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Sumário

Editorial

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Descolonização e musicologia, como isso se encaixa?

Sob esta questão, os pontos de vista individuais da maioria dos autores desta edição podem ser resumidos. As diferentes perspectivas dos autores são definidas por abordagens distintas desse tópico, devido à análise do tempo e às localizações espaciais específicas de cada autor. Seja como for, todos os autores compartilham a opinião de reconhecer estereótipos e estruturas coloniais ao mostrar informações perdidas e/ou transformadas no processo de digitalização, preconceitos internalizados e muitas vezes não refletidos, ou ontologias sonoras ignoradas. Assim sendo, são utilizados métodos da pesquisa de campo tanto presencial como virtual ou híbrida (mistura de ambos os presencial / virtual).

Nossa edição começa com a contribuição de Gisa Jähnichen, que descreve uma reintrodução de padrões coloniais em sua análise de arquivos de internet selecionados e outras fontes digitais sobre instrumentos musicais e coleções de instrumentos. A razão para isso está na simplificação e degeneração do conhecimento realmente disponível no processo de tradução digital.

Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda fornece uma análise histórica multiperspectivas (políticas, religiosas, mitológicas) sobre instrumentos musicais e sua representação em fontes não-institucionais da Internet que refletem sistemas coloniais desde uma perspectiva histórica até a globalização moderna e o universalismo antropocêntrico no Sri Lanka. Ele conclui sua contribuição com um modelo inovador das causas contínuas do nacionalismo cultural e seu impacto nos objetivos educacionais dentro das humanidades.

Ow Wei Chow explora a forma como a Internet está mudando nossa experiência de vida, redesenhando nossa concepção de dimensões de tempo e espaço. Ele sugere aplicar o modo como os budistas lidam com a música, uma vez que pressupõe-se uma compreensão abrangente da filosofia budista. Além disso, ele descreve como esse tipo de construção de sentido pode ser aplicado à pesquisa contemporânea. Sua contribuição pode ser entendida como uma descolonização de nossos sistemas de conhecimento que ainda são dominados por uma visão eurocêntrica.

Nepomuk Riva descreve suas experiências com um método de ensino etnomusicológico no campo da etnografia performativa na Alemanha. Em um processo de escrita criativa, os alunos são convidados a desenvolver uma etnografia fictícia com o objetivo de desconstruir sua imagem sobre a África. O foco está nos estereótipos individuais, que são gerados principalmente pela mídia alemã e filmes internacionais.

Finalmente, o autor aborda o problema sobre como o ensino etnomusicológico pode ser realizado de forma a questionar esses estereótipos coloniais e ideologias racistas.

Uma prática de descolonização baseada na ontologia do animismo é abordada por Matthias Lewy, que mostra como especialistas indígenas da Amazônia reorganizam objetos de museu em arquivos de museus etnográficos na Europa e como esses especialistas interagem performativamente com os objetos. Dessa forma, serve para restaurar uma unidade ontológica de cultura material e imaterial, o que demonstra uma prática de arquivos coloniais históricos. Exemplos mostram como especialistas indígenas se comunicam com os objetos de sua cultura através do canto, o que, por um lado, levou a um objeto sendo apresentado a um público mais amplo, enquanto, por outro lado, a exposição de outro objeto no Humboldt Forum Berlin foi impedida.

Steven Elster revela uma das mais importantes razões da prática analítica eurocêntrica de um dos pais fundadores da musicologia comparativa/etnomusicologia, a qual foi baseada, principalmente, em diferentes tradições perceptivas. O autor utiliza as notações de campo e transcrições musicais de Birdsongs que George Herzog fez durante e após sua viagem de campo aos grupos do Rio Colorado em 1927, e as compara com seus dados obtidos por meio da interação com os especialistas locais atuais. O foco está na questão de por que Herzog parecia limitar suas explorações musicais e não compreendia que a música e a dança deviam ser pensadas como uma unidade nas Birdsongs, um axioma indispensável de uma perspectiva indígena. Elsner mostra que essa percepção de música e dança como elementos separados foi influenciada pelo treinamento musical e acadêmico de Herzog.

De sua perspectiva interna, Timkehet Teffera descreve as celebrações do feriado Buhe da comunidade ortodoxa cristã de Tewahido na Etiópia. O foco está na canção tradicional do menino hoya hoye, que simboliza a incorporação de pastores que podem ser lidos como uma analogia à transfiguração de Jesus na base do Monte Tabor.

Os demais textos dessa edição mostram aspectos da pesquisa atual no Brasil.

A contribuição de Guilherme Leonardo Araújo trata da campanha eleitoral brasileira. Ele usa um método de análise retórica para investigar o jingle "O Brasil feliz de novo" do Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT). O foco está na narrativa das letras do jingle, que interage com os cenários políticos da campanha eleitoral de 2018. Ele supõe que os textos são em grande parte gerados pela emoção através de metáforas.

Hugo Ribeiro publica a primeira parte de uma pesquisa que procura entender quais os principais símbolos musicais e extramusicais são utilizados e/ou percebidos como marcadores de pertencimento à cultura brasileira por bandas e público de Rock e Metal. Ele começa com uma introdução geral à construção do nacionalismo musical brasileiro, simbolizado por padrões de ritmo, melodia e timbre, tanto nos gêneros populares dos séculos XIX e início do século XX, quanto nas músicas de concerto de tradição européia. Em seguida, aborda como algumas bandas de Rock da segunda metade do século XX começaram a se apropriar desses elementos como sinais evidentes de pertencimento. Finalmente, o autor propõe idéias teóricas para a análise etnomusicológica a partir de sua experiência em pesquisa de campo com os grupos de

música tradicional e de Heavy Metal em geral.

Beatriz Magalhães Castro e Daniel Mendes discutem o lugar da música nos espaços urbanos. Suas descrições abrangem considerações históricas, bem como tipologias estéticas, como jardins públicos e privados, o que é particularmente ilustrado pelo jardim de orgânico de Roberto Burle Marx. Além disso, analisa as diferentes narrativas da ocupação dos espaços urbanos, que se tornam reconhecíveis, por exemplo, através da linguagem visual. Finalmente, os desafios de preencher espaços urbanos com música são discutidos.

Por fim, temos o orgulho de anunciar que a Música em Contexto terá dois números anuais a partir de 2019. Aguardamos com expectativa as inúmeras submissões de artigos e convidamos todos a nos ajudar em uma ampla distribuição.

Editorial

Matthias Lewy
Hugo L. Ribeiro

Decolonization and musicology, how does it fit together?

Under this question, the individual points of view of a large number of the authors of this edition can be summarized. The different author's perspectives are defined by distinct approaches to the topic due to specific author's time analysis and space locations. Whatever, all authors share the opinion to recognize colonial stereotypes and structures when showing missing and/or transformed informations in the process of digitalization, internalized and often not reflected prejudices, or ignored sound ontologies. Hereby, methods of the traditional physical as well as the virtual and hybrid (mix of both physical / virtual) field research are used.

Our edition starts with the contribution of Gisa Jähnichen, who describes a reintroduction of colonial patterns in her analysis of selected internet archives and other digital writings on musical instruments and instrument collections. The reason for this lies in the simplification and degeneration of actually available knowledge in the process of digital translation.

Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda provides a historical analysis of multiperspectives (political, religious, mythological) on musical instruments and their representation in non-institutional Internet sources that reflect colonial systems from a historical perspective to modern globalization and anthropocentric universalism in Sri Lanka. He concludes his contribution with a groundbreaking model of the ongoing causes of cultural nationalism and their impact on educational goals within the humanities.

Ow Wei Chow explores how the Internet is changing our life experience by redesigning our conception of time and space dimensions. He suggests to apply the way of Buddhist's handling with music as a comprehensive understanding in Buddhist philosophy is presupposed. Furthermore, he describes how this kind of sense-making can be applied to contemporary research. His contribution can be understood as a decolonization of our still eurocentric dominated knowledge systems.

Nepomuk Riva describes his experiences with an ethnomusicological teaching method in the field of performative ethnography in Germany. In a creative writing process, the students are asked to develop a fictive ethnography with the aim to deconstruct the image of the students about Africa. The focus is on the individual stereotypes, which are mainly generated by German media and international films. Finally, the question of how ethnomusicological teaching can be realized reflecting these colonial stereotypes and racist ideologies.

A decolonization practice based on the ontology of animism is attempted by

Matthias Lewy who shows how indigenous specialists from Amazonia rearrange museum objects in ethnographic museum's archives in Europe and how these specialists performatively interact with the objects. It serves to restore an ontological unity of material and immaterial culture, which demonstrates the historical colonial archive practice. Examples show how indigenous specialists communicate with the objects of their culture through singing, which on the one hand led to an object being presented to a wider audience, while on the other hand a European transformation of an object into an exhibit in the Humboldt Forum Berlin was prevented.

Steven Elster reveals one of the most important reasons for the Eurocentric analysis practice of the founding fathers of comparative musicology/ethnomusicology, which was based primarily on the different perceptual tradition. He compares the field notations and musical transcriptions of Birdsongs that George Herzog made during and after his field trip to the Colorado River groups in 1927 with his data of interaction with today's local specialists. The focus is on the question of why Herzog seemed to limit his musical explorations and understood neither music nor dance in his consideration of Birdsongs as a unity, an indispensable axiom from an indigenous perspective. Elsner shows that this separation is based on the forms of Herzog's musical and academic training.

From her insider perspective, Timkehet Teffera describes the celebrations on the holiday Buhe of the Christian Orthodox Tewahido community in Ethiopia. The focus is on the traditional boy song hoya hoye, which symbolizes the embodiment of shepherds which can be read as an analogy

to Jesus' transfiguration at the foot of Mount Tabor.

Further texts in our edition show aspects of current research in Brazil.

So Guilherme Leonardo Araújo's contribution deals with the Brazilian election campaign. He uses a rhetorical analysis method to investigate the PT (Partido dos Trabalhadores) "O Brasil feliz de novo" jingle. The focus is on the narrative of the jingle lyrics, which interacts with the political scenarios of the election campaign 2018. He assumes that the texts are largely generated by emotion through metaphors.

Hugo Ribeiro publishes the first part of a research that seeks to understand which are the main musical and extramusical symbols used and/or perceived as markers of belonging to Brazilian culture by Rock and Metal bands/audiences. It begins with a general introduction to the construction of Brazilian musical nationalism, symbolized by patterns of rhythm, melody and timbre, both in popular genres of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as well as in concert music of European tradition (classical music). He then discusses how some Rock bands from the second half of the twentieth century began to appropriate these elements as evident signs of belonging. Finally, the author proposes theoretical ideas for the ethnomusicological analysis from his experience in field research with traditional music groups and Heavy Metal in general.

Beatriz Magalhães Castro and Daniel Mendes discusses the place of music in urban spaces. Their descriptions encompass historical considerations as well as aesthetic typologies, such as public and private gardens, which is particularly illustrated by Roberto Burle Marx's organic garden. Furthermore, they analyses the different

narratives of the occupation of urban spaces, which becomes recognizable, for example, through the visual language. Finally, the challenges of filling urban spaces with music are discussed.

Finally we are proud to announce that Música em Contexto will have two annual issues from 2019 onwards. We look forward to numerous submissions of articles and we invite everyone to help us for a broad distribution.

Museum collections of musical instruments and the reproduction of colonizing approaches with digital tools

Gisa Jähnichen

Abstract: Ethnomusicology has a reputation of being an engaged discipline that deals with ethical issues. This engagement is subject to dynamic changes embedded in and expressed through discourses on the quality of its knowledge contribution. This paper is dedicated to the many issues coming with internet archives introducing or explaining musical instruments, which contribute widely to simplifications and degeneration of actually available knowledge. One of the problems resulting from that is the re-introduction of colonizing patterns into the ethnomusicological discourse on musical instruments. This paper aims at showing alternatives to this self-infecting practice of re-colonizing academic writing.

Keywords: Museums. Musical instruments. Decolonizing. Digital representation.

Coleções de instrumentos musicais e a reprodução de abordagens colonizantes com ferramentas digitais

Resumo: A etnomusicologia tem a reputação de ser uma disciplina engajada que lida com questões éticas. Esse engajamento está sujeito a mudanças dinâmicas incorporadas e expressas através de discursos sobre a qualidade de sua contribuição ao saber. Este artigo é dedicado às muitas questões que surgem com os arquivos de Internet voltados à introdução ou explicação de instrumentos musicais, que contribuem amplamente para simplificações e degeneração do conhecimento realmente disponível. Um dos problemas resultantes disso é a reintrodução de padrões colonizadores no discurso etnomusicológico a respeito de instrumentos musicais. Este trabalho também visa mostrar alternativas para essa prática autocontagiante de uma escrita acadêmica recolonizadora.

