jazz—both the social construct and the music—is claimed as a metaphor for Western democracy. Prominently, those quarters turn out to be connected to the "neoclassical" jazz movement and its cadre of Young Lions, for which Wynton Marsalis has become a convenient emblem. The timing of the movement's rise coincides with the geopolitical consolidation of neoliberalism. As a set of ideas (and the economic activities that follow them), neoliberal ideology takes as a given that sustained economic growth, driven by entrepreneurship, most effectively advances social progress; that unfettered markets best make this possible; and that a government's role should be to facilitate market activity, with as light a hand as possible on the tiller. But the main point is economic growth: the guiding measurement of this economic engine's health becomes shareholder value. As Dale Chapman tells it in this deeply researched and well-crafted book, neoclassical jazz presents an inviting entry into understanding neoliberalism and its profound ill effects. Chapman's book, a critical history of "the political economy of jazz in the early twenty-first century . . . the interconnections between culture, ideology, and socioeconomic conditions in an era of ascendant finance capital" (5), contributes to jazz scholarship, as well as to studies in economics, political science, civic planning, and social theory.

Why jazz? In its neoclassical form at least, jazz's meritocracy mythos foregrounds deep technical mastery, which in turn enables a hair-trigger improvisational responsiveness, a metaphor for the combination of rugged individualism and nimble flexibility highly prized in a market-obsessed economy. Jazz also demands "radical attunedness" within a group, "a social dynamic in which freedom and responsibility are held in tension through the shared currency of risk" (49), all of which translate to essential qualities for succeeding in a neoliberal world. Beyond these affordances, jazz retains symbolic value as a transcaste high art, and its global reach valorizes its African American cultural foundation while also offering cover to transracial appropriation. "Many decades after the

peak of the music's popularity," Chapman explains, "official culture has belatedly repurposed jazz as an emblem of populist dynamism" (18). And, coincidentally, even if jazz still hovered near the bottom of the music market as the twentieth century transitioned to the twenty-first, it came to look market-ready for a while, with neoclassical jazz's mounting stature around the time of the "dot-com" bubble (prompting the "jazz bubble" of the book's title). Jazz beckoned—and continues to beckon—as a shiny, treasured commodity on reissue recordings, and jazz venues have seemed ripe to become sites of neighborhood regeneration, pairing the music and its imagery with African American urbanity, artistic heft, and cultural uplift.

Through a prismatic grouping of case studies, Dale Chapman's ambitious and nuanced text traces how the neoclassical and the neoliberal became entwined. One of these studies highlights a 1976 "trial run" in the redemptive figure of Dexter Gordon and the reception of his prodigal return to the Village Vanguard after a protracted self-exile in Europe. Chapman deftly links the event to New York's massive financial crisis the previous year, which in turn stemmed from a series of attempts to prop up the city as a world financial capital (perhaps best summed up in city planner Robert Moses's savaging of Bronx neighborhoods with the erection of the Cross-Bronx Freeway). As the city sought desperately to make itself appealing to investors who might help dig it out of its financial hole, media, government, and financial elites deflected blame from their rapacious local public policies, pointing instead to a putative cultural pathology curable only through intense private financialization and public austerity measures. Jazz fans' wild welcome at Gordon's "homecoming" to a noirish New York symbolized a return to core mainstream values in the face of disreputable and destabilizing jazz-rock fusion, avant-garde jazz, and such decadent scenes as disco and punk. Chapman leaves implicit the understanding that neoliberalism requires economic and social stability to operate (so obvious that he does not bother to state it); societal structures must stand in place, even as neoliberal actors cause them to teeter, redistributing wealth away from precarious working and middle classes and toward the financial elites. Neoclassical jazz fit a stabilizing need; it tied a narrative of aesthetic artistry to cultural authenticity, which could then pivot to embrace upscale aspirations of sophistication.

In neoliberal thought, financialization (leveraged investment) can accomplish social good *and* make money. Chapman's final pair of chapters narrate one such project, a public-private venture to ameliorate the economic and cultural violence that earlier had been inflicted upon San Francisco's storied "Harlem of the West," the Fillmore District. Large expanses of the neighborhood faced the wrecker's ball in the 1970s and 1980s as part of an "urban renewal" project as misguided as any dreamed up by New York's Robert Moses. In an era of small government and curtailed safety-net programs, San Francisco's well-intentioned

but ill-conceived response was to develop a gentrified "entertainment destination" there anchored by an upscale jazz club. As Chapman points out, the mechanisms of neoliberalism inevitably ran the projects aground: heavily mortgaged, they struggled to overcome local and federal governments' reduced capacity (and interest) for investing in public works projects alone, and, designed top-down, they were bogged down chasing shareholder value, while residents resisted unwanted gentrification.

Time and again, neoliberals' short-sided focus on *shareholder* value has sacrificed longer-term (and more just) *stakeholder* value, ultimately leading to loss: of goodwill and even of the do-good investments they pursue.

Could it have played out differently? One proposal, bypassed, would have established the St. John Coltrane University of Arts and Social Justice, an idea that bubbled up from Fillmore residents themselves. It would have created a cultural hub, not a commercial one, a public good that would not have made money. Of course, no government these days would invest in that.

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Animal Musicalities: Birds, Beasts, and Evolutionary Listening. Rachel Mundy. 2018. Music/Culture Series. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press. ix, 261 pp., figures, musical examples, black-and-white photographs, selected bibliography, index.

Rachel Mundy's monograph is a significant reworking and update of her 2010 dissertation: an ambitious, thought-provoking, and welcome contribution to multiple conversations occurring in academia as we enter the third decade of the twenty-first century. Mundy asks readers to contemplate nothing less than how we make knowledge. In a world rife with alternative facts and disinformation, this is an enormous and timely question. Who decides who counts, by what means, and based upon what evidence? What is the role of technology, how does it direct thinking, how does it shape results? How do technologies developed for one purpose transfer to another? (Animal vivisection to song vivisection is Mundy's example.) How is difference determined, and who falls into that large category of "different": which genders, races, cultures, and species are part of the undifferentiated "different"?

Two questions propel Mundy's study: What is difference? and "What is a humanity?" (8). The first question is clear, although Mundy's desire to include species beyond *Homo sapiens* pushes traditional thinking. She encourages us to recognize that "how we make knowledge about culture and music is intricately tied up with the question of how we evaluate difference" (9–10). Difference,

she argues, once naturalized, becomes a unifying principle, a foundational category, and so needs to be considered carefully (8). She wonders how we might shape, evaluate, and employ notions of difference with a full awareness of the sources and resonances of our assumptions. The second question takes additional unpacking. Who, she asks, is the singular "humanity" being privileged in the field of the humanities? What if we entertained an alternative more-than-human humanities, an "animanities"? Mundy understands that our attitudes toward animals, the degree to which we designate them subjects or objects, subconsciously inform our ideas about gender, race, sexuality, class, and nation (8). When imagining the humanities, she wants readers to question who counts as a person and entreats us to "employ notions of difference responsibly" (9).

This is a patiently researched, humbly reflective, and rewarding read for anyone willing to follow the large and complex web of ideas that Mundy spins. Slow reading is recommended. Anchoring her study in a historic review of how nineteenth-century Western Europeans have interacted with, studied, and categorized bird song over a period of 150 years. Mundy argues that animal studies, once the province of museums, laboratories, and field researchers, provide the foundation for our current understanding of what constitutes sonic knowledge, how we think about music and music making, and how we imagine difference. For Mundy, animal studies provide a direct link to musical studies, how we categorize music, how we talk about its qualities, the degree to which we allow emotion and subjective assessments into our discussions.

Mundy introduces us to players not typically encountered in musicological scholarship: the evolutionary biologist Charles Darwin and the sociologist Herbert Spencer, who Mundy observes started "the print war of musical evolutionism" in the mid-nineteenth century (38). Music, Mundy argues, sits squarely on the border between human and animal utterances; it is therefore the ideal site to ask the question, Are humans the only species privy to musical thought, creation, or discernment? If music is the "language of the soul," as was so often argued through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and animals are capable of musical creation, how does one refuse them souls or deny them moral status (36)? When hatchlings learn their songs from teacher-birds, or when female robins select mates by discerning listening, music becomes a measure by which to determine who was/is capable of being heard (38). Music, it turns out, can help twenty-first-century humanists look beyond their species. Rather than insist upon replacing postwar, postmodern, posthuman explanations, Mundy offers her work as a speculative history, a potential alternative to current narratives (9, 12). As a scholar of more-than-human sentient beings, Mundy argues that we must recognize "culture as a more-than-human reality" (9). As regards music, her goal is to reimagine music beyond the comfortable dyads of "human/

non-human, culture/nature, humanities/science" (10). In 2019 that goal seems closer to reality, as all kinds of dyadic thinking are being challenged.

The book is organized chronologically as a series of free-standing but closely related studies whose protagonists share educational affiliations through their common mentors, institutional homes, and disciplinary practices (9). Readers come to appreciate the power of select universities, programs, and their faculty to people the world with thinkers like themselves. With the exception of two females, professional song collector and music ethnographer Laura Craytor Boulton and *Birdscapes* author Miyoko Chu, both of whom provide comparative perspectives to others in their chapters, Mundy's focal subjects are all white, male, and European American. This is not a criticism; the reality makes her point. Seven chapters and a conclusion, where Mundy suggests her neologism "animanities" (with a wink?), allow her to engage with the big concepts weaving the study together: personhood, identity, difference, knowledge, postmodern humanity, subjectivity, and paradise.

The book is a personal one for Mundy, and at times it seems hard for her to avoid the hint of a moral tone; the questions she raises, however, are moral ones and were first presented as such over a century ago. Mundy occasionally strains to be even-handed, to not discount "the personal beliefs of scientists or scholars" (177). In the desire to be even-handed, it is easy to retreat from taking sides, but this is exactly what Mundy needs to do: she knows her materials and her mind. "Fair and balanced," we have learned, have the potential to be neither. Ultimately, neither of these observations threatens the overwhelming value of this study: the imaginative thinking it invites and the potential it has to change our interactions with each other, human and more-than-human alike. Mundy's heuristic meditation on who and what constitute difference is worth everyone's patient deliberation.