Palavras-chave: Museus. Instrumentos musicais. Descolonização. Representação digital.

Colecciones de museos de instrumentos musicales y la reproducción de enfoques colonizadores con herramientas digitales

Resumen: La etnomusicología tiene la reputación de ser una disciplina comprometida que se ocupa de cuestiones éticas. Este compromiso está sujeto a cambios dinámicos incorporados y expresados a través de discursos sobre la calidad de su contribución al saber. Este artículo está dedicado a las muchas cuestiones que surgen con los archivos de Internet orientados a la introducción o explicación de instrumentos musicales, que contribuyen ampliamente a simplificaciones y degeneración del conocimiento realmente disponible. Uno de los problemas resultantes de ello es la reintroducción de patrones colonizadores en el discurso etnomusicológico acerca de instrumentos musicales. Este trabajo también pretende mostrar alternativas para esa práctica autocontagente de una escritura académica recolonizadora.

Palabras-clave: Museos. Instrumentos musicales. Descolonización. Representación digital.

Introduction

Ethnomusicology is a discipline being categorized under social sciences and/or humanities. Beyond this, it has a reputation of being an engaged discipline that deals with ethical issues, equality among peoples' cultures, their rights, and their participation in the distribution of wealth in the human world. This engagement is subject to dynamic changes embedded in and expressed through discourses on the quality of its knowledge contribution.

This paper is dedicated to the many issues coming with internet archives introducing or explaining musical instruments and instrument collections. Additionally, there are countless sources about musical instruments in texts other than about musical instruments which contribute widely to simplifications and degeneration of actually available knowledge. One of the problems resulting from that is the re-introduction of colonizing patterns into the ethnomusicological discourse on musical instruments, especially in academic writings that are becoming part of new digital knowledge resources. Decolonizing academic writing in ethnomusicology is not only an urgent demand. It is a necessity in order to sustain as a meaningful way of knowing about music in and as culture.

This paper also aims at showing alternatives to this self-infecting practice of re-colonizing academic writing, particularly in terms of methodology, without limiting the use of internet sources, on the contrary, through making progressively use of it.

Approach and Methods

Shortly before I started to work on this topic, an amazing collection of sharp ideas and provocative texts was published, edited by Francesco Giannattasio and Giovanni Giuriati, called "Perspectives on a 21st Century Comparative Musicology: Ethnomusicology or Transcultural Musicology?" (2017). Not all texts contributed to my enthusiasm, especially those old makeups of already known and rigidly judged approaches to the topic under investigation, narrating the story of the early Berlin School. As if there is nothing new to say about it. The core texts of this collection will be used as a discursive framework of this paper. The central point of it is the re-production of colonizing ideas using internet platforms, which might have been the result of projects dedicated to the de-colonization of ethnomusicology. I want to investigate 3 examples:

1. The Musical Instruments Museum Online (MIMO) platform[1], which inspired the overall topic of this panel;

2. The webpages of the Musical Instrument Museum (MIM[2]) in Phoenix and the Musical Instruments Museum (MiM[3]) in Brussels, in a comparative approach, which are both webpages of museums of musical instruments claiming their uniqueness;

3. The Facebook page of the SEM sub-section on "De-colonizing

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1 Available at <http://www.mimo-international.com>, accessed December 01, 2018.
2 Available at <https://mim.org>, accessed December 01, 2018..
3 Available at <http://www.mim.be/en>, accessed December 01, 2018.

ethnomusicology', especially the posts and comments about the use of musical instruments.

Example 1

The MIMO platform, which inspired the overall topic of this panel starts with:

> *Welcome to the world's largest freely accessible database for information on musical instruments held in public collections. Our database now contains the records of 63631 instruments.[4]*

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4   This is the promise made by the website MIMO. Musical Instruments Museum Online and realized through an exhaustive project at the Philharmonie de Paris in France. The website provides a centralized point of access to information about select instrument collections housed in Europe. Through a series of submenu headlines, the user can access details of the collections in the language(s) of the originating museums. The website invites us to explore some world collections of musical instruments that include large European collections dating back to colonial times. These collections have grown through private enthusiasts working in or about a larger region such as the Royal Museum for Central Africa Tervuren and the Musical Instruments Museum Brussels in Belgium; the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Ethnological Museum Berlin) and the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Germany; the Royal College of Music Museum London and the University of Edinburgh in the United Kingdom; the Museu de la Musica Barcelona in Spain; and the Galleria dell'accademia (Department of Musical Instruments Florence) in Italy. Two co-operative museums in Sweden take part in the project as well: the Scenkonstmuseet Stockholm and The Nydhal Collection Stockholm. In these latter two cases, the focus is more strongly local. Another Scandinavian participant is the Norwegian Museum of Cultural History, Oslo. The largest concentration of collections, however, is contributed by French institutions including the Philharmonie de Paris—Musée De La Musique, Musée du Palais Lascaris (Nice), Musée de L'hospice Comtesse (Lille), Musée Auguste Grasset Varzy, Pôle Accordéons Tulle, Musée des Instruments À Vent La Couture-Boussey, Museon Arlaten (Arles), Musée de la Musique Mécanique

Though the geographical distribution of collections does not necessarily prove a regional focus regarding the collected items, it implies certain philosophies. One is the adoption of historical inconsistencies in the categorization of musical instruments and the overlapping of incompatible classification systems that vary from institution to institution.

There are also distinctions in the amount of descriptive information for each collection, from helpfully detailed to nearly nothing. In the collection of the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Ethnological Museum Berlin), information is often reduced to the pure physical object. The search function is also limited to the nomenclature used in the collections, which can lead to contradictions and a revealing lack of cultural knowledge regarding musical instruments. These inconsistencies are, seen from another perspective, also a source of information about institutional collection history and actual management.

Each institution is briefly introduced through some statistically relevant information (Jähnichen, 2016) such as the number of instruments in the collection, the number of instruments per category, the place they were collected (with inconsistencies such as mixing continents with countries or regions), the date of production, and the names of instrument makers as far as is known. The search function and categories reflect the idiosyncrasies of the cataloguing systems used by the various institutions compiled on MIMO.

Les Gets, Musée des Instruments De Musique L'aigle, Musée de la Lutherie et de L'archèterie (Mirecourt), Musée de la Castre (Cannes), and Musée des Musiques Populaires (Montluçon).

Finally, one might get the impression that little thought was given to the variety of possible users. The website seems more about the state of world collections of musical instruments and about what is considered "world" rather than about musical instruments.

Example 2

The submenu "Geographic Galleries" on the Phoenix's Musical Instrument Museum website, invites the audience with following claim:

> *Enter the Musical Instrument Museum and embark on a musical journey around the globe. MIM's collection is presented in Geographic Galleries that focus on five major world regions. These are:*
> - *The Africa and Middle East Gallery, which displays instruments and artifacts from sub-Saharan, North African, and Middle Eastern nations.*
> - *The Asia and Oceania Gallery, which features instruments from countries and island groups in five sub-galleries devoted to regions of East Asia, South Asia, Southeast Asia, Oceania, and Central Asia and the Caucasus.*
> - *The Europe Gallery, where guests encounter instruments ranging from an antique charter horn and a foot-operated drum kit to a child's vessel flute.*
> - *The Latin America Gallery, which features instruments and ensembles displayed in three sub-galleries: South America, Central America and Mexico, and the Caribbean.*
> - *The United States / Canada Gallery, where guests can observe the diverse array of instruments that shaped the North American musical landscape, including the Appalachian dulcimer, sousaphone, ukulele, and electric guitar. Special exhibits focus on iconic American*

musical-instrument manufacturers such as Martin and Steinway.[5]

The inconsistencies and the flaws are well expressed in each of the named categories. Galleries deal very differently with knowledge and exclusiveness of regions and nations. While in large regions the pure name dropping seems sufficient, in others the mention of curiosities is necessary in order to appear attractive.

Welsch (2017: 32) summarizes his excurse on the three implications of Herder's (1966) writings on culture as following:

> *The classical model of culture is not only descriptively unserviceable, but also normatively dangerous and untenable. What is called for today is a departure from this concept and to think of cultures beyond the contraposition of ownness and foreignness.*

This thought, among others, is crucial in order to understand the many misconceptions spread through museum collections of musical instruments and other classified objects serving a specific purpose of humans.

Thinking further into this direction, Amselle (2017: 238) reasons that

> *fixing and purifying ethnic or cultural identities – thereby removing their mixed nature – specifically resulted from the imposition of a colonial knowledge/power or more broadly, a colonial state. Put differently, cultural identities resulted from the registration, often in the written form, of ethnic, cultural or identity affiliations, notably through the registry office, censuses, …, of identities that until then were flexible.*

It is this flexibility that could be re-established through digital means, yet the

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5   Available at <https://mim.org/galleries/geographic-galleries/>, accessed December 01, 2018.

medial progress is not yet understood as a tool benefitting changes in knowledge processing. What we widely observe is the use of media in order to reinforce already known assumptions.

The official website of Musical Instrument Museum in Brussels makes this thought not less evident.

The Musical Instrument Museum in Belgium is being fully engaged with the visitors' ways of exploration. There is a so called "Instrument of the Months" – activity exhibited online. One instrument of the collection is then introduced in a more detailed way and additional information from early literature and other essential writings or depictions are compiled. This activity suggests that most of the musical instruments in the museum can become the "Instrument of the Months". It suggests further that becoming the "Instrument of the Months" is an achievement of the so called originating region or an ethnically framed community. Objects, in whatever function they appear and among them significantly musical instruments, are obviously often taken as proofs or emblematic tools in fights and defences among contesting groups. The "Instrument of the Months" – activity is amplifying competitive thinking and plays with simplifications though it might have been established as a positivist fact sheet being put up in a website. For June 2018, there was the following information and online exploration available:

"**Wambee**
chordophone

This little stringed instrument from Gabon, located on the Atlantic coast above the Congo, joined the MIM's collection one hundred and fourty years ago.

The wambee (also called ombi or ngwomi) is a typical Central African instrument, with a construction midway between a lute and a harp. The strings, made of fine vegetable fibres, do not run over a neck like the lute or the guitar, but are each attached to a separate bow. The strings are not shortened to change the pitch but each produce a single note like the harp ('open stringed'). In contrast to the harp, the strings run parallel to the soundboard. The bows of the wambee slide into small openings in the back of the wooden sound box. They are further held together by woven fibre threads (Fig. 1). The strings can be tuned by shifting small fibre rings that are tied around the string and the bow. Wambee inv. 0154 has five bows and thus originally had five strings. Today only a few remains of the strings and rings survive. The soundboard of this wambee is a thin wooden board, skilfully knotted to the sound box with fibre threads, an ancient technique subsequently replaced by joining with wooden dowels or metal nails.
Wambee players hold the instrument in a horizontal position, with the bottom of the sound box against the belly and strum the strings with both thumbs and index fingers. A similar playing position can be seen in Fig. 2. The wambee is played by men in the evenings, for a restricted audience, as an accompaniment to stories. The accompaniment on the wambee is usually simple, more rhythmic than melodic. The expertise lies not so much in the technique of playing the instrument, as in the recital by heart of texts full of references to historical names and events. Bow lutes are still played in Central Africa. In the Republic of Congo, for example, the ngomfi is used to accompany dances and songs.
Wambee inv. 0154 is part of one of the MIM's two earliest collections. The instrument comes from the old collection of the Belgian musicographer and then director of the Brussels Conservatoire royal de musique, François-Joseph Fétis (1784-1871). After his death, the collection was sold by his sons Edouard and Adolphe to the Belgian State, who placed it in the Conservatoire, pending the opening of the new Musée instrumental (1877).
François-Joseph Fétis described his entire collection of non-European musical instruments in the first two volumes of his

Histoire de la musique, released in 1869, an ambitious project that - unusually for that time - also included music from outside Europe. In the 1860s and 1870s, African instruments were barely known in Europe. The first music from the African continent could only be heard at the World Exhibitions, which celebrated the latest developments and discoveries in the fields of industry and culture. In 1867 five Arab musicians gave a concert in the 'Tunisian Café ' at the Exposition Universelle in Paris. Gustave Chouquet, first curator of the Musée du

Conservatoire national de musique in Paris, refers, in his report on the musical instruments at the subsequent World Exhibition of Paris in 1878, to the role played by Fétis in the development of the wider interest in and scientific discovery of music from 'foreign' cultures: "Il serait injuste de ne point reconnaître que F.-J. Fétis, and publiant son "Histoire générale de la musique", a donné de l'essor à cette nouvelle branch de notre littérature [ethnomusicology]" […]
Illustrations:
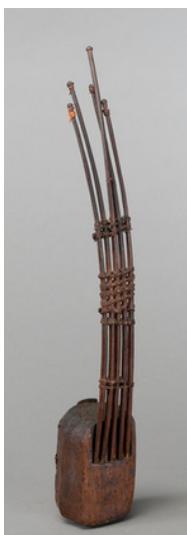
Figure 1

Figure 2a

Figure 2b

Figure 3

Figure 4

Figure 5

Figure 6a

Figure 6b

Fig. 1: Wambee, Seki, Gabon, before 1872. MIM inv. 0154 © Simon Egan
Fig. 2a. Fig. 2b. Playing position wambee. R. Visser. Congo. nr. 41. Musiciens Indogènes [n.d.] (detail)
Fig. 3. F.-J. Fétis, Histoire de la musique, 1869, i, p. 39
Fig. 4. Michael Praetorius, Theatrum Instrumentorum. Syntagma musicum, Wolfenbuttel, 1619, plate XXXI
Fig. 5. Paul Belloni du Chaillu, (1831-1903), Voyages et aventures dans l'Afrique équatoriale: mœurs et coutumes des habitants, Paris, 1863, 163
Fig. 6. Fig 6b: "Le Wambee (n° 154)", in Victor-Charles Mahillon, Catalogue descriptif & analytique du Musée instrumental du Conservatoire royal de musique de Bruxelles, Gent, 1880, p. 193.[6]

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6   Available at <http://www.mim.be/wambee>, , accessed June 21, 2018.