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Film, Video, and Multimedia Reviews

Híbridos: The Spirits of Brazil. Directed by Priscilla Telmon and Vincent Moon. Produced by Fernanda Abreu (Feever Filmes) and Gabriela Figueiredo (Samba Filmes), Petites Planètes. DVD, Blu-ray disc, and web, color, 89 minutes. 2018. Distributed by Ibirá Machado, descolonizafilmes: www.descolonizafilmes.com (Brazil); Nils Bouaziz, Potemkine: www.potemkine.fr (France); Cinema Guild: www.cinemaguild.com (United States).

Híbridos, independently produced by filmmaker Vincent Moon and photographer Priscilla Telmon, is part of a larger project by the same name that consists of a collection of short films, interviews, albums of recordings, and descriptions of Brazilian religious and spiritual rituals. The film offers poetic and filmographic research on spirituality and musicality in Brazil. The film brings no dialogues, comments, interviews, or any kind of text about the rituals it showcases, putting forward images that travel between symbols and expressions of faith and spirituality. Music is part of the rituals in many moments, but it also signals to points of transition between scenes, time, and place. As such, the viewer becomes aware of a new form of ritual whenever the music changes. While not squarely within ethnomusicology, the film may be a useful project adjacent to the methods and publications of the field.

Besides this project, Moon and Telmon are also responsible for the Petites Planètes Collection, which mixes photography, artistic interventions, live cinema, multiscreens, music, and performance. The collection is comprised of short films, interviews, and live recordings of worldwide music concerts or rituals in the same model used for the larger Híbridos project. Moon describes himself as an experimental ethnographer whose methodology is to record live performances on the spot in order to capture more truthful and intimate images and sounds of musicians, performing artists, or people involved in worship and trance rituals. Telmon is interested in ancient cultures and shamanism from the standpoint of a visual artist and writer. Their diverse backgrounds and previous experiences in ethnography and filmmaking inform the format of *Híbridos*: the movie is the result of four years of research in several regions of Brazil, and

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it is presented in the official website as both a piece of trance cinema and an ethnographic project. As a piece of trance cinema, its intention is to involve viewers so they can identify with the image and sound of diverse displays of faith and spirituality shown on-screen. There is also a clear intention to stress that rituals may differ among themselves (e.g., in form, sound, language, use of body painting, clothing, offerings) but that they all possess a common element (spirituality), and they all aim to communicate with the invisible (God, a higher spirit or consciousness, or a sacred entity). The extensive use of close-ups and the smooth transitions between rituals seem to reinforce this sense of a single Brazilian spirituality that manifests in different forms. Sometimes the camera focuses on a single singer, dancer, medium, or practitioner for most of the take, stressing their facial expressions. These camera angles make it difficult to place the images in a larger context, and the lines between rituals are (probably intentionally) blurred.

As an ethnographic project, the film showcases the larger project, which involves more short films, texts, and interviews with the people shown in *Híbri*dos. The experimental format, with no dialogue and a succession of ritual images, may be quite interesting for those involved in film studies. I wonder, however, to what extent it would be useful as a sole source for ethnographic and ethnomusicological scholarship. Ethnographers and ethnomusicologists are interested in cultures, as well as in the music, rituals, habits, internal relationships, and political and labor divisions of such cultures. They work with case studies, in which they can discuss these cultural features while reflecting upon their own work. The ethnographic process usually focuses on a single case, population, or cultural manifestation, exploring it extensively and for a long period of time, which gives the research historical perspective and depth, as the ethnographer learns more about their subject of study. As cited above, Híbridos may offer several forms of religious and spiritual ritual, but by displaying intimate images and intentionally blurring boundaries of time, place, language, and faiths, it does not stress a specific focus on any of these rituals. These manifestations are shown in a sequence that can be navigated as a sonic, imagetic, and poetic travel through trance and spiritual symbolism—not exactly a preferred ethnographic format. The lack of descriptions, comments, and subtitles presenting each ritual would be considered incomplete scholarship from an ethnographic standpoint, as researchers must be precise about their sources and other conditions of their research. It is important, though, to understand that the film is only part of the larger project, and by visiting the website, one can access more information about each ritual, as well as the people involved. Keeping this fact in mind is key; *Híbridos* is not an ethnographic documentary in the strict sense.

A great quality of the film (perhaps its greatest quality) is the way in which faith, spirituality, and the connection between humans and the unknown/

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mysterious/transcendent is presented. In general, all rituals involve an extreme amount of physicality, portrayed as hands caressing heads or holding other hands, people hugging and comforting each other, feet stomping, knees wrapped in cloth to endure pilgrimage, bodies in convulsive movement, hands reaching out or blessing, bodies pulling, pushing, dancing, faces contorting as throats and mouths produce laudatory sound. Scenes such as the one depicting the Círio of Nazare or the Congado Reinado de Nossa Senhora do Rosário give account to the extremely intense materiality involved in the conversation and connection with the spiritual dimension. The transcendent is not only spiritual but also deeply physical, both felt and embodied. In this sense, *Híbridos* can serve as a phenomenological study of Brazilian ritual: the practice of spirituality is displayed in a very direct and dramatized way, providing the viewer with a cinematographic experience that is not only about the invisible or ineffable but also about a dimension of life that is touchable, concrete, and physically present.

Another positive feature of *Híbridos* is the form in which the project was released: it is under a free Creative Commons license, which means that it is possible to download music, watch interviews, and share content at no cost. This format also gives back to the communities, mediums, and musicians involved, as they can access and use their images and sounds, building a new perspective of themselves and their practices. And last but not least, the work of researching, filming, editing, and sound design, as well as the website, reveals a carefully curated process that translates into a very high quality final product and a beautiful piece of filmography.

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The Man behind the Microphone. Directed and written by Claire Belhassine. Produced by Anne Lund, Olfa Zorgati, and Claire Belhassine. Directors of photography, Patrick Jackson and Jay Odedra. Edited by Joby Gee and Adam Finch. Sound recording by Ludovic Morin, Jeroen Bogart, Tatiana El Dahdah, and Richard Thomas. In French and English. 86 minutes, color. 2017. Streaming on MUBI and Artify (Tunisia). https://www.theman behindthemicrophone.com.

Claire Belhassine's compelling documentary, released in 2017, is as much a story about "the woman behind the camera" as "the man behind the microphone." The film follows Belhassine's discovery, relatively late in life, that Hédi Jouini (1909–90), her Tunisian grandfather, whom she had known in her youth, had, in fact, been a musical superstar. Belhassine was born in the UK and raised by her Tunisian father and British mother. Her quest to uncover details of Jouini's

life and career dredges up difficult chapters of the family's history and, in the process, opens up new frames for her own personal identity and precarious belonging. As she walks through the narrow alleyways of the *medina* (old city) in Tunis, strangers greet her with verses from Jouini's most famous songs. At every turn, her search is facilitated by the sounds and memory of Jouini's music. Though the family can't agree on much, they do not hesitate to join in singing a few Jouini classics together.

One especially important episode in the film's narrative is the dramatic revelation that Jouini's wife, Ninette, was a Tunisian Jew and that she and Hédi had never been formally married. The themes of religious tension—particularly Ninette's abandonment as her family relocates to Israel—and gendered norms of musical performance that Belhassine highlights have been overlooked in scholarship to date; they are most welcome contributions to an ethnomusicological study of Tunisian popular song, especially in the context of emerging nationalism in twentieth-century Tunisia. With that said, it would have been helpful to include additional opinions and experiences of Tunisian Jews from outside the family. In the same section of the film, we learn that Ninette was also an accomplished singer and performer but that Jouini had forbidden her from pursuing her career. While the family holds Hédi responsible, Ninette's silencing at the hands of her husband also reflects typical middle-class sensibilities of the time and a condition of Hédi's work within Tunisian nationalist networks, which were decidedly uncomfortable with Jewish involvement.

The film's structure is scaffolded by Belhassine's voice-over narration and punctuated with images of family photos, historical and contemporary images of Tunis, and the recordings of Jouini's songs. The bulk of the documentary is composed of short formal interviews with Tunisian musicologists, scholars, composers, and musicians—including Salah El Mahdi, Lotfi Bouchnak, Abdelhamid Largeuche, Sonia M'Barek, and Nabil Zouari—and personal interviews with Belhassine's family members in Tunis, Paris, and California. The soundtrack, written and produced by Tom Hodge and Franz Kirmann, supports the narrative arc and provides moments of theatrical suspense. Belhassine's quest is haunted by the persistent question of why she had not known of her grandfather's prominent role in twentieth-century Tunisian popular and nationalist song; she asks, "Was the story hidden, or did it just get buried?"

Her question remains only partially answered by the family feuds and schisms that unfold in explanations from various family members over the course of the film. Kernels of more complete answers lie in the complex layers of the transformative historical, political, and social events of Jouini's long career as a composer and singer from the 1920s through the 1980s. His work bridged the French protectorate period (1881–1956), the rise of Tunisian secular nationalist movements (from the 1920s to the 1950s), the Nazi occupation

of Tunis (1942–43, during which time Belhassine's father, Ferid, was born in a bomb shelter), independence and Bourgiba's rule (1956–87), and the *Changement*, Ben Ali's rise to power (1987). Several of these periods and events receive brief descriptions, against which the specific situations of the family are set in relief.

In the film, Belhassine speaks explicitly about the alienation she experienced because she did not learn Arabic or French as a child, despite many trips to Tunis to visit family. Language ideology features prominently in her pursuit of oral histories. In a self-reflective moment, we watch as her intentions are harshly questioned by Dr. Salah El Mahdi, a composer, musician, and educator and a highly influential figure in Tunisian and Pan-Arab nationalism. Though the reflexive aspects of Belhassine's first-person narrative afford advantages in pointing to her experience of the cultural importance of language, one disadvantage can be seen in her less developed understanding of Tunisian politics of representation.

One result of her linguistic limitations is a problematic centering of "Samra, ya samra," a famous song of Jouini's that recurs several times during the film and that, in contrast to other songs in the film, is not accompanied by English subtitle translations. The song addresses and describes a *samra*, a dark-skinned Tunisian woman. In my ethnographic studies of Tunisian heritage music, black Tunisians have expressed to me their distaste for the song due to its fetishized and hypersexualized connotations.