The online user was then able to click on a video example showing a black and white video clip of a black man playing the instrument without further information.

This very clear example of extremely obsolete knowledge surrounding tangible items in an intangible environment of recent culture is often defended with remarkable efforts on various internet platforms and webpages of organisations. This leads directly to the third example.

Example 3

A short excerpt out of a discussion on the SEM Facebook page "Decolonizing Ethnomusicology" gives a good insight into the problems already mentioned. One day, quite recently, the following question and a photo post popped up:

> *"Curious: what is this and where is it from?"*

The following conversation[7] started:

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7   The dialogue repeated here is anonymized in order to protect the participants. However, the platform is publicly accessible by anyone who makes an effort to attend Facebook group pages.

GJ It is quite obvious what it is: A long necked fretless 3-string spike lute, which is possibly played with a wooden pick. Do you need to know who claims an originating culture? If you could get this picture, the instrument cannot be old enough to isolate it in this way. The skin used on the resonance box may give a hint that it is mainland Southeast Asia or East Asia (insular included).

RRR looks like Lahu or Lisu, Northern Thailand. a bit short though so might be a tourist version.

WB Nice. I have one too and always wondered. I lost the bridge, I might try a ukulele bridge or make one eventually.

RRR bridges were a small triangular block of bamboo with notches, nothing fancy. Handmade.

RRR here is the one I sold the MIM in Arizona.

BW almost certainly a chinese sanxian
https://collections.ed.ac.uk/stcecilias/record/96091
"Sanxian ("Three strings") or…

DB This page gives the following names:
Lisu – tseubeu
Black Lahu – saemu
https://goldentriangleinstruments.wordpress.com/strings/banjos/

DB This says it has an iguana skin:
https://www.alamy.com/stock-photo-elderly-lisu-man-shows-off-simple-stringed-banjo-like-musical-instrument-32302611.html

RRR *seen them with iguana skin, python skin, with open back and semi closed back. thanks for finding the names DB.*

DB *You are better at identifying really rare instruments than I am--I had never heard of this one before.*

GJ *Dear DB, they are only rare to those who do not know them ;) . Those who have them and play them occasionally do not think of them as rare. Also, Lisu and Lahu are not the only playing them, I have seen people who were labeled Lolo, Akha, Day, Thai-deng, Thai-dam and a number of others, using very similar instruments (all around the areas I mentioned). Those people travel and get in contact with others and they also instruct carpenters and instrument makers in tourist areas to make them in bigger numbers, using different material and good looking... So, the ethnic label does not really fit. Now, this is an instrument that people buy and sell everywhere in the world. Some of them believe in labels (they actually buy the label in a way, too). I enjoy that these instruments are still used in very*

different contexts, that people are really creative with them. And it is not relevant from where these people are. It is only this "belonging-discussion" that makes it complicated.

Coming back to the framework of this paper taken from the article compilation made by Giannattasio & Giuriati (2017), the current discussion is the continuation of Herder's (1966) concept of culture with digital means. One may suspect that, already at the time, Herder wrote his "Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind" in the late 18th century, there were uttered critical remarks yet they were overrun by Herder's comfortable support of nation building and cultural racism. Welsch (2017: 34) notes that

It comes to light here just how fatal the outcome of recourses to the old concept of culture can be. The old cultural notion of inner homogeneity and outer delimitation engenders chauvinism and cultural fundamentalism.

Conclusion

The platforms offering knowledge on musical instruments vary broadly. However, they also exhibit a quite uniform set of methods:

- Regional classifications re-introducing simplifications such as "Kulturkreise" or even the concept of culture as defined by Herder.

Regionalism is not at all automatically ineffective. Ineffective and therefore objected is the methodical implication that regional features may be based on social similarities and need, therefore, reconstructed identities. This part of regionally rooted authenticism is

perpetuated through Study Groups, circles of scholars and friends, specific academic communities, and a number of preservation movements supporting regionalism or its preceding ethnicism. Many of the represented museums are only dedicated towards an exclusive geographic territory that is equalled with specific ethnic groups, the nation, or a specific region. This is nothing wrong yet the reasoning of collections exclusively based on the principle of its physical presence within a physical space in order to claim a type of ownership is questionable and socially dividing. Summarizing the observations discussed and the results, there can be stated that museum collections of musical instruments face the following problems:

- Fragmented object-related features such as the focus on measurements.

- This approach is the most wide spread way of rationalizing a musical instrument. Numbers, measurements, the amount of strings, frets, finger holes, keys, reeds or tongues, are object of contesting claims leading to a similar questionable result of explaining ethnic or regional achievements.

- Descriptive approaches to the unknown history of the musical instruments, musicians, and communities supposed to be the originators – using of outdated literature or facts that were not sufficiently confirmed and regardless of further historical changes in the peoples social reality.

- This point might be the worst since it is just one of many observations of historical blindness towards changes

among living beings, their relationships, their capabilities, their sensitivities and their willingness to transform.

Websites and discussions using social media show a new quality of communication among humans, about humans, about other beings, about any type of objects, and about human relationships towards these objects. The border between showing and explaining blurs, the way of thinking is rather associative and underlying. Nevertheless, the way of gaining knowledge is not really changed and the way how knowledge is generated and distributed is just amplifying patterns already known through earlier practices (Jähnichen, 2018). One pattern is a colonizing approach to anything unfamiliar, of which categorizing systems are only one small part. Taxonomies, descriptive tools, methodologies in general, are always coming with judgements and institutionalised morals. Fighting these judgements is part of the decolonizing movement among ethnomusicologists and anthropologists. Surprisingly, this fight re-introduces judgmental behaviour towards human communication. Some may think that the internet of information flows or things may open up to a more democratic or diverse use of knowledge. Surprisingly, it is also suggesting an average appearance and compromising distinctiveness. The main problem is not the radicalism in the ideas about indigeneity, feminism, decolonizing, or deconstruction. The problem is that the radicalism is not radical enough. When embracing all these ways of generating a kind of knowledge as part of the human history, one may come to the point to question basic methods far more consistently and less judgementally. I think that this could help find more appropriate solutions for an

Musical instruments in local taxonomies: the case of sri lankan string instruments as perceived through internet sources

Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda

Abstract: As a mainstream Buddhist country since 300 BC Sri Lankan clergy did for a long time period not permit string instruments as Buddhist sources said listening or playing vina (lute) may cause rebirth and hinder the way to Nirvana. Nevertheless, Hindu philosophy does promote string instruments through pictures and statues of gods and goddesses. It is interesting to look at how musical instruments were categorized in Hindu and Buddhist cultures of India and Sri Lanka throughout the history until today as the guiding role of educated clergymen decreased and the globalized Internet offers other musical instruments being used or modified for many previously unknown purposes. This research aims at a historical analysis of musical instruments used in Sri Lanka seen through different perspectives such as political, religious, or mythological views. The way how they are currently presented in mostly non-institutional internet sources is included. The value system that promotes string instruments as a sign of musical development forms the background of reflections in Internet applications dealing with musical instruments. One example is the promotion of the ravanhatta, a bowed spike fiddle, which is inaccurately presented as the "first violin" of the world. Through interviews with music teachers and people who provide Internet services, the phenomenon of this multi-layered problem can be clearly addressed. In result, an alternative view on musical instruments used in Sri Lankan culture will be provided.

Keywords: Knowledge cultures. Online resources. Musical instruments. Sri Lanka. Ravanhatta.

Instrumentos musicais em taxonomias locais: o caso dos instrumentos de cordas do Sri Lanka como percebidos através de fontes da internet

Resumo: Sendo um país predominantemente budista desde 300 A.C., durante muito tempo o clero do Sri Lanka não permitiu instrumentos de cordas, pois fontes budistas disseram que ouvir ou tocar vina (alaúde) poderia causar renascimento e atrapalhar o caminho para o Nirvana. No entanto, a filosofia hindu promove instrumentos de cordas através de imagens e estátuas de deuses e deusas. É interessante observar como os instrumentos musicais foram categorizados nas culturas hindu e budista da Índia e do Sri Lanka ao longo da história até hoje, à medida que diminuiu o papel orientador dos clérigos e a internet globalizada oferece outros instrumentos musicais que são utilizados ou modificados para muitos propósitos até então desconhecidos. Esta pesquisa visa uma análise histórica dos instrumentos musicais utilizados no Sri Lanka, vistos através de diferentes perspectivas, como visões políticas, religiosas ou mitológicas. Também foi inclusa a maneira como eles são atualmente apresentados em fontes de Internet não institucionais. O sistema de valores que promove instrumentos de cordas como um sinal de desenvolvimento musical forma o pano de fundo de reflexões em requerimentos de internet que lidam com instrumentos musicais. Um exemplo é a promoção do ravanhatta, uma espécie de rabeca (violino), que é imprecisamente apresentado como o "primeiro violino" do mundo. Por meio de entrevistas com professores de música e pessoas que fornecem serviços de internet, a complexidade deste problema pode ser claramente abordado. Como resultado, será oferecida uma visão alternativa dos instrumentos musicais usados na cultura do Sri Lanka.

Palavras-chave: Culturas de conhecimento. Recursos on-line. Instrumentos musicais. Sri Lanka. Ravanhatta.

Instrumentos musicales en taxonomías locales: el caso de los instrumentos de cuerda srilanqueses según se perciben a través de fuentes de Internet

Resumen: Como un país budista tradicional desde el año 300 a. C., el clero de Sri Lanka no permitió los instrumentos de cuerda durante mucho tiempo, ya que las fuentes budistas dijeron que escuchar o tocar vina (laúd) puede provocar el renacimiento y dificultar el camino hacia el Nirvana. Sin embargo, la filosofía hindú promueve instrumentos de cuerda a través de imágenes y el estado de los dioses y diosas. Es interesante observar cómo se clasificaron los instrumentos musicales en las culturas hindú y budista de la India y Sri Lanka a lo largo de la historia hasta el día de hoy, a medida que el papel de guía de los clérigos educados disminuía y el internet globalizado ofrece otros instrumentos musicales que se están utilizando o modificando para muchos desconocidos. fines Esta investigación apunta a un análisis histórico de los instrumentos musicales utilizados en Sri Lanka vistos desde diferentes perspectivas, tales como puntos de vista políticos, religiosos o mitológicos. Se incluye la forma en que se presentan actualmente en las fuentes de Internet en su mayoría no institucionales. El sistema de valores que promueve los instrumentos de cuerda como un signo del desarrollo musical constituye el fondo de las reflexiones en las aplicaciones de Internet relacionadas con los instrumentos musicales. Un ejemplo es la promoción de la ravanhatta, un violín con púas en arco, que se presenta de manera inexacta como el "primer violín" del mundo. Entrevistas con profesores de música y personas que brindan servicios de Internet, se puede abordar claramente el fenómeno de este problema de múltiples capas. Como resultado, se proporcionará una visión alternativa de los instrumentos musicales utilizados en la cultura de Sri Lanka.

Palabras-clave: Culturas del conocimiento. Recursos en línea. Instrumentos musicales. Sri Lanka. Ravanhatta.