In Belhassine's interview with El Mahdi, who has, sadly, now passed away, we catch an important glimpse into some of the religiously charged politics around Tunisian and Arab nationalism. El Mahdi provides a dismissive appraisal of Jouini and his music as compared with his own cotemporaneous career and training in Tunisian musical fundamentals through Qur'anic education. As El Mahdi put it, while he wore Tunisian clothes, Jouini always performed in European garb. These caricatures represent divergent images of the nation that emerged over the course of the twentieth century and that continue to play out in Tunisian musical politics and government policies for the preservation of heritage.

El Mahdi's concern over Jouini's Tunisianness resonates with my own Tunisian interlocutors' critiques that Jouini forsook the *tabūa*' (Tunisian melodic modes) in favor of *maqāmāt* (Middle Eastern modes) in his compositions, aligning himself with the Pan-Arab movement rather than with Tunisian nationalist particularism. In this vein, the curious story of Jouini's almost meeting Umm Kulthūm, the greatest diva of twentieth-century Arab music, accompanied by a photograph of him posing in front of the Sphinx in Egypt, is a novel and intriguing chapter. As Umm Kulthūm is the quintessential symbol of Egyptian national and Pan-Arab music, Jouini's near-miss failure to connect with her

leaves him—and, metonymically, Tunisian music—just barely peripheral. Anxieties around casting Jouini's subjectivity as a cosmopolitan modernist, Tunisian nationalist, and transstate Arabist are important currents that run throughout the film.

Ultimately, Belhassine's thoughtful and well-researched film centers on her Tunisian family, and this through line takes precedence over historical, political, and musicological discussions. Though ethnomusicologists may hunger for further musical analyses, the film adds much-needed nuance to the life story of a larger-than-life figure who, up until now, has stood as a prototypical Tunisian nationalist figure. Belhassine's most significant intervention is the important work her storytelling does to sweep issues of Tunisian family life out from under the rug and into the viewers' public forum for discussion. She intrepidly breaches issues such as the tribulations of interreligious coupling, the loneliness of childhood and motherhood with absent patriarchs, the challenges of life as a musician in an Islamic society, the domestic "imprisonment" of women, the abandonment experienced by Tunisian Jews whose entire families immigrate to France or Israel without them, the negotiation of identity for Tunisian in diaspora, and the heartache of a fractured family. The film is weighty with themes of loss and repression, but Belhassine ends her story with reconnection and reconciliation between her father and his geographically far-flung and emotionally distant siblings. The Man behind the Microphone artfully conveys Belhassine's empowered reclamation of family memory through music, at once intimately familial and expansively public. This is a far cry from the voiceless child who traveled to Tunis every summer but who spoke no common language with her extended family.

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Alive Inside. Directed and produced by Michael Rossato-Bennett. In English. DVD and Blu-ray disc. 78 minutes, color. 2014. Distributed by Projector Media BOND / 360 City Drive Films, https://www.theconnextion.com/aliveinside/.

Alive Inside follows social worker and dementia activist Dan Cohen as he enters New York City nursing homes to create personalized iPod music playlists for the women and men who live there. The film tells the story of one man's efforts to design a music program for people socially and geographically disconnected from their communities, chronicling the administrative battles and financial obstacles encountered in advocating culture change in nursing home quality of life. As a film made to amplify the work of Dan Cohen, Alive Inside exemplifies

the power of documentary film to inspire both public dialogue and social change. *Alive Inside* also tells a story of dementia and documents the ability of people with dementia to remember their favorite songs long after they have forgotten how to engage in normative conversation.

The film, which is oriented toward nonacademic audiences, was distributed widely through digital media platforms and has won multiple awards, including the Audience Award at the 2014 Sundance Film Festival. Despite some critiques outlined in this review, we believe this film has relevance within ethnomusicological academic spaces and discussions about music, health, and memory. We coauthor this review as an ethnomusicologist inspired by *Alive Inside* to begin working in facilities certified with Dan Cohen's Music and Memory program and as an ethnomusicologist-physician with fifteen years' experience providing geriatric clinical care in nursing homes.

One of the themes of *Alive Inside* involves the idea that musical skills remain relatively preserved in the context of Alzheimer's disease and other forms of dementia. In the film, viewers learn that people with dementia can remember and sing along with familiar songs long after they have lost the ability to speak and that speech production improves after singing. Current research emerging from health sciences literature reinforces these claims. In fact, people living with dementia can do more than remember familiar songs. Even people who require nursing home care can learn and compose new songs (Allison 2015). In terms of neurobiology, recent studies show that music preservation in Alzheimer's disease has anatomical correlates (preserved brain tissue) and physiological correlates (preserved metabolic activity) but no association with the deposition of amyloid plaques, which are associated with dementia (Jacobsen et al. 2015).

The filmed stories in *Alive Inside* complement outcomes-based dementia research studies by adding enriching experiential layers to the complex relationships between music and dementia. The most well known example from the film involves Henry, his recreation therapist, Yvonne, and his daughter, Cheryl (4:51–11:32). The clip, which went viral on the internet prior to the film's release, shows a catatonic older man coming alive and becoming effusively joyful when he hears familiar songs. Henry's transformation illustrates the ability of film to convey sensory knowledge beyond words. Unfortunate, however, was the editing decision to layer the voice of neurologist Oliver Sacks over Henry's own explanations. The director's choice throughout the film to privilege "expert" voices in explaining the behaviors of the music recipients offers a distressingly accurate acoustic echo of the ways in which physicians and others routinely speak over rather than with people living with dementia. While this narrative approach may have been used to send a clear message to broad public audiences, it nonetheless reproduces problematic hierarchies common in representations of disability.

A visually apparent but understated strength of this film is its depiction of dementia caregiving relationships. As dementia progresses, people become increasingly unable to articulate their needs, and these unmet needs often manifest as anger and frustration. In *Alive Inside*, we see how music can be provided by devoted caregivers in order to address unmet social, emotional, and relational needs. Few of the nursing home residents can put on the headsets themselves. Without someone who cares for them and who has time to recharge the iPod and offer the music, Cohen's Music and Memory project cannot work. Indeed, Henry's recreation therapist is moved to tears recounting how another of her clients expressed joy when listening to the music of her youth (16:00–16:35).

The value of *Alive Inside* lies in the careful portrayal of several lives transformed by access to the music that touches their soul and engages their whole person. Viewers are introduced to people living not only with dementia but also with severe mental illness (Denise, 21:05–24:13) and progressive multiple sclerosis (Steve, 29:52–32:25). In a departure from a realist aesthetic, Michael Rossato-Bennett uses archival stock footage montages to imagine the younger lives of the film's protagonists. The film cuts between these stories, Cohen's struggle to gain traction for his project, and formal interviews with key dementia activists. In contrast to the Food and Drug Administration's careful evaluation of the psychotropic medications that are poured into nursing home residents each day, the personalized playlists that swept across the United States and other parts of the world following the release of the film illustrate how activism can often run ahead of research.

Alongside the success of Music and Memory, the US Congress has increased funding into dementia research, and the National Institutes of Health have begun funding music studies. Three large randomized clinical trials of Music and Memory have been completed or are in progress, although so far they show only modest changes using standardized nursing home datasets (Thomas et al. 2017) but obvious improvements using direct observation (McCreedy et al. 2019). In contrast to this outcomes-centered research, the ethnomusicological literature highlights the relationships formed in the process of creating personalized playlists (Gubner 2018).

Alive Inside functions well as a pedagogical tool in the classroom. In the context of teaching about dementia, aging, or memory, the film provides a glimpse into one type of dementia-care setting: the skilled nursing facility. Beyond Alive Inside, there are other available short films that highlight different aspects of Music and Memory. Jennie Gubner's website includes freely accessible links to student-made films about working in Music and Memory–certified facilities to create playlists for people living with dementia (http://www.jenniegubner.com/student-film-gallery). These short films act as sequels to Alive Inside, emphasizing stories that move beyond a focus on memory and illustrating how students

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can participate in this work. They also shift away from the harmful tendency in *Alive Inside* to highlight dementia facilities as spaces of neglect and abandonment, presenting stories from dementia-care facilities that provide positive and person-centered approaches to care. The University of California, Davis, School of Nursing website also includes a short film about its Music and Memory–based clinical trial. It foregrounds a person with dementia speaking for herself, a daughter explaining the impact of the study on her relationship with her mother, and the principal investigator summarizing the study results (https://health.ucdavis.edu/nursing/Research/distinctions/music and memory.html).

We have both taught from *Alive Inside* but recognize that it will increasingly become a historical piece, one that documents the turning point in the US, when politicians, clinicians, and scientists began to realize something that caregivers and nursing home activities staff have known for decades. Music with personal meaning helps us strengthen and reconnect with our memories, our sense of self, and our relationships.

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Recording Reviews

Silk Butterfly: Yi Ji-young Gayageum Compilation. 2018. AkdangEban, Inc. FSD7498. Performed by Yi Ji-young, Kim Eung-seo, Lee Yong-koo, Lee Tae-baek, Heo Yoon-jeong, Kim Woong-sik, Svetlin Roussev, and William Youn. Six compact discs. Booklet by Yi Ji-young and others in Korean and English, including photographs (75 pp.), English translations by Kim Hee Sun, Ha Ju-Yong, Vanessa Finchum-Sung, and Choi Yoon-jah.

The *gayageum* (twelve-string zither) has been popular throughout Korea and traditional music for centuries for both folk and aristocratic audiences.¹ Due to the versatility of the instrument across musical traditions, there are many variations of the gayageum: the *pungnyu* gayageum (*jeongak* or classical gayageum with slow-playing techniques), the *sanjo* gayageum (for playing sanjo or rapid improvised music with wide vibrato), and the modern gayageum (with additional strings and alterations of tuning and amplification). As the type of instrument depends on the repertoire, this collection features a variety of types of gayageum from each of the three categories. The gayageum is one of the most popular and representative traditional instruments in Korea. Much of its popularity is due to the wide use of the instrument across social classes and genres and over long periods. The gayageum can be used to play some of the most ancient music of Korea and still be one of the most experimental instruments of newly composed avant-garde music. Very few can navigate this complex soundscape as well as Yi Ji-young.