Introduction

Ethnomusicology is a discipline being categorized under social sciences and/or humanities. Beyond this, it has a reputation of being an engaged discipline that deals with ethical issues, equality among people's cultures, their rights, and their participation in the distribution of wealth in the human world. This engagement is subject to dynamic changes embedded in and expressed through discourses on the quality of its knowledge contribution.

This paper will be dedicated to the many issues coming with online contributions introducing or explaining a specific musical instrument, the *ravanhatta*. The discussion aims at showing alternatives to a self-infecting practice of re-colonizing academic writing, particularly in terms of methodology, without limiting the use of internet sources, on the contrary, through making progressively use of it.

Background

Sri Lanka is a mainstream Buddhist country since 300 BC, according to some historical sources. Referring to the oral tradition and cannons of Theravada Buddhism, the Buddhist clergy did not permit string instruments, as listening or playing the *vina* (lute) may cause rebirth and hinder the way to Nirvana. Neverthless, Hindu philosophy does promote string instruments through pictures and statues of gods and goddesses. It is interesting to look at what are the musical instruments and how they were categorized in Hindu and Buddhist cultures in India and Sri Lanka as the guiding role of

educated clergymen decreased and the globalised internet offers manifold other or new musical instruments being used or modified for many previously unknown purposes.

This paper delivers a historical analysis of musical instruments used in Sri Lanka seen through different perspectives such as political, religious, or mythological views on musical instruments and how they are currently presented in mostly non-institutional Internet sources. String instruments in general play an important role insofar as they are widely propagated as a symbol of musical development. The value system shaping the background of this idea is also reflected in Internet applications dealing with musical instruments. One example is the promotion of the *ravanhatta*, a bowed spike fiddle, which is supposedly the 'first violin' of the world.

Through discussions with music teachers and people who provide Internet services, the phenomenon of this multi-layered problem involving various colonizing systems from early history up to modern globalizing and anthropocentric universalism can be clearly addressed. In result, alternative views on musical instruments used in Sri Lankan culture and their widely accessible online representation will be made understandable.

In Hindu religious and philosophical views, singing and playing instruments hold very important place in many ways. In the Bhakti marga[1] of Hinduism, dedication of everything to God and ultimate attainment of God by the devotee is the highest form of

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1   Approach to salvation by way of ardent devotion to a deity.

moksha[2] (Hubele, 2008: 18-19). The depictions of musical instruments with deities and related stories found in religious texts and practices imply the importance of music instruments to the people of Hindu culture in many aspects. For example, the singing, playing and dancing to the God is treated as a means to generate love and passion for God.

Various art forms of Hindu god portrayals such as sculpture, paintings, reliefs, and engravings contain music instruments held by the deities symbolizing Hindu religious and philosophical views for example Goddess Saraswati is the divine patroness of Arts and Eloquence and she holds an Indian lute "Vina" symbolizing art in general (See Fig. 1). Lord Shiva, 'the destroyer', holds a *damaru* (a drum) which is played during the cosmic dissolution. The god Vishnu holds a conch and his incarnation Vishnu plays a flute.

All dance forms within the Buddhist cultural framework in Sri Lanka are based on drumming, and therefore percussive music plays an important role in the musical tradition of Sri Lanka. In the reign of King Valagamba (103 BC), the Mahayana Buddhist practices included "panchaturya" (five types of music instruments) orchestra which has not been well-regarded in Theravada Buddhist practices. The first reference about panchaturya is available in the "Vansatthappakasini" (7th century) commentary on Mahāvamsa.

Mahāvamsa (6th century AD) is the Pali chronicle that seems to provide the very first reference about turya vadana (playing of musical instruments) in Sri Lankan history. It says that on the day king Vijaya reached Sri Lanka in 543 BC there was a marriage

ceremony along with instrumental music and singing. It also mentions that singing and dance were included in the occasion of a rite held for the sake of the two demon deities (Chittaraja and Kalavela), with the patronage of King Pandukabhaya[3]. These information is related to non-Buddhist practices before the arrival of Buddhism in Sri Lanka. Another reference to music is found in the Samantapasadika (a commentary on the Vinaya Pitaka by the monk Buddhaghosha, Takagusu & Nagai, 1930), which refers to the Talavachara turya vadana group sponsored by king Devanam Piyatissa (250 BC to 210 BC) for the purpose of stimulating the warriors during military activities and make public salutations to the administrative power.

A prose mentioned the categorization of the five as atata, vitata, atatavitata, susira and ghana. According to this classification atata means a drum with one head made of skin; vitata means a drum with two skin heads; atatavitata means an instrument with strings and skin heads; susira means wind instruments and ghana means metallic instruments such as a cymbals, which produce sound by striking one against another.

In spite of such a way of pali prose, the oral tradition of traditional music and dance in Sri Lanka emphasizes a different explanation about these five terms as follows:

- Atata means an instrument which is played by hands. For example drums like panabera (yak bera), patahabera, dakki, udakki, raban and bummadi;

- Vitata means an instrument which is played with a stick, such as tammattam and dandubera;

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2   Freedom from rebirth.

3   According to Mahāvamsa, the king Pandukabhaya lived during the 5th century BC.

- Vitataatata (not atatavitata) which means an instrument played by hand and with a stick, such as dawla and maha dawla (a cylindrical drum);

- Ghana is a metallic instrument, such as a talampata, taliya, panteruwa, atminiya, kaitalam, ghantha;

- Susira means wind instruments such as horanawa (oboe), hakgediya (conch). Flute, kombu, dalahan, vaskulal.

The Sri Lankan oral tradition of music doesn't show any particular category in which string instruments can be included. Theravada Buddhism condemned Indian *vina* (lute) as an instrument which increases desire and filth in the mind and obstacles to acquire Nirvana. The Buddhist literature 'Samantapasadika' describes *vina* (lute) as a lust-provoking instrument (Takagusu &

Nagai, 1930). As a whole, the Theravada concept does not encourage sensual arts like singing, playing and dancing. The Buddhist clergy, which constituted the main literati of the country, declined to allow the performance of music and dance in general, which were treated as activities to be shunned by the monks and even by the devout laymen. Buddhism has no codification of any data pertaining to music and dancing in its worship. Even the chanting of Buddhist Sutras should strictly be non-musical, and such steps were considered necessary to maintain the purity of Buddhist discipline and orthodoxy of the temple. The *vina* was considered as the main musical instrument in India and the term *vina* was used to signify the whole chordophone family. For this reason, the Buddhist clergy in Sri Lanka might not have accepted to accommodate the *vina* or any string instrument as an instrument of panchaturya.

Figure 1: Left - Goddess Saraswati, Hindu Temple at Village Lele, Katmandu Valley, Nepal, playing a string instrument. Right - This statue of Krishna playing the flute can be found on Kathmandu's Pachali Ghat, along the Bagmati River. (Photos courtesy of Paul Smit and Mick Palarczyk, open source[4].

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4   Open source material: - https://paulsmit.smugmug.com/Features/Asia/Kathmandu-Valley-sculptures/

1	Bharatamuni's Natya Shastra (200 AD) instruments are categorized into four groups	- Tat – string - Avanaddha – membrane - Ghana – solid - Susira – wind
2	Some musicologists in India have divided musical instruments into three classes	- Tata - Vitata - Tatavitata
3	Sangeet Damodar (15th century)	- Tata - Sushira - Avanaddha - Ghana
4	Narada (Sangeeth Makaranda, 9th century)	- Nail - Blow - Skin - Metal - Body
5	Narada (Sangeeth Makaranda, 9th century)	- Leather - String - Solid
6	Sangeeth Sudhakar by Haripala	- Sushira - Tata - Vitata - Ghana
7	…. By Kohala	- Sushira - Ghana - Charma - Tantri
8	Panchaturya classification mentioned in Mahāvaṃsa (5th Century AD) in Sri Lanka	- Atata – one skin headed drum - Vitata – two skin headed drum - Atata-vitata – skin headed and stringed instrument - Sushira – Wind instruments - Ghana – Metallic instruments
9	Panchaturya classification in Sri Lankan oral tradition (initiated among upcountry musicians) in Sri Lanka	- Atata – Drums played by hands - Vitata – Drums played by a stick - Vitatata – Drums played by one hand and a stick - Ghana – Metalic instruments - Sushira – Wind instruments

Figure 2: Overview on academic and common classifications of musical instruments used in Sri Lanka (compilation by the author).
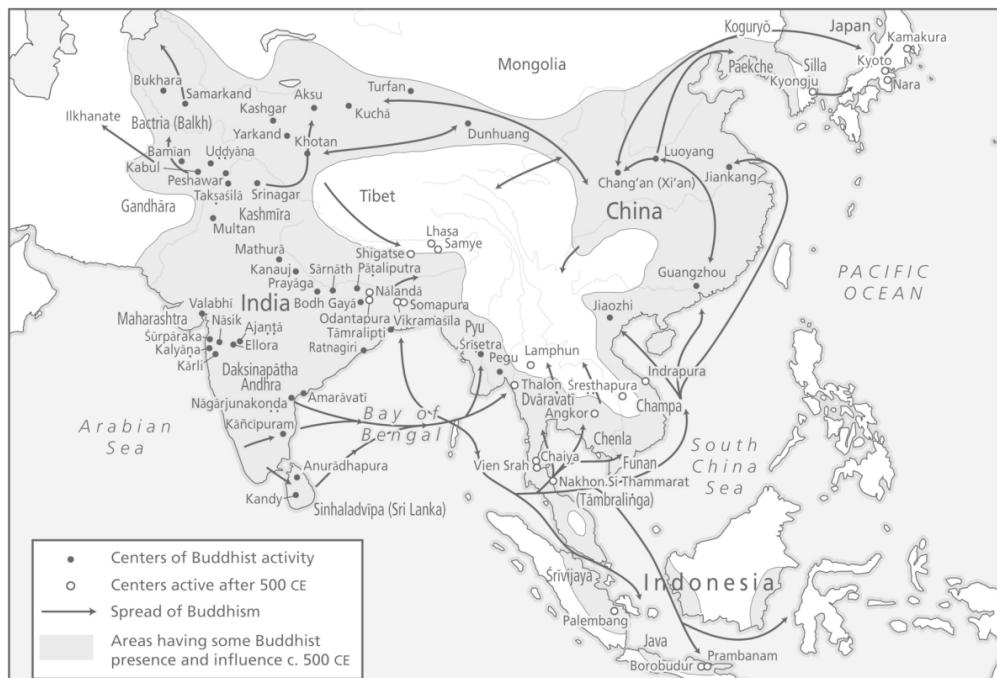
Figure 3: Map showing ways of spreading Buddhism in Asia[5]

Kulathilaka (1991) stated that Theravada Buddhist canons have largely influenced music preferences of Sri Lanka. The music is considered as lust provoking mean of entertainment and therefore Buddhist clergy avoided music practices and preached laymen to avoid such practices as much as they can. With the gradual influence of Mahayanist in Sri Lanka, the Buddhist authority gave license for lavish festivities and ceremonies as part of the rituals, and was therefore favorable to the life-style of the kings. This was succeeded by the privilege to the kings to stabilize their political position. Sanskrit, being the language of Mahayanism, received scholarly status even in Buddhist monasteries, where Bhikkhus themselves indulged in Mahayanic festivals. Sri Lankan authors plucked up rudimentary forms from

Indian musical texts to make their literature attractive, and due to their Sanskrit learning, they had contact with the Indian literature. Accordingly, we can guess that this classification of instruments was borrowed by Sri Lankan authors from Sanskrit musical texts in India, and it was gradually developed by professional musicians according to the musical instruments which were available and permitted in the Sri Lankan society. One can infer that instrumental music, which was already present in Sri Lankan rituals and various ceremonies before and after the advent of Buddhism, has been categorized by the native scholars or learned musicians, who adapted the indological system to make it easy to classify every instrument into five units. It is assumable that the 5th categorization (Figure 2) is rather a localized

5   According to Sen, Tansen (2015). The spread of Buddhism. In B. Kedar & M. Wiesner-Hanks (Eds.), *The Cambridge World History* (The Cambridge World History, pp. 447-480). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

way which has been developed through practicing musicians who knew better about the music instruments used in Sri Lanka and how they were played.

Herath and Gajaweera (2015:274) finds that murals in Buddhist temples in Sri Lanka are important source to find out some aspects of unwritten history of art and culture in Sri Lanka. They observe that only the local music instruments were depicted on the murals that were built before 19 century and the later depictions includes Western music instruments which includes stringed music instruments as well.

According to Bor (1986: 43), the first reference for the *Ravanahasta* can be found in Paumachariyu (880 AD) authored by Svayambhudeva who mentions that Ravana has created an instrument that is called in Apabramsa as *ravanhattaya* to please the Naga king Dharanendra. However, there is no further description found in that book about *ravanhatta*. Bor (1986) has done a comprehensive study on Sarangi, and he included his survey on *ravanhatta* with a few

references in Indic literature. According to him, Ramabhadrambha (early 17th century) mentions that the *ravanhatta* is played for classical music by female musicians in the court of Tanjore despite many Sanskrit authors (Vemabhupala Charitam, 1910) have devalued this instrument considering it as folk and beggars' music instrument. For the first time, Nanyadeva has mentioned *ravanhatta* as a musical bow and it were confirmed by Bartholomaeus Siegenbalg (1711) in his chapter about the music of Malabar. Bor (1986: 45) quotes Pierre Sonnerat (1782) who says, based on legends

> the Pandarons (Pandaram), a type of monk of which there are many, play to accompany themselves on a kind of violin called ravanastron. It was given this name because the giant Ravanen king of the island of Ceylon, invented it nearly five thousand years ago.

However, there is no reference which says that the *ravanhatta*, which was played by Ravana, was a bowed instrument and what repertoire was played.

Figure 4: The author demonstrating a ravanhatta constructed by lecturers at the University of Visual and Performing Arts, Colombo. (Photo courtesy of Gisa Jähnichen, 2018).

Discussion: Digital Media with Analog Content

There are a few websites providing some information on musical instruments emphasizing their belonging to the people living in Sri Lanka. The first reference on a music instrument that belongs to Sri Lanka is the *ravanhatta* which is mentioned in the Ramayana, the epic story supposedly written by Valmiki. Among the average population, the *ravanhatta* is considered to be the first violin and said to be played by Ravana, the mythological king who lived in Sri Lanka. It is not entirely clear when the Ramayana was actually written, by whom and where was the Lanka island that is mentioned there. Some of writings include historical information in order to prove that the *ravanhatta* is the oldest violin and its origin is Sri Lanka and Ravana's use. But, why it is important to say so and why some Sri Lankan citizens are proud to showcase this idea on internet platforms is not yet discussed.

The most influenced and influential online source about *ravanhatta* is Wikipedia.org which displays the physical structure, history and modern use of *ravanhatta*. The references given in Wikipedia has become the core online literature in this case by providing authority for the statements regarding origin and cultural belonging. Most prominently Edward Heron-Allen's book published in 1885 is referred which mentions *ravanhatta* as the ancestor of the violin. One of Wikipedian authors of *ravanhatta* ironically mentions that "Arab traders brought the *ravanastron* from India to the Near East, where it provided the basic model for the Arab rebab" though Edward writes it just opposite "some authors has

supposed that *Ravanastron* was introduced into India by Mohammedans; if this had been the case it would be most likely bear some resemblance to the Arabian and Persian instruments …" (Edward, 1885: 39). Edward uses three written sources for gathering information i.e. Engle (1874), Sonnerat (1782), and Fetis (1869).

In 2013, a Sri Lankan newspaper called Sunday Times[6] released an article titled "Sri Lanka's Ravanahatha is the world's first violin" which is also available online. This article is widely copied in number of websites which are mostly nationally relevant. The sentence "Sir Christopher Ondaatje investigated the origin of the Violin and discovers it all started in Sri Lanka" is widely used to attract general public and to show up the historical legacy to Sri Lankans and prominently to the non-Sri Lankans. It is Dinesh Subasinghe who promoted *ravanhatta* in Sri Lanka by appearing in TV programs and Sri Lankan and Indian newspapers. According to the newspaper article called Indian Express[7], Mr Dinesh Subasinghe introduced *ravanhatta* to the former Sri Lankan president Mahinda Rajapaksa. Subsequently, the president has offered him a scholarship to study music at the A. R. Rahman's KM Music Conservatory in Chennai, India. Subasinghe has gained his popularity in Sri Lanka through Internet sources, television and radio channels and newspaper articles after releasing a music

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6   Published in June 02, 2013. Available at <http://www.sundaytimes.lk/130602/plus/sri-lankas-ravanahatha-is-the-worlds-first-violin-46908.html>, accessed December 02, 2018.

7   Published in February 07, 2011. Available at <http://www.newindianexpress.com/entertainment/tamil/2011/feb/07/a-musical-instrument-played-by-ravana-himself-225517.html>, accessed December 02, 2018.

album of instrumental pieces of popular songs played on *ravanhatta*.

Figure 5: Essential view of the Wikipedia page on Ravanahatha [*ravanhatta*].

Figure 6: Subasinghe with President Pajapaksa discussing the meaning of the instrument for the culture of Sri Lanka.

His music records were widely sold and, by March 2015 as an newspaper article mentions, "Dinesh Subasinghe has set a record by creating the highest selling instrumental music compact disc (CD) titled 'Rawan Naada' in Sri Lanka"[8].

The recent web article "ravanhatta of bards and villains" written by Leora Pezarkar (2017) is a compilation of previous information available online. It provides incomplete bibliographical information to justify the statements. The website is about stories in India as if the author attempts to persuade the readers that *ravanhatta* is rather Indian than Sri Lankan by simply mentioning "However, there is no historical record of such an instrument ever existing in Sri Lanaka". Most of the text is about the stories of *ravanhatta* in an Indian context.

Now, considering all the misinformation, speculation, and twisting with conservative colonial classification systems coming from India and the West, the questions remaining in order to evaluate any online content regarding this topic are:

- What is said about instrumental music in Sri Lanka?

- What is said about the origin of the instrument in question?

- How is this claim supported?

- Is the visual support convincing?

- What is the main goal to have put this information in the context of a website?
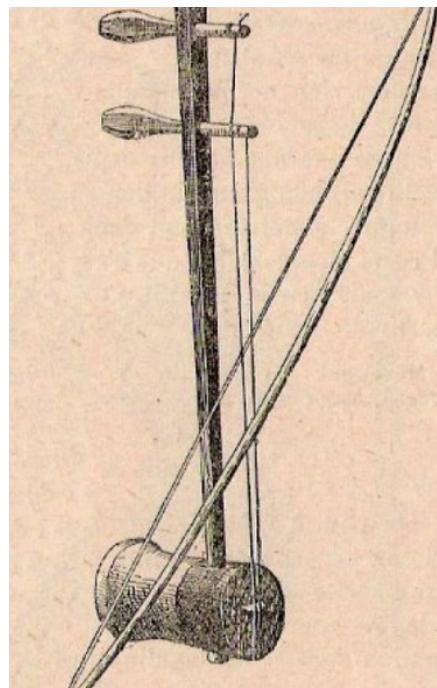
Figure 7: Illustration of the article by Pezarkar (2017)[9].

Conclusion

The main reason for inventing a history and a cultural belonging is a questionable national pride in specific achievements. The colonial period in Sri Lanka ended long time ago, however, the way how cultural features of powerful colonizers were admired and appropriated among the upper layers of the society has still an impact on dealing with a limited awareness for regional culture and nationhood.

The perception of the *ravanhatta* is a good example to show the difficulties that come with an introvert understanding of the culture within a modern nation. The following scheme on Figure 8 can illustrate the ways of thinking.

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8   Published at the Sunday Times newspaper in March 08, 2015. Available at <http://www.sundaytimes.lk/150308/magazine/dinesh-records-highest-sale-for-an-instrumental-139029.html>, accessed December 02, 2018.

9   Available at <https://www.livehistoryindia.com/snapshort-histories/2017/12/20/ravanhatta---of-bards-villains>, accessed December 02, 2018.
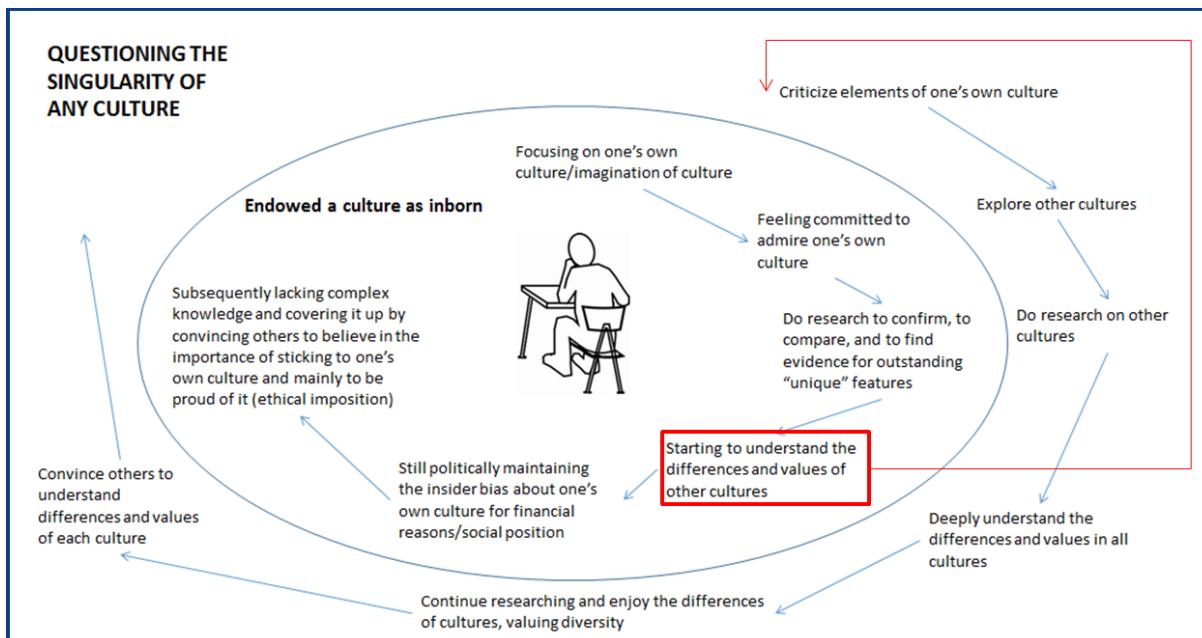
Figure 8: Scheme of perpetuating reasons for cultural nationalism and the subsequent impact on educational goals within humanities.

In the end, when the turning point of understanding differences becomes productive, the singularity of cultures must be questioned. If all cultural achievements are a result of giving them meaning in different ways, the single origin must be finally limited to some very few elements within an entity. This applies on big nations as well as on small musical instruments. The example of the *ravanhatta* shows the necessity of dynamic meanings within a large region and, in contrast, the effect of misinformation through short sighted policy making. In this context the following questions have to be raised:

- We have to explain why true facts are not popular compared to the made up stories and why scholars are obviously not "grounded" enough in order to reach out.

- Also, what do we suggest in order to make a difference in the future and by using digital media?

So far, digital media work for misinformation or perpetuation of nationalistic and also for progressive goals. On the one hand, they help to re-produce colonial thinking and self-colonizing life patterns. On the other hand, they also become evidences for these issues, so that they will be discussed. The future has to use digital media on a higher level of understanding and scholars have to be among the first in revealing the true technological forces of those media for the benefit of a better distribution of knowledge. Therefore, there is no end of thinking in a larger vision.

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Singing with things in ethnographic museum's archives: the reunification of material/immaterial units as part of an engaged ethnomusicology

Matthias Lewy

Abstract: This articles shows in a first step how the separation of ontological units of material and immaterial entities were destroyed by the colonial collection practice. Therefore, the idea of an "collective" (Descola 2013) as a notion extension of culture is used, including ontologically relevant human and nonhuman interactions. In a second step, recent projects are presented showing what collective thinking means when dealing with interactions between "cultures of origin" and European ethnographic museums. Furthermore, results from my long-term project realized with the AreTauKa Pemón indigenous people (Venezuela/Brazil/Guyana) and the ongoing cooperation with the "sharing knowledge" project of the Ethnographic Museum Berlin Dahlem are discussed, aiming to reveal ideas and strategies to reunite relevant entities of sound and physical objects as ontological units

Keywords: Indigenous Music. Material/Immaterial Culture. Museum. Engaged Ethnomusicology.

Cantando com coisas em arquivos de museus etnográficos: a reunificação de unidades materiais/imateriais como parte de uma etnomusicologia engajada

Resumo: Este artigo mostra, em um primeiro momento, como a separação de unidades ontológicas de entidades materiais e imateriais foi destruída pela prática da coleta colonial. Portanto, a ideia de um "coletivo" (Descola, Latour) como uma noção de extensão da cultura é usada, incluindo interações humanas e não humanas ontologicamente relevantes. Em um segundo momento foram apresentados projetos recentes mostrando o que significa pensamento coletivo em cooperações entre a chamada "cultura de origem" e os museus etnográficos europeus. Além disso, são discutidos os resultados do meu projeto de longa duração realizado com o povo indígena Pemón AreTauKa (Venezuela / Brasil / Guiana) e a cooperação contínua com o projeto "compartilhar saberes" do Museu Etnográfico Berlin Dahlem, com o objetivo de revelar ideias e estratégias para reunir entidades relevantes de objetos sonoros e físicos às suas unidades ontológicas.