In *Silk Butterfly*, the master gayageum virtuoso Yi brings her extensive knowledge of Korean music and dance to full fruition, exploring the depth and breadth of the instrument's repertoire. Yi is the chair of Korean Music at Seoul National University, where she was previously professor of gayageum studies. Yi began her studies at Seoul National University before receiving her PhD from Ewha Woman's University, where she was awarded the first-ever PhD in gayageum performance. In addition, Yi is an award-winning author, music director, and performer, having performed around the globe extensively as a

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soloist, collaborator, and director of the Gimhae Municipal Gayageum Orchestra. Yi is also an official master of Important Intangible Cultural Property No. 23, gayageum sanjo and *byeongchang*. This résumé, while impressive, is important for stressing the position of Yi in both the preservation and the innovation of gayageum music.

Yi poetically describes her use of butterfly imagery as she explores her journey in mastering the gayageum. As a young student learning gayageum, pansori, and traditional dance, Yi thought that many traditional works seemed "boring" due to the slow tempo; however, these works underwent metamorphosis over her half-century career (booklet 34). Over time and with deep devotion, each note took on new meaning, a process that Yi describes as a pupa emerging as a butterfly (34). The collection likewise journeys through the life cycle of the gayageum repertoire, exploring the process of evolution from the traditional roots of Late Joseon Dynasty chamber music into sanjo music central to the repertoire through the twentieth century and emerging with newly composed music that represents the present and future of gayageum music. The beauty and rich subtlety with which Yi performs reflect her devotion to her art and the repertoire. Yi uses nature metaphors throughout her collection and booklet. This is reflective of natural elements of the instrument itself, including the silk of the strings, the paulownia wood of the body, the sound as it resonates through the body of the listener (35). Through this collection, Yi gracefully transports the listener through space and time. This collection, while consisting primarily of recordings from the past decade, pays tribute to the great gayageum masters Hwang Byung-ki and Yi Mal-ryang and firmly reinforces Yi's status as one of the greatest living masters of the gayageum.

This album features a collaboration with some of the most well respected performers and composers of Korean music, many of whom are also carriers of Important Intangible Cultural Properties. While the first compact disc containing aristocratic music is for solo gayageum, the others all feature accompaniment or collaboration. The second compact disc is an instrumental version of the aristocratic vocal genre gagok and features the daegeum player Kim Eung-seo. Kim Eung-seo was one of the great masters of daegeum and a holder of the Important Intangible Cultural Property No. 20 daegeum jeongak (court and aristocratic music). The third and fourth compact discs on sanjo feature accompaniment by janggu master Lee Tae-baek, official master of Important Intangible Cultural Properties No. 5 pansori accompaniment, No. 72 jindo ssitkimgut, No. 39 ajaeng sanjo, and No. 14 Simcheongga. The fifth compact disc on heoteun garak features an ensemble including Yi and Lee Tae-baek, with the addition of Heo Yoon-jeong on geomungo (official master of Important Intangible Cultural Property No. 16 Han Gap-deuk school geomungo sanjo) and Lee Yong-koo on daegeum (official master of Important Intangible Cultural Property No. 45 daegeum sanjo). The

sixth compact disc on contemporary compositions features Kim Woong-sik on janggu and *jing* (Puri percussion group and Contemporary Music Ensemble of Korea), Svetlin Roussev on violin (concertmaster of the Orchestre de la Suisse Romande and professor at the Conservatoire de Paris), and William Youn on piano (international artist and protégé of the late Lorin Maazel). Likewise, the composers' works selected for this collection also reflect Yi's incredibly high standard.

The first disc of the collection focuses on aristocratic instrumental works, *Yeongsanhoesang* and "Dodeuri." *Yeongsanhoesang* was the music most enjoyed by the Confucian scholars of the Late Joseon Dynasty (late seventeenth to nineteenth century). This work belongs to the genre pungnyu (wind and stream), referring to the music appreciated by scholars as part of the cultivated life and assimilation with nature. *Yeongsanhoesang* is a suite of five to fifteen pieces, with the first account appearing in the fifteenth century and the first notation in the seventeenth century. According to the earliest accounts, *Yeongsanhoesang* was originally Buddhist vocal music that used the first line of the Buddhist sutra *Yeong san hoe sang bulb o sal* (Mass to the Buddha on the spiritual mountain) (Kim Hee Sun 2007). Over time the lyrics were dropped, and purely instrumental versions remained. To appreciate this recording, it would be useful to listen to ensemble versions of *Yeongsanhoesang*.²

Yeongsanhoesang can be performed with a variety of orchestration combinations and is most frequently performed in an ensemble. The three versions are wind instruments, string instruments, and combined wind and string instruments. For this collection, however, Yi performs Yeongsanhoesang as a solo work. This captures the intellectual cultivation of the scholar-musician associated with this piece. Yi describes this by using the traditional idiom *jwageumuseo*, meaning the Confucian scholar would be surrounded by string instruments on the left and books on the right (booklet 37). For the Confucian scholar, self-cultivation of the mind and soul was the primary objective. Through this idiom, we see the preferred tools for such process: books and music. By choosing to record this as a solo work, Yi is placing herself in the seat of the scholar performing for selfcultivation and the listener as a fly on the wall. The rich fullness of the recording gives a sense of the space, allowing the listener to feel the walls around them. The recording is intimate and pure. While Yi expresses her lack of preparation for this recording, the listener perceives it as deeply personal and feels deeply privileged to be invited into this space.

"Dodeuri" gives this same sense of intimacy. "Dodeuri" is considered one of the most basic pieces in the court music tradition; it is often played repeatedly for self-cultivation. Yi shares an anecdote in the booklet that I feel perfectly captures her choice to include the piece in her collection (38). She recounts that a court musician was playing "Dodeuri" on daegeum on a mountaintop. After

each rendition, the musician would put a grain of sand into his shoe, resting off to the side. The player played "Dodeuri" until his shoe was filled with sand and a small plant began to grow from his shoe. In the same way, Yi has spent a half-century with this piece. After years of practice, we are given a glimpse of what has blossomed from this cultivation.

The second disc is the only recording in the set that predates the past decade. This recording was made with the great daegeum jeongak master Kim Eung-seo (1947–2008) while Yi was a PhD student in 1997. Mannyeongjanghwangjigok or gagok is a vocal genre performed by aristocrats and middle-class singers/ poets in the Late Joseon Dynasty. The aristocratic vocal forms gagok, gasa, and sijo descend from the poetic form of sijo, a traditional fixed-form poem first appearing around the sixteenth century (Um Hae-kyung 2007:34). Performance of gagok required a great amount of training and intelligence and therefore was immensely popular among the Confucian literati. The repertoire is divided into songs for male and female singers. There are twenty-five songs for male voice, fourteen for female voice, and one piece that is sung by both. A performance can consist of a few songs from the collection or can consist of the entire collection, which takes upward of three hours. Gagok is the most formal of the aristocratic vocal forms and is usually played by an ensemble consisting of geomungo, gayageum, janggu, daegum, and yanggeum. For this recording, however, Yi and Kim Eung-seo perform without a vocalist. Instead, the instruments follow the melodic line of the sung text, a process that emphasizes the beauty that is characteristic for the genre.

Gagok is about balance and refinement. Intelligence is balanced by artistry; bright tones are balanced by earthy tones; power is balanced by weakness. The idea referred to as eum and yang is very important in gagok. The feminine eum and the masculine yang are represented not only in this contrast between head and chest voice but also in emphasis and musical stress, in long and short rhythms, and in the push and pull of the rhythm. These qualities show give and take, push and pull, and tension and release. While this recording is without vocalist, the choice of the gayageum (a plucked instrument associated with feminine sounds) and the daegeum (a wind instrument associated with masculine sounds) reinforces this balance. Contributing to this balance is the status of the performers as student (Yi Ji-young) and teacher (Kim Eung-seo).

This performance gives incredible insight into the complex balance of the music. By removing the words, the listener is drawn into the timbre and expression of each note. The long, ornate phrases when performed with text require the listener to linger on the words, holding one syllable of text in the mind while waiting for the completion of the word. As a listener well versed in gagok, I found this compact disc of particular interest. The resulting work is strikingly beautiful and complex. I recommend listening to this work along with recordings of gagok

by Kim Yeong-gi, Kim Gyeong-bae, and Jo Sun-ja. Hearing the music with text gives the listener a more subtle appreciation for the masterful performance of this recording.

The third and fourth discs in the collection are different versions of sanjo, one from each of the original schools: Kim Byeong-ho's sanjo in the Kim Changjo style and Seo Gong-cheol's sanjo in the Han Sook-gu style. Sanjo is an organized rhythmic progression of movements performed on a solo instrument with accompaniment by the janggu (played by Lee Tae-baek). Inspired by the popularity of *sinawi* (improvised shaman music) and pansori (narrative storytelling) in the late nineteenth century, sanjo was first developed for the gayageum and was eventually written for other instruments. Over time, the improvisation evolved into a more set form. The sections of sanjo, like those of pansori, are defined by rhythmic cycles called jangdan, which move from the slowest jangdan of jinyangjo to the increasingly faster movements of jungmori, jungjungmori, and jajinmori. Depending on the instrumentation or version of sanjo, there may be additional movements. Unique to the two sanjo presented here is the use of an irregular metered jangdan called *eotmori*. Sanjo requires great skill and technique and takes many years of study to play. A player of sanjo must master not only jangdan (rhythmic cycle) and jo (mode) but also sigimsae (ornamentation) and seongeum (artistic interpretation).