Palavras-chave: Música Indígena. Cultura material/imaterial. Museu. Etnomusicologia Engajada.

Cantando con cosas en archivos de museos etnográficos: la reunificación de unidades materiales / inmateriales como parte de una etnomusicología comprometida

Resumen: Este artículo muestra, en un primer momento, cómo la separación de unidades ontológicas de entidades materiales e inmateriales fue destruida por la práctica de la colecta colonial. Por lo tanto, la idea de un "colectivo" (Descola, Latour) como una noción de extensión de la cultura es usada, incluyendo interacciones humanas y no humanas ontológicamente relevantes. En un segundo momento, se presentaron proyectos recientes mostrando lo que significa pensamiento colectivo en cooperaciones entre la llamada "cultura de origen" y los museos etnográficos europeos. Además, los resultados de mi proyecto a largo plazo realizado con el pueblo indígena AreTauKa Pemón (Venezuela / Brasil / Guyana) y la cooperación continua con el proyecto "compartir conocimientos" del Museo Etnográfico Berlin Dahlem serán considerados, con el objetivo de revelar ideas y estrategias para reunir entidades relevantes de objetos sonoros y físicos a sus unidades ontológicas.

Palabras-clave: Música Indígena. Cultura material/inmaterial. Museo. Etnomusicología Engajada.

Introduction - The Purification of Ethnographica

The classical archives of European ethnographic museums have grown historically. It can be stated that theoretical preconceptions about the world led human beings as "Western scientists" create categories and perspectives about human beings, their objects and their ideas. The most common categories of classifications of objects are typologies defined by geographical zones, created *ethnies* (Said 1978), the names of collectors, or the object's functions (arrows, bows, musical recordings, etc.).

These classifications ignore ontological units of cultural and collectively relevant entities. Such entities can be understood and translated in a Western way as all taxonomically and axiomatically (Menezes Bastos 1999) relevant things that have agency (Gell 1998), including material and immaterial objects. The term "collective" refers to Philippe Descola's (2013) concept of including all human and nonhuman entities. Thus, the term is more part of Amerindian ontologies than of Western thinking, in which "culture" is primarily a notion of the human's world while "nature" is the area of nonhuman beings.

European ethnographic museum's archives are in a dilemma as their stored objects reflect "human cultures", but, due to a "modern" point of view, these objects are parts of a culturalized "nature". Here, the term 'culturalized' means the process of transforming "natural" entities (bamboo, palm leaves, palm fruits, cotton) into cultural objects as they are proceeded by human

hands. Such transformed "natural" objects are understood as representations of one or more cultural groups or communities. Thus, the Western idea was – and still is – to possess such cultural representations aiming to create general or multi-perspective concepts of culture by comparison (intra-, inter-, trans-cultural or cross cultural). However, the accumulation of objects as "cultural representations" contradicts the idea of a controlled transformation or production of hybrids in most indigenous ontologies. The term "hybrid" refers here to the idea of transforming an entity, creating a new or other form of its body and giving space to other interiorities (e.g. souls or spirits) as well. In Pemón ontology for example, a bamboo plant which is transformed into a bamboo dance stick will have another body form. This bamboo dance stick gives space to another soul than its own one as well. For instance, the *piasán* (shaman) transports the *yekatón* (soul) of a human being after liberating this soul from bad spirits inside of the bamboo dance stick. Other productions of hybrids will be discussed more detailed below.

The history of archiving in European ethnographic museums can be described as it bests with the concept of Bruno Latour (1993: 10), who defines an ontological basis in concern of the relations between nonhuman and human beings and the sets of practices of the "modern" people, saying that while the first set is "translation" creating "mixtures between entirely new types of beings, hybrids of nature and culture", the second one is "purification". This purification is characterized by the mentioned ontological zones: "that of human beings on the one hand; that of nonhumans on the other" (ibid.). Furthermore he considered a

"Great divide" theory between the "modern" and the "premodern" when writing:

> What link is there between the work of translation or mediation and that of purification? This is the question on which I should like to shed light. My hypothesis - which remains too crude - is that the second has made the first possible: the more we forbid ourselves to conceive of hybrids, the more possible their interbreeding becomes - such is the paradox of the moderns, which the exceptional situation in which we find ourselves today allows us finally to grasp. The second question has to do with premoderns, with the other types of culture. My hypothesis – once again too simple – is that by devoting themselves to conceiving of hybrids, the other cultures have excluded their proliferation. (Latour 1993: 12)

When adapting Latour's paradox of the "modern" to the Ethnographic museum's world than it can be stated that the immense collection of hybrids of other types of "cultures" and their collective entities provokes conflicts of interests in museum's practice. The separation of Latour's "human" and "nonhuman" entities by purification means the separation of the human or humanized (Lambos in Lewy 2017a) soul from its body, which is the "physical object" in a museum's archive. To be fair, this non-reflected indigenous ontological bias allows no other option to relativists or "modern anthropologists". From their perspective, there was and there is no certain interiority of an object as it is mainly perceived as an "indigenous belief" that has to be "respected" in a relativist perspective. Anyway, relativism in that sense opens the way for several ontologically motivated practices. These are shown by means of actual projects encompassing the interaction between indigenous specialists and ethnographic museums in Europe.

The material/immaterial dichotomy has to be considered, when dealing with sound and music as entities in relation to other entities. In Western thinking sound in general is categorized as an immaterial entity in sense of non-physical objects. In opposite to that ontocentric category I would like to present three different qualities of indigenous alternatives. First, sound itself is seen as material like Menezes Bastos states:

> This position has acquired a particular relevance in so far as my main object of investigation has been the acoustic-musical universe, seen as 'intangible' and even 'immaterial' in the West, in sharp contrast to the ideas of Amerindian peoples, for whom sound is as material as stones are for us. (Menezes Bastos 2013: 292)

A second alternative refers to Tomlinson's metonymical concept, revealing the Aztec's thinking about sound, when noting: "It is not a question of songs being like flowers but simply of songs being flowers" (Tomlinson 2007: 75).

The first and second categories will not be discussed here since the focus is on the third category. It emphasis on the mereological meaning of sound embedded in its material/immaterial ontological unit in indigenous thinking. The initial point is the purified "state of the art", with other words, due to the actual situation, entities have to be reconsidered, re-contextualized and finally reunited into their ontological units. This reunification is realized by indigenous specialists by song and dance performance.

The ontological unit

But what is this ontological unit that was purified? I suggest that in the moment of generating trans-specific interactions between several entities of the collective, alliances of particular entities are necessary. "Purification" means that the systematic disarrangement of ontological network interactions is produced by "collecting and classifying things", like: feathers to feathers, arrows to arrows, musical instruments to musical instruments, etc.

Otherwise, museum's policy and worldviews have changed over the last decade. In a recent article published by the indigenous Mitú Gaudencio Moreno Muñoz and María Morera Muñoz together with the museum's curator Richard Haas, the authors report on a workshop held in the Ethnographic Museum Berlin/Dahlem in 2014. The indigenous specialists selected several objects with "particular importance" during the workshop. These objects were presented at the conference later (Haas, Muñoz & Muñoz 2018: 140). When looking at the objects and the reasons for their mentioned "particular importance" the ontological unit becomes visible and hearable. The selected objects were: *bastón* (stick), *tabaquera* (tabaco folk), *piedra de cuarzo* (quartz stone), *corona del danzador* (dance crown) and a *maracá del payé* (shaman rattle).

The authors refer to a myth explaining the reasons for this selection. Anyway, it can be observed that musical instruments like the rattle as well as so called "non-musical" objects as the *tabaquera*, the quartz stone and the dance crown were chosen by the indigenous specialists. In relation to the

selection of the quartz stone the authors note:

> *A very special object is the quartz stone. During the workshop the discussion was held, if it is allowed to work with this piece, since quartz stones are considered as living objects. Diana Guzmán explained in the workshop that the payé speaks directly with the owners of the stones. That is why quartz is sacred. The stone has energy with which he heals. But it can also cause bad things. All stones are sacred because they have life. The sacred can not be touched because it can produce disease. That is why only the payé can use them as Orlando Villegas commented. He [the payé] is constantly talking to the stones and he gives them tobacco. He permanently dialogues with the spirit (Haas, Muñoz & Muñoz 2018: 143).[1]*

Furthermore, the authors explain that they asked the quartz stone for permission to be presented to the audience of the conference. But before Gaudencio and Maria start to give any explanations about the stone they performed a song, which is part of a satiric Kotiria dance (Haas, Muñoz & Muñoz 2018: 143).

In a related video, a television team filmed parts of the workshop and a similar interaction can be observed. Gaudencio

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1   Un objeto muy especial es la piedra de cuarzo. Durante el taller se había establecido la discusión, si estaba permitido trabajar con esta pieza, ya que las piedras de cuarzo se consideran como objetos vivos. El payé, como Diana Guzmán explicaba en el taller, habla directamente con los dueños de las piedras. Por eso el cuarzo es sagrado. La piedra tiene energía y atravás de ella se cura. Pero también se puede causar mal con ella. Todas las piedras son sagradas porque tienen vida. Lo sagrado no se puede tocar porque puede producir enfermedad. Por eso, como comentaba Orlando Villegas, únicamente el payé las puede usar. Èl permanentemente está conversando con las piedras y les echa tabaco. Dialoga permanentemente con el espíritu.

shows a mask in a showcase saying "… it is a butterfly, Kuwai sings it[2]". After telling to the camera that a gourd as musical instrument is missing, he starts to sing again.

This first example shows that indigenous specialists often start to sing and to do performances in ethnographic archives, aiming to interact with the object itself to reunite the ontological unit of the collective. Tho following examples bases on my own research with AreTauKa[3] Pemón specialists from the border region between Venezuela, Brazil and Germany.

The sharing knowledge project

The "sharing knowledge" project is headed by Andrea Scholz and funded by the Volkswagen Stiftung (Volkswagen Foundation) and the Kulturstiftung des Bundes (German Federal Cultural Foundation in Germany). The main instrument is a data base which is located in the world wide web. Here, indigenous people as well as selected academics can see and leave comments to pictures and documentations of objects stored in the museum. A registration is necessary and an administrator decides who can participate[4].

The concept bases on the idea to supplement data to existing museum's collections by indigenous people. Furthermore, indigenous people can receive an overview of things which are stored in the archive. The inputs of object data are realized by researchers and indigenous people, who can upload relevant new data and comments.

The ethnologist Andrea Scholz began her work of cooperation with the Universidad de los Indigenas de Caura in Venezuela. There, young indigenous students of the Yekuana and AreTauKa Pemón groups do research about their traditions and indigenous knowledge. Therefore, they study the literature about their culture. They do field research in their communities, mainly with older specialists. The University of Caura has a computer room, but technical and financial problems make work almost impossible. The political situation in Venezuela as well as the poorly functioning Internet are other obstacles. So the Indigenous students have to take care of their livelihood or have already left the country[5].

In the beginning of 2018, I started to be part of the "sharing knowledge" platform. I work with indigenous specialists in the region around Santa Elena in the south of Venezuela for more than 15 years. Thus, I tried to advertise the platform between my indigenous neighbors, but only a few have a computer, laptop or tablet.

In this respect, most interactions takes place in my house in Santa Elena. My longtime teachers come in and together we look at the

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2   […*este es Mariposa, eso lo canta Kuwai*]. Kuwai is mythical figure mainly known among Arawak groups. He is related to sound interaction in trans-specific communications (Wright 2017). This video is available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tYJJWcBIOLQ>, time 21:23 until 21:28, accessed 8 December, 2018

3   AreTauKa refers to the three groups: Arekuna, Taurepán and Kamarakto. They live in the border region between Northern Brazil (Roraima federal state), Venezuela (Gran Sabana, Canaima National Park) and Guiana. The designation was recently changed from "Pemón" to "Aretauka" by the indigenous people. "Pemón" means "human being". The term was introduced by the catholic missionaries.

4   Available at <https://hldwtp.schedar.uberspace.de/>, accessed December 5, 2018.

5   Personal Communication with Andrea Scholz in 2018.

objects or hear the recently uploaded wax cylinders of Koch-Grünberg, which we have been working on for years (Lewy 2017a).

One of my teachers is Balbina Lambós. She is a Kamarakota from Kamarata. Her mother was Arekuna and she was Capitána in the indigenous community of Canaima which is located in the Gran Sabana in Venezuela. Balbina has a very special interest in the AreTauKa traditions and knowledge. Together we try to find adequate forms to transmit that knowledge inside and outside the indigenous communities. It must be considered that indigenous traditional knowledge is mainly sacred knowledge in particular when dealing with sound (Lewy 2017a).

Several problems and doubts appeared when starting to work with the platform. The missing of physical objects and the work with photos and fragmented information on catalogue sheets leads to a field of perspectives and associations.

Part of the project was an invitation to Berlin in October 2018. Balbina and I traveled from Venezuela and Brazil to Germany to participate in a conference and to work in the archive with the objects. These work helped to understand the mentioned doubts and problems up to a certain level. It needs to be underlined that the most important point for Balbina was the possibility to interact with the objects. Thus, Balbina focussed namely on dance and singing performances in the museum's archive.

Kamayin, Waronká or both?

Before addressing Balbina's interaction with the physical object, an example about the difficulties when working with a data bank in

the field is discussed. The separation of ontological units produces ambivalences and difficulties. As an example let's use the object number VA 60904 (fig. 1, 2). In the data bank it is titled "Trompeta de madera-Pemón" (wooden trumpet-Pemón).

On the head part of figure 2 the catalogue number is noted on the left side as well as the information that the object consists of two pieces (2 Stck.). On the right side the numbers 67/12 refer to the year the object was acquired by the museum (1912). Above the object drawing the length of 106 cm is noted. The object drawing includes the human figure and the cotton threads. Under that drawing a description in German can be found, saying: "tube made of wood with raw, reddish brown livery, Ambauva[6] dance tube, front top part in form of a human figure, painted red and with cotton threads… [unreadable]"[7]

On the right side the file number can be found (German: Akten No.). Below that, the name of the ethnical group "Makuxí" is crossed out, only "Taulipáng" was left. Furthermore, the date 1st of September 2014 was written as well as a note in Spanish language: "U.IV. Estudiante Pemón" (Indigenous University Venezuela, Pemón Student). Under that note it can be transcribed: "Pemón, Arekuna, waronka=bambú. Tukuipok manunon datai tetunpasen." The text is translated into Spanish: "Se utiliza en el momento del baile Tuküik" (It is used at the moment of Tuküik dance)". Other notes on the sheets are the name of the collector Koch-Grünberg and the process of acquisition (German: Geber),

6   (Cecropia sp.)
7   Röhre aus Holz mit roher, rotbrauner Bemalung, Ambauva-Tanztute, vorn Aufsatz in Form einer Menschenfigur, rot bemalt und mit Gehänge aus Baumwoll[troddeln?]… [unlesbar].

saying that it was bought (German: Kauf). There is a short description in German from 1995 referring to the fact that the object is badly damaged followed by unreadable information. Finally, there is the information on the left side: "Material Tokorodek Chipödek".
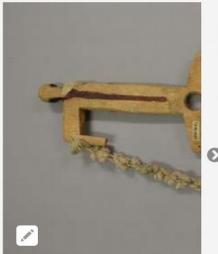
Figure 1: Kamadén, VA 60904, Ethnologisches Museum Dahlem, Sammlung Koch-Grünberg
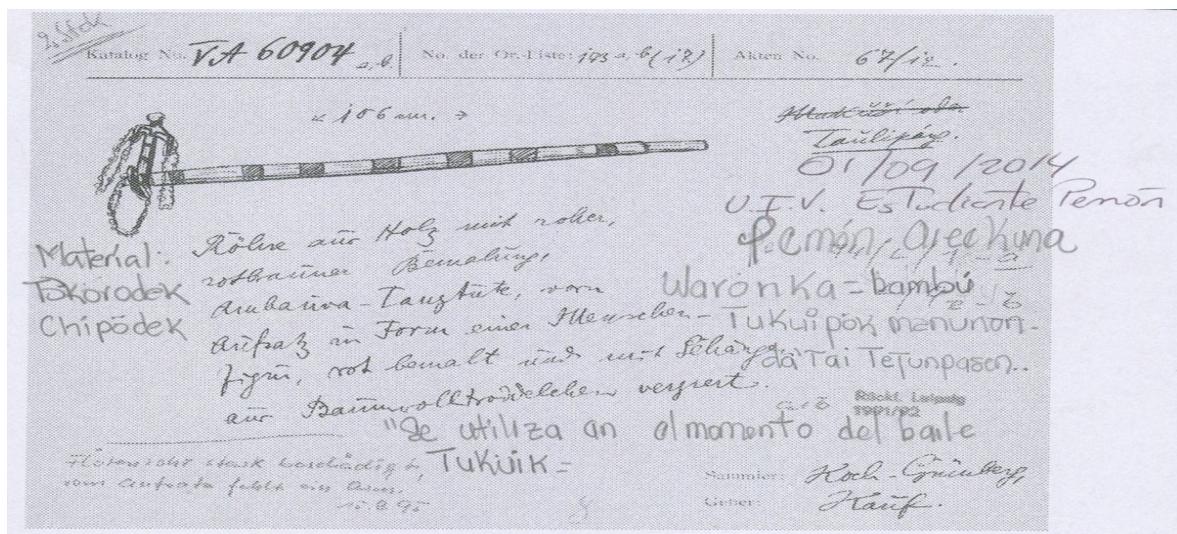
Figure 2: Catalogue Sheet

After talking to Andrea Scholz it can be stated that an Arekuna Pemon student of the UIV has written on the sheet at the 1st of September in 2014. His name is Wilmer Sucre. He is 27 years old and from the community Kavanayén (about 130 km from my place of residence). During his visit to the museum in 2014 he wrote on the catalogue sheet. It is the reason why Makuxí is crossed out and the instrument is now only a "Pemón-Taurepán (Taulipáng) *waronká* (dance stick)". He wrote in Pemón language as well as in Spanish that it was used at the moment of the *tukúik* dance performance.

When analyzing the photos and the catalogue sheet with Balbina the contradiction was immediately apparent. She confirmed the former designation of "trumpet". It is known that a *warónka* is a dance stick. Balbina refers to a 75-year-old singer named Juan Sucre from Kavanayén who sung us his songs and showed us his dance stick during our visits (2006, 2010, 2015). It is the community of the young student as well. The last name refers to the family affiliation, as the missionaries in the 1940s and 1950s named the indigenous families with these Spanish surnames. So it can be assumed that Wilmer is a grandson of Juan. Juan Sucre's *warónka* (dance stick) has

no top part. But the object in figure 1 has the human figure made from wood on top. This ornament proves that it was not used as a dance stick but as a trumpet. Therefore, Balbina decides that the collector Theodor Koch-Grünberg was right when saying that the instrument is a *kamayín* (trumpet). It needs to be mentioned that Balbina had only the photos of the data bank for her analysis.

When working a few month later in the archive we were able to understand what maybe has happened to Wilmer. The sticks are stored separated from the top part human figure. Thus, he may only have seen the tube. This tubes are similar. In figure 3 (middle/right) Balbina plays a *waronká* (dance stick) from the Koch-Grünberg collection (VA 61019). In the center of the tube a *kewei* (rattle) is fixed. It is quite usual to denominate the whole instrument pars pro toto as *kewei*. The *waronká* (dance stick) is played during the *parishara* dance as well as the *kamayín* (trumpet). Normally, the *kamayín* (trumpet) is shorter as the *warunká* (dance stick) and has a smaller diameter. However, Balbina explained that the dance stick *waronká* can be also used as *kamayín* (trumpet), in particular when the dancers have no *kamayín* (Fig 3, right).

Figure 3: left, Kamayín player in Koimélemong, Koch-Grünberg 1911; middle/left, Kamayín Raimundo Peréz; middle/right, Balbina plays waronká; right, Balbina Lambos playing the waronká as kamayín

It needs to be underlined that this kind of bamboo tubes are used for both sound practices by today's specialists like Juan Sucre. When we visited the archive, Balbina played the *waronká* with *kewei* (rattle) from the Koch-Grünberg collection. She also demonstrated how the dance stick was used as a *kamayín* (trumpet) as well (fig. 3, right).

In Kavanayén, I took a picture of a *kamayín* in 2005 (figure 3, middle/left). It was owned by Raimundo Pérez and I have no information if he still owns it. It can be assumed that Wilmer have never seen a *kamayín* as it is not used anymore.

A second critical point is Wilmer's notice on the catalogue sheet that it was played during the *tukúik* performance[8]. Both instruments (*waronká* and *kamayín*) are used in the *parishara* dance. The *tukúik* is accompanied by the *sanpura*. It is a small drum, which is taken under the left arm and played with a mallet. Another musical instruments is an aerophone named *rue rue*. It consists of two not bounded small bambú sticks with different length played like a panflute.

The dance stick *waronká* is also used in the *marik* (Kamarakoto) or *muruá* (Taurepán) dances. This performances are more sacred as they reflect the interaction with the spirits of the table mountains.

However, neither the *waronká* (dance stick) nor the *kamayín* (trumpet) is used in the *tukúik* dance. But *parishara* and *tukúik* were danced at the same time. Both dances were performed at the opening of a festivity. The guests performed *tukúik* and the hostage danced the *parishara,* as it is documented in a film made by Theodor Koch-Grünberg. It can be assumed that a *waronká* player

appeared next to a *tukúik* dancer due to the diachronic performance.

The mentioned ambivalence shows, on one hand, that the work with the database in the field, without the object, reveals another perspective to the physical object as the work with the physical object in the archive. Balbina was convinced that the given information by Wilmer was wrong, because all information in the data bank refer clearly to the *kamayín* (trumpet). Her further investigations in the archive opened the distinct forms of interpretation and associations as part of the ontological unit in which the object is embedded. Furthermore, the contradictory statements show that indigenous groups should not be read as a homogenously thinking entity, culture or community, but rather as a conglomerate of individual statements that multiply the databases and the connected association fields through personal experiences.

This particular *kamayín* (trumpet) was part of the *parishara* dance song network which was primarily a ritual for attracting animals like tapirs or peccaries. All material and immaterial objects and/or entities have to be considered inside such ontological network (fig. 4). The dance dress with the name "maripada" is part of that *parishara* dance song network as well. It is also a musical instrument. The sound aesthetic of that musical instrument is based on the idea that the palm leaves beat against each other generating the wished sound. This sound mimics the striking of the blades of savanna grass, as it is produced during the movement of the animals, such as the tapir or the peccaries. It should be used exclusively the maripa palm (Maximiliana maripa), since the leaves of this palm have the appropriate hardness (Lewy 2012). This performance of

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8   Wilmer wrote "Tuküik" (see fig. 2).

an extended memory of the dance dress as instrument or sound source was explained by Balbina. While explaining in the archive she used the mentioned dance stick *waronká* (fig. 3 middle/right) as well as she was singing and moving her body to show how the palm leaves beat against each other.

This simulation of the sound landscape from the perspective of the peccaries is enhanced by the *kamayin* (trumpet) which mimics the grunts of peccaries. The song itself comes from the mythical world, and was handed down by the pigs to the people in order to interact with them (Koch-Grünberg 1916, Lewy 2016). It is the maintenance of a relationship within the human and nonhuman collective.

A further important sound producer is the *kewei* (rattle). It consists of animal hooves and fruits serving for attracting the animals by its special unique sound. This specific sound is generated by the hooves and fruits when beating against each other. The *kewei* is fixed on the *waronká* beating the ground. The preferred sound of the dance stick with rattle is generated only when beating on soil as it resembles the locomotion of a peccary herd. Balbina remembers me that we once realized a video about the importance to beat the *kewei* and the *waronká* to the ground instead on a cement floor. It is precisely this unite of "rattle-stick-soil" that produces the desired sound fulfilling the ontological unit of the trans-specific interaction.

The *parishara* dance song network can be revealed in its historical dimension (figure 4) starting only from one instrument and its stored extended memories on the catalogue sheet in the data bank. One of the most important entity here are the *parishara* songs itself. Koch-Grünberg recorded several

parishara dance songs during the ceremony he filmed. His wax cylinders are stored in the same museum but in another department (Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv). Balbina explains that all songs and objects are related to each other as they are parts of *parishara*. Thus, *parishara* is not only a dance or a festival as it is an interaction of all entities (spirits, animals) of the collective. Singing and dancing helped her not only to demonstrate the use of the objects but to activate her body memory and to start in interaction with the objects. Body, dance movement and the material objects like instruments and dance clothes resonate as an ontological unit of memory through performance. The performance in the museum's archive establishes trans-specific interactions and therefore, it guarantees the balance between the entities of the collective (humans and nonhumans).

Finally, the performances of singing and dancing by indigenous visitors in archives aims to embed things back into their networks to restore the ontological balances. Here, polyvariants of information and associations are placed next to one another, since ambiguities in the respective networks do not necessarily have to contradict one another, even if this is not always immediately comprehensible at the first time.