Both of the sanjo performed in this collection are known for being extremely difficult to play due to the difficulty of both right-hand and left-hand techniques, the technical speed of the final sections, and the complexity of the melodic line. The sanjo by Kim Byeong-ho (1910–68) is particularly notorious among gayageum for its difficulty. While Kim's version is relatively short, taking only thirty-five minutes to perform, the required techniques and rhythmic complexity make it a tour de force. Yi gives wonderful insight into this work by recounting her early lessons with Yang Yeon-seop. The left-hand nonghyeon (vibrato-like ornamentation) requires the wrist to move independently from the finger joints in order to achieve the correct sound (booklet 42). This sanjo version draws extensively on vocal pansori music. The melodic lines, even when in the slow sections of jinyangjo, are difficult to play well due to the expressive subtlety. The dedication it takes to master this sanjo has clearly been formative to Yi's playing style. The graceful ornamentation of the jinyangjo shows her expressive depth; the rapid articulation of the hwimori and danmori shows her great skill in articulation and nimble dexterity. There are few moments in Korean more exciting than these final two sections. Lee Tae-baek and Yi are so deeply connected and intertwined as they skillfully dance through this dazzling soundscape that the listener is propelled toward a finish line they hope will never arrive but also yearn for in the face of such intensity. To say this is a skillful rendition is an understatement. It is sublime.

The sanjo of Seo Gong-cheol (1911-82), as previously stated, follows the style of Han Sook-gu. While it is uncertain if Kim Chang-jo's sanjo is the first of the genre, it is clear that more of the gayageum sanjo schools follow this style than they do Han Sook-gu's sanjo. For this reason, Yi decided to include this version in her collection (booklet 45). Seo Gong-cheol's sanjo has an improvisatory quality that gives a sense of transcendence rather than restrained refinement. Yi describes this piece as having a "broad-minded and masculine feel," which adds to the unique character of this sanjo (46). In addition to Seo Gong-cheol's original sections, Yi includes the eotmori and hwimori sections developed by her teacher Gang Jeong-sook (a student of Seo Gong-cheol). These sections add rhythmic complexity in the former and melodic complexity in the latter. By including these sections, Yi pays tribute to the lineage from which she comes. Yi describes this piece "like weeds holding tenaciously to life in a field" (46). As time passes and roots take hold, the piece has new life. Likewise, Seo Gong-cheol used nature metaphors to describe his work, saying, "In jinyangjo, the snow falls; in jungmori, the spring arrives; in jungjungmori, love comes; in jajinmori, one goes through all kinds of emotions [joy, anger, love, and happiness] in life; in hwimori, youth passes; and in *dwipuri*, one reaches his conclusion in life" (46). By including this story along with her notes and including this work in her collection, Yi takes us on her journey through the life cycle of sanjo, a process that is enriched by her years of living with the piece, which has taken root in the soil of her being.

The sound of Seo Gong-cheol's sanjo (disc 4), while recorded, mastered, and mixed in the same studio and by the same crew, is ever so slightly superior to the recording of Kim Byeong-ho's sanjo (disc 3), as it has more warmth and a better sense of space. The *chuimsae* (vocal calls or sounds by the drummer) are clearer and pull the listener into the space. The sound of the instrument is a little fuller and richer. Further, I recommend listening to these two compact discs in reverse order. Seo Gong-cheol's sanjo is a formative work in the creation of many versions of sanjo. The work is a great starting point for those less familiar with gayageum sanjo. The sanjo by Kim Byeong-ho in many ways furthers this conversation and serves as an excellent bridge to the fifth disc.

The fifth compact disc in the collection feels deeply personal. In this disc we have a unique collection of works that Yi has culled from various sources that have permeated her years as a musician and dancer. The first piece is a transcription of *gueum* (wordless songs using vocables) that Yi Ji-young made from recordings of her first teacher, Yi Mal-ryang (1908–2001), also known as Munjeong. Munjeong was well known for being a master of gueum among her peers, and sixty-four cassettes remain of her recordings, on which she sings and plays janggu (booklet 49). These gueum would have been used by Munjeong to accompany dance. Yi Ji-young, inspired by the artistry of her teacher, transcribed

these gueum into a gayageum suite consisting of four sections: "Ginyeombul," "Gutgeori," "Jajeun heoteuntaryeong," and "Neurin heoteuntaryeong." This is unlike anything else in the recorded repertoire for gayageum and incredibly special to this collection. After listening to the previous two compact discs in the collection, we are rather familiar with the feeling of sanjo; this piece follows the same flow from slow to fast tempo. By the second half of the piece, it is nearly impossible for the listener not to be pulled in and find themselves dancing. It was this physical movement that led Yi Ji-young to move the "Gutgeori" to the end of the suite. By the time we arrive at this final rhythm, such a deep groove has already been laid that we have a better understanding of the rhythmic complexity as we build to a feverish finale.

While on the subject of sanjo, I would like to skip ahead to talk about "Heoteun Garak in the Style of Yi Ji-young" (disc 5, track 5). This track is a very special addition to this collection. Heoteun garak, or "scattered melodies," is another word for sanjo. Sanjo is said to be developed rather than written or composed because it is a process one learns from one's teacher by rote over many years. Only after living with sanjo for many years and becoming a master oneself does one develop one's own sanjo. Yi performed this new sanjo in 2011 for the first time. Yi is often seen as a bridge from the old masters to the new generation of gayageum players, and this sanjo shows that same juxtaposition. She begins with an improvised *daseureum*, a very traditional start; yet she plays on the eighth string rather than the tenth, as is typical of all other lineages. This is an immediate signal to the listener. Her sanjo travels through the usual rhythmic jangdan, starting with the slowest jinyangjo and moving through the increasingly fast movements of jungmori, jungjungmori, and danmori; however, Yi adds three irregular metered jangdan before the final danmori jangdan. This breaks rhythmic expectations toward the end, a process that grabs the attention of the listener and pulls them in for the exciting and climactic finish. The melodic material is similarly positioned between tradition and innovation. Yi pulls melodies from various musical sources, such as pansori and shaman ritual. While this process is not in itself innovative, Yi's innovation lies in her setting of the melodic modes, which, while typically in gyemyeonjo, also use ujo and pyeongjo. The resulting work is both satisfying and surprising. I recommend listening to the first tracks of discs 3 and 4 with this track, the shortened versions of Kim Byeong-ho's and Seo Gong-cheol's sanjo works.

Track 2, "Unujijeong," is a love song using the metaphor of clouds and rain to describe the love between a man and a woman. For this piece, the geomungo, gayageum, and janggu are used. While this is a very common combination, the instrumentation works incredibly well for this metaphor due to the extramusical associations with each instrument: geomungo with masculinity, gayageum with femininity, and janggu with the sounds of rain. This piece brings the listener

through the first flirtations as the clouds gather, the light rain as romance develops, the downpour as passion takes over, and the clean renewal after the rain, where love lives.

Tracks 3, 4, and 6 take us through the countryside through shaman ritual, folk song, and dance. Track 3, "Namdo samhyeon," and track 6, "Gayageum gyeonggi daepungnyu," relate to music that accompanies dance and ritual practices, although they are from very disparate parts of Korea. "Namdo samhyeon" is based on jindo ssitkimgut (a shaman ritual for the dead practiced on Jindo Island off the southwest coast). In this ritual, the spirit is guided to heaven by releasing the pain and suffering of life (booklet 49). "Namdo samhyeon" takes place at a point when an offering of wine is made to the dead. Yi beautifully transcribes this piece from the piri (double-reed wind instrument) recording of Gang Han-su playing jindo ssitkimgut. By using this version, Yi can include sections from the old style that are not part of the current form. Yi finishes this track with the addition of "Seongjupuri" to show the representative mode of the southwestern region, gyemyeonjo (50). Track 6, "Gayageum gyeonggi daepungnyu," is also associated with the dance of ritual practices and based on a transcription of wind instruments. "Gyeonggi daepungnyu" is used to accompany seungmu (monk's dance), talchum (mask dance), and shaman ritual in the central and northeastern provinces of Gyeonggi and Hwanghae. While traditionally performed by a wind ensemble of daegeum, piri, haegeum, and janggu, Yi has transcribed this piece for daegeum, gayageum, and janggu. The detached sound of the plucked gayageum adds a strong emphasis and gives new life to the dance rhythms. While an atypical arrangement, the grouping is very successful. Track 4, "Lovely Gutgeori," gives a different sense of folk music. Rather than using music from a single region, "Lovely Gutgeori" uses melodies from various regions that all use the jangdan gutgeori, a rhythm also associated with shaman ritual. Gutgeori is one of the most commonly used jangdan in folk songs across all regions; it is indeed a lovely way to show connection and contrast. The melodies Yi sets are taken from recordings of Munjeong, Yi Mal-ryang ("Daseureum" and "Taryeong") and Seong Geum-yeon ("Gyeonggi daepungnyu"). These are complemented with Yi's own improvisations of "Namdo gutgeori" and "Taepyeongga." This piece is also set for daegeum, gayageum, and janggu. The staccato melody of the gayageum acts as an anchor connecting the varied melodies of the daegeum to the constant rhythmic cycle of the janggu. Yi notes that it became difficult to keep a steady tempo as the work progressed and she was overtaken with excitement (50). The piece has a light, happy quality that makes her excitement quite evident.

Tracks 7 to 10 are related to music associated with military processional music. The first of the series in particular connects to Yi's teenage years and her

awe at first hearing this music at the National Gugak Festival (booklet 53). Upon hearing *daechwita* (military processional music or, literally, the great blowing and striking), Yi was taken aback by the "eccentric timbre [and the] loud and grandiose sound" (53). Track 7, "Gayageum daechwita," is a transcription of the *taepyeongso* (conical double-reed horn) melody of daechwita, a process that sounds daunting, to say the least. The sound is in many ways the exact opposite of the gayageum; however, it was clearly a labor of love. The track is completely unexpected and contains a sweet quality of reminiscence. The gayageum captures the echo of the taepyeongso in the way that the memory of something is not as sharp or clear as the childhood experience. Tracks 8 to 10 are also based on music from military processional music; however, this music is based on a wind ensemble that became popular as a suite of chamber music pieces in the nineteenth century. These pieces are a little more naturally set on gayageum than the previous track and are an excellent conclusion to the disc.

The sixth compact disc in the collection contains works by six different contemporary composers along with their own commentary on the works. On this disc, Yi uses the eighteen-stringed and twenty-five-stringed gayageum for several pieces. Track 1 is "Highwire Act" (2009), by Donald Reid Womack (United States). This piece is energetic and acrobatic as the player tries to balance on the highwire/strings of the gayageum. The imagery of the tightrope walker perfectly captures of the feeling of the piece. The speed and technical difficulty are dazzling, and the audience simultaneously hopes for perfection and fears disaster. Not to spoil the ending, but Yi skillfully navigates the complex rhythmic soundscape.

Tracks 2 through 5 comprise the work "Pieces of the Sky" (2009), by Thomas Osborne (United States). This is a series of four movements based on the poetry of the Spanish writer Federico García Lorca. The movement is based on a fragment of poetry describing the sky: the first movement the moon, the second the sun, the third the stars, and the fourth a rainbow. Each movement is beautifully descriptive and gives a sense of universal connectivity as we are blanketed under one sky viewing the same celestial landscape. Yi plays these very expressively as she navigates the sound and, at times, silence of the work.

Tracks 6 through 8 are all modern interpretations of sanjo: track 6, "Dancing Sanjo I for Gayageum, Violin & Piano" (2008), by Lim June-hee (Korea); track 7, "MU for Sanjo Gayageum" (2009), by Ilryun Chung (Germany); and track 8, "Maehwa sanjo" (2010), by Kim Dae-seong (Korea). "Dancing Sanjo I for Gayageum, Violin & Piano," for gayageum, violin, and piano, uses hwimori jangdan for a theme and variation. Whereas this piece uses the rhythmic sense of sanjo to connect the piece to tradition, "MU for Sanjo Gayageum" focuses on the mode and traditional tuning. Ilryun Chung creates new rhythms set to a

dance-like meter, hence the title "MU" (dance). "Maehwa sanjo" was originally written for the Chinese *guqin* and thus has a different harmonic sound. The instrumental work, which tells the story of a man and woman in love under an apricot tree, uses the tempo structure of sanjo as it builds to a faster final section. None of these three pieces is sanjo in the traditional sense, yet their inclusion shows the influence of sanjo on the process of contemporary composers. Their inclusion adds another layer to the story of sanjo we have been taught through the previous three discs. Track 9 is "Eternal Pine for Gayageum and Janggu Obligato" (2010), by Chou Wen-chung (United States). This piece, while not a sanjo, is an excellent bookend to the previous works. Chou Wen-chung puts the gayageum into the larger setting of East Asian music. By using the pine, an East Asian symbol of eternity, as inspiration, Chou is looking to the future of traditional music and showing that it is strong.

The collection includes a booklet of seventy-five pages and notes in each individual compact disc case. The text is printed in two halves, one Korean and one English. It is important to note that while the translations follow very closely, the images included in the Korean and English texts are slightly different. Whether or not you are going to read the text in both languages, I would recommend thumbing through the other text to enjoy the images included. The last pages of the book have several collages and descriptions of the performances and recording sessions from which the recordings are taken. This final section demonstrates the collaborative nature of such a large project. The English translation of the Korean was expertly done by Kim Hee Sun, Ha Ju-Yong, Vanessa Finchum-Sung, and Choi Yoon-jah, a process that makes the full range of information available to a wide audience. The booklet contains biographical information for each performer along with images. The booklet also gives historical and background information for each of the pieces of music in the collection. For the traditional repertoire, the booklet contains a historical overview that gives context for each. For the final compact disc in the collection, which contains newly composed pieces, each composer has written an introduction to their piece. These entries give great insight into the selection of these pieces for the collection, and it shows the current state of traditional music for gayageum. The information in the individual compact disc booklet is a reprint of the material in the booklet; however, having the text in each compact disc allows for ease of access while listening. This is also helpful if the set is going into a library collection where a listener might not have access to the booklet when listening. Overall, the printed materials for this collection are incredibly helpful and full of information.

This collection is useful for all listeners ranging from novice to expert. For the casual listener, the music offers hours of beautiful and refined playing. Even without knowledge of the instrument or tradition, one can appreciate the

graceful subtlety with which Yi performs. The melodies are pleasing to the ear, and the slow tempos are soothing to the listener. For the expert, the collection offers a depth of listening. The collection is a unique look at a single artist's interpretation over a wide selection of traditional genres. Some of these, such as *Yeongsanheosang*, "Mannyeongjanghwanjigok," and "Gayageum daechwita," are heard in solo rendition rather than ensemble, a performance that allows for a deepened understanding of the work. This collection gives added depth to the history and development of sanjo. Yi includes two versions from different lineages, her own version, and several modern interpretations from contemporary composers. With the help of the liner notes in the booklet, even a novice listener can begin to understand the process and subtlety.

For this reason, I think that *Silk Butterfly* is also a great educational tool. The resources make the complex music very accessible and approachable. I would strongly recommend this for both classroom use and library sound collections. The recording can be useful for adding to conversations on instrumentation, timbre, transposition, and improvisation in a cross-cultural perspective. These compact discs could also be useful as examples of shaman ritual music, newly composed traditional music, cultural preservation, Confucian music traditions, and musical improvisation.

The gayageum is one of the most quintessential sounds of Korean music, and Yi is often considered the most representative gayageum artist. This collection provides a stunning overview of the instrument's expressive range. The recording quality is exceptional. The resonance of the instrument and slowness of tempo can at times feel sparse in the recording; however, the recording does an excellent job of capturing the ringing resonance of live performance. When hearing the music on a good system, the listener is transported into the space of the performer. Compared to other recordings, this project offers incredible quality, depth of experience and knowledge, and subtle artistic beauty. This generous collection, packaged with extensive notes by Yi, feels deeply personal and is a very thoughtfully conceived and introspective collection that goes well beyond an artist's greatest hits. This collection tells the life story of Yi Ji-young. As such, *Silk Butterfly* is a welcome addition to the existing assemblage of gayageum works.

Notes

- While there are many methods of transliteration, I have chosen to use the Revised Romanization (RR) method in order to remain consistent with the liner notes.
- 2. The National Gugak Center's recording A Selection of Korean Traditional Music (Seoul Records SBCD-15649) is a four-compact disc series. The first disc features an ensemble version of Yeongsanheosang. Discs 2 and 4 include other examples of sanjo on a variety of instruments and lineages. Disc 3 contains examples of gagok, gasa, and sijo.

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Parchman Farm: Photographs and Field Recordings, 1947–1959. 2014. Recorded by Alan Lomax, produced by Steven Lance Ledbetter and Nathan Salsburg. Dust-to-Digital DTD-37. Two compact discs. Notes and photographs by Alan Lomax, introduction by Anna Lomax Wood, essay by Bruce Jackson (124 pp.).

Voices of Mississippi: Artists and Musicians Documented by William Ferris. 2018. Recorded by William Ferris, produced by William Ferris, April Ledbetter, and Steven Lance Ledbetter. Dust-to-Digital DTD-53. Three compact discs and one digital video disc. Notes and photographs by William Ferris, essays by Scott Barretta, David Evans, and Tom Rankin (119 pp.).

Much of the documentation, preservation, and dissemination of black folk and roots music in America is attributed to a small fraternity of field researchers working in the South in the mid-twentieth century.¹ Recordings collected in rural southern black communities by folklorists and musicologists of varying degrees of academic authority formed the aural infrastructure of a historiographical project bent toward pinpointing the origins of modern popular music vis-à-vis blues, gospel, and other "vernacular" black American musics. No figure in this history looms larger than Alan Lomax, an archetype of folkloric Americana heroism. Lomax and others are celebrated for rescuing fading cultural folkways from obscurity, if not extinction, and constructing the archive that would define sonic Americanness for at least a couple of generations. With the recent centennial celebration of Lomax's birth, much ethnomusicological energy has been expended on him lately, and with due cause. The invaluable archive that he amassed in both the American South and abroad and the topic of his life's work raise crucial questions for contemporary researchers. Possessing a bit less cultural cachet than Lomax is William Ferris, a Mississippi-born folklorist of the generation that followed, literally, in Lomax's footsteps. Ferris's work is also currently enjoying a celebratory moment, owing in part to a recently curated collection of his work comprising recordings and videos that he captured in 1960s and 1970s Mississippi. The 2018 collection Voices of Mississippi: Artists and Musicians Documented by William Ferris was released on the Atlanta-based archival record label Dust-to-Digital, which in 2014 also produced the most comprehensive and impressive collection of recordings Lomax made at the Mississippi State Penitentiary, entitled *Parchman Farm: Photographs and Field Recordings*, 1947–1959. Both Grammy-nominated releases garnered widespread popular acclaim for Dust-to-Digital among fans of blues, folk, and Americana music, with *Voices of Mississippi* winning two 2018 Grammys for Best Historical Album and Best Liner Notes.

These titles are geographically and ideologically linked, and their joint examination serves as a useful tool in mapping the history and development of folkloric and ethnographic research and recording in the region. They also allow us to unpack the intersection of archival practices within the academy with the commercial production and marketing of archival materials. The music contained on these two releases represents a small but illustrative cross section of the folkloric archive of black American music. These discs collect a range of high-quality recordings, including examples of field hollers and work songs; protoblues forms and conventional and modern blues styles; spoken word toasts and folk tales; spirituals, sanctified church music, and traditional sacred song; folk balladry and fiddle music; and so on. For noncritical listeners and fans, there is great value in the extent to which these collections preserve and present this music as folkloric artifact and evidence. For contemporary scholars, these collections decisively reflect a set of broader theoretical and methodological practices of a community of researchers working in their respective moments. These releases present an assemblage of musical practice understood as definitively black and southern and folk. For scholars today, they beg the question of how and why we define and use these words the way we do.

Dust-to-Digital is one of the more celebrated archival record labels to emerge in recent years, and its catalog is expansive and impressive. Much of the label's output focuses on the roots of American popular and folk music, but it has twice earned the SEM Bruno Nettl Prize for releases that present music from outside the United States: the 2014 release Longing for the Past: The 78 RPM Era in Southeast Asia and the 2017 release Music of Morocco: Recorded by Paul Bowles, 1959. Many of the company's collections feature meticulous high-end packaging and album artwork that employs an attractive vintage aesthetic; the material is often housed in hardcover, cloth-bound books or sturdy hardwood boxes. Much of the label's output includes expansive multimedia elements; both sets discussed here are marketed not only for their musical contents but also for their high-quality reproductions of previously unreleased archival photography and new essays by notable scholars and experts. The Ferris set also includes DVD video content and audio recordings of nonmusical interviews. The label maintains a healthy social media presence, with daily posts relating to American roots music and traditional and folk musics from around the world. With

a stated commitment to preservation and amplification of "hard to find" and "rare" music, Dust-to-Digital also operates a nonprofit called Music Memory that is "dedicated to the preservation of recorded music" by "continuing the work started by the collectors and researchers in the 1950s and 60s." *Parchman Farm* and *Voices of Mississippi* are paradigmatic of these pursuits, thrusting the work of Alan Lomax and William Ferris to the forefront of the current roots music soundscape and making the music of these otherwise little-known musicians available to a new generation of fans and researchers.

Parchman Farm: Photographs and Field Recordings, 1947-1959 is a compilation of recordings Lomax made at the State Penitentiary in Parchman and Lambert, Mississippi in the 1940s and 1950s. (There were two locations subsumed under the single institution known as Parchman Farm.) The facility at Parchman, along with the Louisiana State Penitentiary at Angola and a handful of other carceral locations, was a regular destination for music researchers during this time. Lomax first visited these facilities with his father, John Lomax, and subsequent researchers followed, including Ferris. Parchman was paradigmatic of the notion, espoused by the Lomaxes, that penal incarceration in the early to mid-twentieth century was effectively an extension of plantation slavery. Inmates were forced to perform agricultural and otherwise menial labor under harsh and inhumane conditions that could barely be discerned from those of chattel slavery. Moreover, the forced exile of inmates from society was seen as tantamount to the social death of slavery. This isolation from the outside world drew researchers like the Lomaxes, who saw the potential for an authentic black culture to have thrived behind bars, unsullied by contemporary culture, radio, or white cultural dominance. In this setting, researchers thought they might be able to compare the musical practices of black inmates more closely to the musical practices of slaves, if not African cultures, where the functional relationship between music and labor had already been so thoroughly documented. Lomax's analyses of the music he recorded at Parchman frequently engaged with Herskovitzian theories of African retention, following decades of folkloric epistemology. He relied heavily on conventional notions of cultural isolationism to understand carceral music as a functional communalist practice.

The recordings on this volume comprise three different trips Lomax took in 1947, 1948, and 1959. Of the forty-four tracks, twelve were previously unreleased. The rest were available on various Lomax collections, including a number of Smithsonian Folkways releases and the popular 1958 album *Negro Prison Songs*, released on Tradition Records (TLP1020), along with two volumes of prison songs released by Rounder Records under its Lomax Collection series, among others. All of this material is also available digitally on the website of the Association for Cultural Equity. By Lomax's account, the music comprises work songs, field hollers, and blues sung by prisoners during both work and downtime.

Each of these three genres reflects a specific musical form and function for the musicians. There are solo and ensemble vocal tracks, some fully unaccompanied, some featuring guitar and/or harmonica, and some with rhythmic structure and texture created by the percussive sound of the work that the music is meant to accompany. This is the case with the work songs, wherein sung lines are often spaced and divided into phrased units by the chunk of an ax on wood or a hoe digging into the earth. This collective practice organized the act of labor as a means of safety and productivity; if each singer swung his ax in rhythm, at the same time, injury became less probable, and no one worker could fall behind in the task.

Significantly less rhythmically structured, field hollers are sung by solo unaccompanied voices and reflect a more personal expression, usually of grief, fear, or the desire for freedom. In a short interview following his performance of a holler entitled "The Lucky Song" (track 1, disc 2), inmate Floyd Batts explains that hollers are often sung while working in the field "near quitting time . . . when I get worried about home." Hollers are often rhythmically and metrically fluid, lacking much structure outside of the basic statement of narrative and melodic ideas. The juxtaposition of these seemingly rudimentary work songs and hollers alongside fully realized blues forms, composed twelve-bar or modified sixteen-bar song structures accompanied by guitar and or harmonica, effectively accomplishes Lomax's goal of drawing a historiographical line between these forms. Indeed, with the exception of song structure and the sonic presence of work itself, the generic borders between these three forms can often become quite blurry. This is to say, field hollers, in particular, contain a significant measure of those stylistic signifiers that would soon come to be known as "bluesy," particularly reflecting the basic tonalities and performance practices of the blues as the genre was becoming internationally known. The songs themselves are largely traditional. The collection does not credit authorship, as the performances borrow from a widespread traditional repertoire of work songs such as "Rosie" and "Dollar Mamie," including work and holler settings of folk standards like "Stackalee" and "John Henry," well-known blues songs like "Big Road Blues," new blues compositions built around common tropes of the form, and some scant religious material. Taken as a whole, the collection presents the blues of the inmates right alongside what Lomax understood to be historical precursors to the genre, an idyllic representation of the ahistorical cultural isolationism that undergirded his pursuit of song.

Unlike some earlier releases, Dust-to-Digital has identified most of the singers by name, with the exception of one or two listed as "unidentified" and a handful of ensemble groups identified only as such. In most cases, names are listed with a corresponding nickname or inmate number; a man named Benny Will Richardson is known as "22," W. D. Stewart is known as "Bama." Both

of these men are among a small group that constituted Lomax's most prolific subjects. The collection identifies roughly thirty singers, crediting a dozen or so with repeat performances; Richardson, Stewart, C. B. Cook (also known as "88"), and a few others appear more than twice. Among the many images included in the booklet, there are a few that indicate the process whereby Lomax not only identified and kept up with the singers but also pursued contact for the sake of compensation. One image shows a letter to Lomax from the classification officer at Parchman attempting to aid in tracking down the musicians he had recorded next to a corresponding image of a letter from Lomax to one of the singers (Richardson), informing him he is to be compensated in some way for a song that will be published. The exact nature of compensation is not specified.

The 124-page accompanying book includes a foreword by Lomax himself (culled from the liner notes of the 1958 Tradition release and including material that also appears in his 1970 book The Land Where the Blues Began), a short introduction written by Anna Lomax Wood, and an essay by Bruce Jackson, a folklorist who extensively researched prison music in Texas. Perhaps the most novel and impressive contribution to the collection is the wealth of previously unseen photos included in the book. Reproduced in color and black and white, these include images of inmates and officers, as well as various articles of correspondence between Lomax, prisoners, and prison officials. For anyone who has not studied materials previously only available behind archive doors, these images present an unprecedented view of life on Parchman and an interesting snapshot of Lomax's research methodologies. Images show inmates holding and wielding work implements. We see them at rest in communal dormitories. They are dancing and communing with each other and with visiting family and friends. We also see clearly depicted examples of Lomax's now well-documented and oft-criticized practice of constructing and choreographing performance context, for example, microphones set up next to wood to be chopped for no reason other than capturing the sound of hypothetical work. The few images of inmates at actual work help to articulate the extent to which Lomax's reconstructed work scenes did not effectively relay the sonic spaces that these musicians inhabited as much as they deftly negotiated and embodied the frictions between folkloric and commercial notions of sonic fidelity.

The performances on this collection are powerful, and the quality of the recordings is exceptional with respect to both performance practice and sound production. Lomax, of course, was at the cutting edge of sound technology available to field researchers at the time, and these recordings are some of the most iconic examples of his recording acumen. Acclaimed audio restoration specialist and frequent Dust-to-Digital collaborator Michael Graves crafted these remastered versions, trimming away much of the previously employed postproduction fat, particularly the burdensome reverb from earlier releases.

The resulting sonic experience eschews any attempts to create a virtual studio in the field, allowing the hiss of tape and environmental ambiance to coexist as part of the musical artifact. Any evaluation of the quality of the performances themselves would engage with long-standing indices of value and authenticity for folkloric scholars like Lomax. The presumptive implication that musicians are "untrained" in any conventional sense, producing a musicality unfettered by the conventions of education, has been adequately problematized over the years. While some of the voices are roughhewn in timbre, many of them are clearly skilled interpreters of song, regardless of formal musical education. They often reflect the stylistic effects of the contemporary church and then-current radio, both of which Lomax would have likely avoided in his analysis for the sake of the perceived authenticity of the black southern folk untouched by cultural modernity.

Returning to these recordings now, after conventional notions of authenticity have been so thoroughly problematized within the academy, allows us to reassess the value and sustainability of those discourses that inspired so much of Lomax's work. The authentication of cultural isolation that undergirds much of his output seems to carry little weight for William Ferris, who nevertheless calls Lomax an inspiration and a mentor. Ferris's recordings do little to curate the distinctions and boundaries between different musical forms and the communities that performed them. He welcomed signs of modernity, cross-cultural exchange, and the benefits of education and contact with contemporary popular culture among the musicians he recorded. This represents, perhaps, a more genuine attempt to represent the black southern folk, inasmuch as that construction was still a viable category of American life in the second half of the twentieth century. Voices of Mississippi collects highlights from Ferris's work in the state of Mississippi, mostly recorded in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The release is divided into three compact discs, one of blues recordings, one of religious music, and one of interviews and spoken word entitled "Storytelling." A fourth disc is a DVD containing a collection of Ferris's short films, which, like the "Storytelling" disc, includes a mix of musical and nonmusical folkloric material. Ferris's work in Mississippi was spread across the state, but some of his most well known recordings were made in Leland, Mississippi, with the blues musician James "Son" Thomas; in the North Mississippi Hill Country, working with a community of blues and fife and drum musicians whom Lomax had also previously documented; at Parchman Farm, where he is thought to have recorded some of the last examples of traditional work songs in the region; and in the rural area around his hometown of Vicksburg, Mississippi, where he recorded extensive examples of black church music in various forms.

The musicians featured on this collection reflect the network of ethnographic connections and contacts that Ferris built from his early days growing up on his

family's farm twenty miles southeast of Vicksburg, in the Mississippi Delta. As discussed in the accompanying biographical materials, the Ferris farm, known as Broadacres, was also home to a small community of African Americans who lived and worked on the land. The nature of this living arrangement is not exactly clear. The oppressive sharecropping system that had predominated in the region since the end of Reconstruction was mostly defunct by the time Ferris was a young boy, and all indications point to a generally convivial, if not familial, relationship between the Ferris family and their black residents. But the facts of white landownership and black labor in the rural South position Ferris and his work in an important way and ought not to be overlooked. The relationships he remembers with this community were formative to his ethnographic life; they provided social connections to the community, but they also inspired the essence of his work as it is celebrated. Where Lomax and others of his generation were largely concerned with tracing roots and uncovering evidence of historiographical fact by isolating musical examples, Ferris's simple goal was to listen to the voices around him or, in the parlance of current ethnographic trends, to amplify those voices that would otherwise go unheard.

This approach begat an expansive and diverse recording profile. Ferris's work reveals aural and archival methods that were as open to the relational qualities of musical style as Lomax's isolationist approach was closed. Indeed, Ferris's body of work is exceptional among folkloric field recordings in the extent to which it lays bare the close relationship that "folk cultures" in the American South still have and have always had with popular and commercial culture, belying the folkloric notions of isolationism in which his discipline was conventionally couched. The contributing writers to this project all point out in some form or another that Ferris was not concerned with capturing the fleeting sounds of the past trapped in the current moment. Rather, he enthusiastically recorded music as, to quote David Evans in one of his accompanying essays, "a contemporary expression," accurately capturing the social and cultural contexts of the music in the moment. Whereas Lomax's work would so frequently privilege the archaic sounds of the past, this collection includes plenty of popular and contemporary songs and styles mixed in with examples of musical materials more akin to what we expect in folkloric collections, such as music understood as having been transmitted through strictly oral cultures, or examples of instrumental music that were central to Lomax and others' constructions of African retentions.

Ferris largely recorded musicians in hard-to-reach rural areas and small Delta and Hill Country towns mostly unknown outside of their communities. The few exceptions included a handful of artists who had previously recorded commercially and some who had gained wider recognition after other researchers recorded them, such as Mississippi Fred McDowell, whose late 1950s sessions

with Lomax had already led to a productive career on the blues and folk revival festival circuit. The recordings included in Ferris's collection range widely in performance practice and style, from fully composed, professional-quality blues examples performed by Son Thomas and Fred McDowell to seemingly rudimentary traditions, such as performances by Louis Dotson of Lorman, Mississippi, whose Coke bottle blowing is likened to pan pipes and whose single-string "guitar" nailed to the front wall of his home is frequently compared to African bow traditions. We hear instrumental fiddle music in Tom Dumas's "Cotton Eyed Joe"; a cappella interpretations of popular R&B songs by singers like Walter Lee Hood, an inmate at Parchman whose soulful, high-pitched tenor appears on both the blues and gospel discs; and a rare example of cantefable, or sung story, sung and performed with guitar accompaniment by the songster Scott Dunbar. The "Gospel" disc is equally diverse, featuring examples from different black religious sects, recordings of congregational singing, sanctified music of the Church of God in Christ in Clarksdale, Mississippi, traditional hymnody, gospel quartet, and more. Ferris worked extensively with Fannie Bell Chapman, a charismatic faith healer from Centerville, Mississippi, whose recordings of her own gospel compositions are well known through previous official releases of Ferris's recordings. Ferris collected several recordings at the Rose Hill Church, located less than a mile from his childhood home, where the black families that lived on his family's land attended. The Rose Hill Church recordings include a provocative example of the Reverend Isaac Thomas preaching in a highly emotional, rhythmic style, reaching an intensity that inspires ecstatic participation among his congregation.

The discs are housed in a clothbound box that also includes a hardcover book with plenty of Ferris's ethnographic photographs, as well as family photos of himself and his parents and siblings. Most of the book is filled with long-form annotated track listings that include invaluable transcriptions of all the song lyrics, as well as the "Storytelling" disc content. Sprinkled throughout these transcriptions are a handful of short profiles on the musicians that seem to have been mostly written by Ferris himself, with some transcribed interview material. There are also four short essays on Ferris and his work. A comprehensive introductory essay entitled "In Quest of Southern Voices" by blues historian and sociologist Scott Barretta is mostly biographical, tracing Ferris's early life, his education, and his career. Dwelling on Ferris's childhood at Broadacres and his time spent at Davidson College, the University of Pennsylvania, and Yale, Barretta's telling reveals the many productive tensions that undergird Ferris as a person and as a researcher; between his privileged upbringing and education and his personal connection to the idiosyncratic quirk of southern folkways, between celebrating the quaint and weird rural America and acknowledging the raw precarities of black life in the rural South.

Two essays by musicologist and blues scholar David Evans accompany and introduce the musical compact discs, one simply entitled "Blues" and the other "Gospel." Evans is a contemporary of Ferris: they are of the same fraternity of blues researchers working in Mississippi in the 1960s and 1970s. His essays reveal the line that Ferris walked between presenting this musical material as contemporary expression and historical artifact, mapping out the juxtapositions of traditional practice and the influence of popular culture. At times, his framing reflects some of the historical problems with white folkloric research conducted in black communities during that period, particularly an all too common uncritical framing of the folklorist as explorer discovering cultural artifacts, the heroic song hunter of the folkloric paradigm. The final essay, entitled "The Long and Patient Listening of William Ferris," by Tom Rankin, professor of the practice of art and documentary studies at Duke University, accompanies the "Storytelling" disc and offers a bit of a foil to Evans's framing. Rankin celebrates Ferris's willingness to simply listen to his interlocutors, to let them speak and tell stories without the obstruction of academic directives or overly curative inquiry. Ferris allowed his subjects to speak freely, to unravel their stories, Rankin says, simply with "the act of being there, the patience of his considered listening."

Rankin ends his essay by referencing one of the more provocative moments in the collection. In an interview with the delta blues musician James "Son" Thomas conducted in a cemetery at Yale, Ferris asks Thomas if he thinks anyone will "remember us." Thomas's response evokes issues of class and race that have shaped his experiences over the years and pulls the veil back on one of the central questions surrounding the work of researchers like Ferris and Lomax. He says, "They might remember you, not me." So much of the American music archive has been built around recordings of little-known if not anonymous and often impoverished black artists made by white scholars who would become giants of their field, garnering centennial celebrations and Grammy awards. Research accolades are not necessarily unwarranted, particularly in the case of Lomax and Ferris. Music fans and academics alike are indebted to the work they did in preserving and presenting this music, so much of which would have gone unknown to the broader listening public had they not made these recordings. However, as we analyze the sustained value of these documents and the importance of these sounds to our constructions of what it means, sonically and culturally, to be American, we should focus on the tensions between the celebration of scholarship and the recognition of artists and communities where the scholarship was conducted. Inasmuch as these recordings preserve the sounds of the black southern folk as understood by these scholars, their archival positionality reflects the realities of racial and class injustice and violence that marked the lives of so many of these musicians and artists and that remain in

these communities today. These two releases allow us to address these issues anew as they emerge in the archive, comparing the ways in which folklore and ethnomusicology were shifting into a new era as researchers like Ferris took up the mantle of Lomax and his contemporaries.

Ferris celebrates Lomax, listing him as a mentor and his work as an inspiration. Indeed, the centrality of Lomax's career to the institutions of folklore and music studies broadly construed cannot be overstated. But as the joint examination of these releases shows, Ferris's work belies many of the ideological pitfalls of the Lomaxian era, particularly the exploration of definitively isolated root sources and the heroic, archetypal figure of the researcher as explorer. This is not to say that Ferris's work is immune to the same critical framing that I and other scholars employ to understand Lomax's legacy, as any more comprehensive engagement with his archive would show. Inasmuch as his research methods and archival practices reflect evolving folkloric notions of cultural modernity in that era, specifically a willingness to acknowledge and document a certain generic newness and innovation in the performativity of rural black southerners, they also ought to inform contemporary scholars in the same critical way that Lomax's have. Where Lomax built a career around documenting evidence of retention, mapping sonic pathways back in time, Ferris was fundamentally concerned with a seemingly more democratic amplification of otherwise unheard voices, a privileging of listening over analysis. In this respect, it can be argued that his collections are more attuned to the voices he recorded. As scholars working today, we should take this to heart but also think critically about the basis of the relationships he had with his collaborators and the place of the white scholar in the study of black cultures. These two collections, read and listened against each other, allow scholars to dwell on the legacy of this kind of work. They show how standards and practices of folkloric and musicological fieldwork and analysis evolved through a specific generational shift at midcentury. Analysis of the listening tendencies and archival practices of these researchers reveals fundamental motivations in the construction of the American folk and popular music canon and invites new inquiry for contemporary scholars.

Notes

- 1. This review refers to folk music and folk cultures in the context of the academic field of folklore studies. The scope and length of this document precludes an in-depth discussion of the meanings and values of the term "folk" in the contemporary academy. As my critique implies, however, any scholarly engagement with these materials ought to turn a critical eye and ear toward the ideological bases of what Karl Hagstrom Miller (2010) calls "the folkloric paradigm." See also Filene (2000); Bohlman (1988).
- $2. \ {\rm ``Preservation, '`Dust-to-Digital \ website, \ https://dust-digital.com/preservation/music-memory.}$

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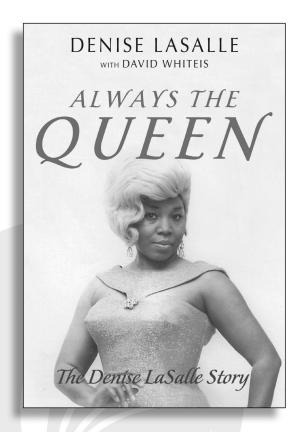
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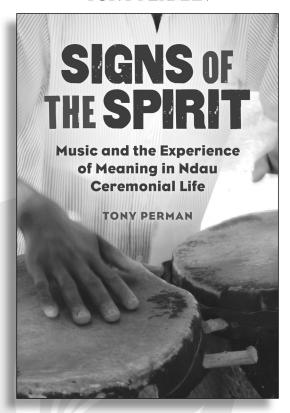
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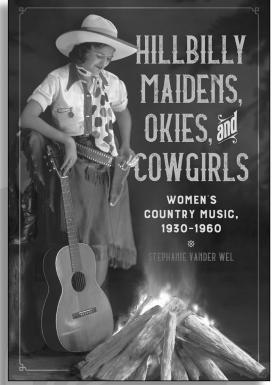


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