Pakara

The question of why indigenous visitors sing when confronting with objects in museum's archive refer to a second point. It can be assumed that the indigenous specialists Gaudencio and Maria did not sung primarily to activate their memories. They were asking for a permission to show the quartz stone to an audience (Haas, Muñoz & Muñoz 2018:

143). When taking this trans-specific communication (Halbmayer 2010) as a certainty, then, it needs to be asked further how this trans-specific communication

works. The answer can not be given here as it is the world of Gaudencio and Maria. But the question serves to describe a similar situation in our archive's work.
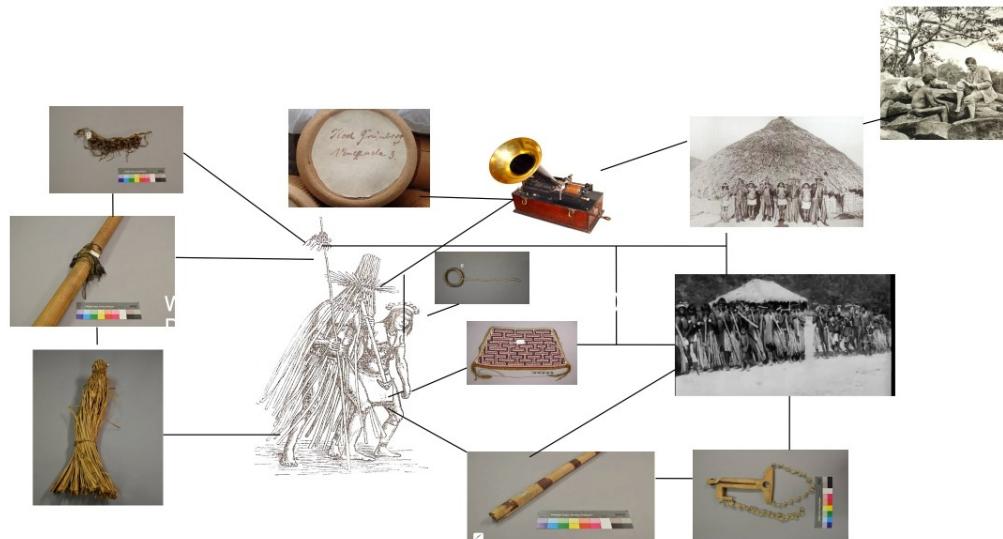
Figure 4: Historical Network of Parishara Dance
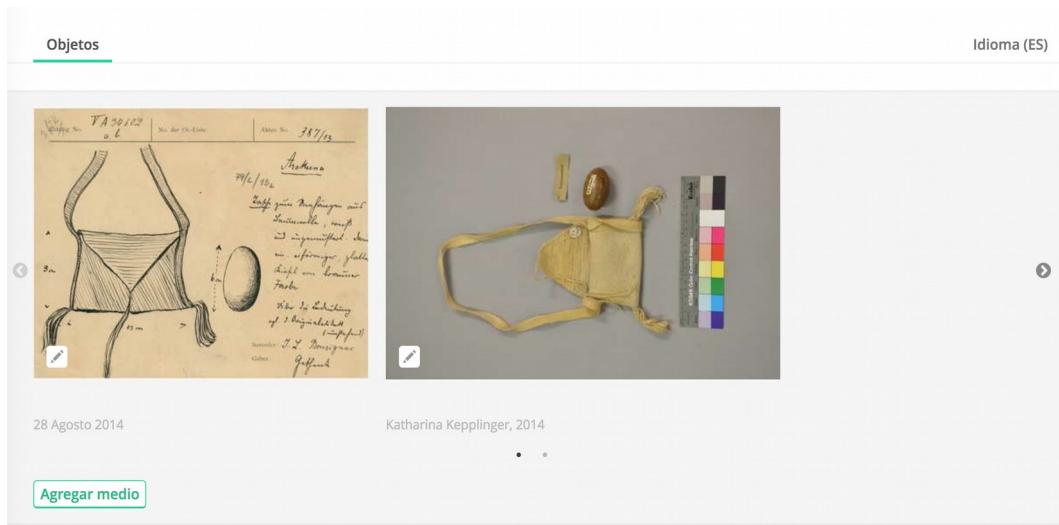
Figure 5: Pakara picture in data bank "Sharing knowledge",

Balbina was shocked when seeing a picture of a textile bag with a stone (VA34602, fig. 5) in the data bank. She realized that the object is a *pakara* explaining that every *piasán* (shaman) has one and its content is absolutely sacred. The stone must not be seen by human beings because it can be used for healing as well as for bad things. The object in fig. 5 was collected by "I.L. Boussignac". The only information about that name is, that he compiled a Arekuna word list and that he had contact with Theodor Preuss in Berlin[9].

Balbina explains the danger of the bag and the stone in her speech at the conference in the museum a month later. In a special ritual, Elton, the Taurepán specialist from Brazil, and Balbina, decided to lock the box in which several bags and stones are kept for future generations. The bags and the stones will continue in the archive, but they will not appear in any exposition.

The main part of the ritual to lock the things was singing. Therefore, Balbina chose a very special song from the Kamarakto/Arekuna amanawui genre. She recorded this song in Kamarata with Usankoro in the 1990's. Usankoro was the last famous *piasán pachi* (female shaman) in the Aretauka territory. Balbina learned the song, aiming to perform and to transmit it for future generations. We discussed *amanawui* dance songs often over the last years (Lewy 2017b). It is a quite ambiguous genre as it refers to the context of love songs as well as it is also the name for Kanaima (bad shamans) songs. The lyrics are not completely translated here due to ethical reasons. But it can be said that they refer to good in the intention of Balbina's performance.

She cried while and after singing, saying that she sung the song as a farewell. She also explained later that she talked to the stone. She told him[10] that he was used for good but as well for bad things. In the future he will rest in the museum's archive and he will be there only for good things.

It needs to be mentioned that this kind of stone were always used to demonstrate the power of its owner. The stone is the house of the spirits. It can also be used by *piasán* (shamans) to keep a *yekaton* (soul) of a sick person. These topics will not be discussed in further details. The important point here is that singing as performance helped to communicate with the stone. The stone's interiority is humanlike (soul). This interiority of the stone has the same apperception capacities as humans. Thus, singing attracts the attention of listening by the stone as a nonhuman entity with that humanlike interiority. When following this thinking it can be expected that the stone can hear the song as well as he knows that the message refers to him (the stone). Every entity has its special song. For example, in this Amanawui song, the word tapon in line 2 means "base of something".

1. Wakü pününkaiya

2. Tapon pününkaiya

3. Kuyai kuyai wesepününka[11]

The stone is the base for the souls or spirits which should have to be used for good (wakü) things in the future.

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9   Personal communication with Michael Kraus 2018.

10 Balbina uses the term "él" in Spanish, (he) when talking about the bag's stone.

11 Amanawui song, performed by Balbina Lambos in October 2018 at the Ethnographic Museum Berlin Dahlem (Archive).

Conclusion

When answering the question why indigenous specialists sing and dance in ethnographic museums archive two significant reasons can be revealed. First, the reunification of material/immaterial things to its ontological unit makes the singing and dancing performance necessary. Indigenous specialists quickly notice the separation of their object networks. Often musical instruments or specific ritual utensils are stored in separated places in the museum. It leads to confusion and displeasure as well as the desire to restore this separation. This kinds of interaction are described more detailed in the mentioned article by Haas, Muñoz & Muñoz (2018). The experiences in the collaboration with Balbina shows that the presented objects are an initial point for associations and references. This references activate the memory of the body as well as the sound memory. Songs were generated and reconsidered by moving the body. Furthermore, knowledge is revealed by songs. This knowledge shows the connection between the mythical world and the songs as well as the embedded objects. All involved entities (objects, myths, songs, dances, etc.) generate the ontological unit which needs to be restored when taking indigenous certainty about their cosmological and epistemological thinking as serious.

Second, the mentioned ontological unit base on trans-specific communication between the entities of a collective. This entities are not only humans and/or animate beings. As seen above, trans-specific communication is also established in interaction with stones. In the discussed examples this trans-specific interaction was realized by Gaudencio, Maria and Balbina by means of singing. While in a

first place Gaudencio and Maria asked for permission to show the quartz stone to a broader audience, Balbina explained to the stone that he will not be exhibited to any people anymore. The final intention is the opposite to the first one, but the important point is that all indigenous specialist sung with and to objects.

Finally, it needs to be underlined that more projects and cooperation are necessary in the future to restore ontological units in the archives and to maintain a constant trans-specific communication between the things and the humans they belong to. When reflecting the methods, it can be stated that virtual data bank work is different to archive work. A great advantage is that a multitude of indigenous specialists can be asked when working with the data bank in the field. This is an important point not only for collecting data but to reflected on ethical behavior about the use of that data. This interaction is missing when research is done in an archive. Otherwise, the access to the physical object serves for researching about the process of reunification of ontological units by several performances.

On the one hand, data banks as a kind of "living archive" means a huge step connecting the worlds by new forms of collaborative research, moving the 'analog' field into the virtual place. Complex positions and views emerge challenging the traditional way of separation by purification. On the other hand, classic "anthropologists and researchers" are acting now as moderator, not without being able to continue to generate his own derivations and questions. For this purpose, further formats have to be developed for the future, both virtually as real, interacting with each other in the archive and in the field.

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The Phenomenality of Things: Music Research in the Internet Era

Chow Ow Wei

Abstract: A modern civilization characterized at the dawn of the Internet of Things has extensively transformed human lifestyle that gives drastic magnitude to virtual connections we make with the surrounding through computer-mediated devices. This new living experience potentially changes the patterns of seeing and thinking. Henceforth, ways of understanding music in the Internet era is no longer linear and singular, while the conventional ethnographic habits of thought and work are to be re-examined. As the rising of both the Internet and the virtuality thinking re-configures the conception of time and spatial dimensions, the existing knowledge of music deemed as 'real' and 'authentic' may become inadequate today, since all other attributes that shift across time and spaces may have been disregarded from being a part of the reality. A recent doctoral research in Buddhist music, which employs a methodology in virtual ethnography, embarks on a perspective of parallel ideas in phenomenality and virtuality that is tailored to the rising of the Internet. It is often predicted that both the ethnographic methodology positioned in this study and the problematic appearances of music would become issues to ethnographers. However, one of the findings of this study demonstrates that these typical issues could be resolved by the consideration of the following: the virtual property of music is deemed integral to the reality; and the causation of phenomenality in the making of the ethnographic object is significantly regarded. Though the nature of the music acquires an extensive understanding in the Buddhist philosophy, this study proposes a possible approach in the sense-making of contemporary researches in music as a way of knowing.

Keywords: Internet Era. Internet of Things. Phenomenality. Virtuality. Virtual ethnography.

A Fenomenalidade das Coisas: Pesquisa Musical na Era da Internet

Resumo: Uma civilização moderna caracterizada na aurora da Internet das Coisas transformou consideravelmente o estilo de vida humano que dá magnitude drástica às conexões virtuais que fazemos com o ambiente através de dispositivos mediados por computador. Essa nova experiência de vida potencialmente altera os padrões de ver e pensar. Daí em diante, as formas de entender a música na era da Internet não são mais lineares e singulares, enquanto os hábitos convencionais de pensamento e trabalho etnográficos devem ser reexaminados. À medida que o surgimento da Internet e da virtualidade reconfigura a concepção das dimensões temporais e espaciais, o conhecimento existente da música considerado "real" e "autêntico" pode se tornar inadequado hoje, já que todos os outros atributos que mudam ao longo do tempo e espaços podem ter sido desconsiderados de serem parte da realidade. Uma recente pesquisa de doutorado em música budista, que emprega uma metodologia em etnografia virtual, embarca em uma perspectiva de ideias paralelas em fenomenalidade e virtualidade que é feito sob medida para o surgimento da Internet. Costuma-se prever que tanto a metodologia etnográfica posicionada neste estudo quanto as aparências problemáticas da música se tornariam problemáticas para os etnógrafos. No entanto, uma das descobertas deste estudo demonstra que essas questões típicas poderiam ser resolvidas pela consideração do seguinte: a propriedade virtual da música é considerada integral à realidade; e a causa da fenomenalidade na construção do objeto etnográfico é significativamente considerada. Embora a natureza da música adquira uma extensa compreensão da filosofia budista, este estudo propõe uma possível abordagem no sentido de fazer pesquisas contemporâneas na música como uma forma de conhecimento.

Palavras-chave: Internet Era. Internet of Things. Phenomenality. Virtuality. Virtual ethnography.

La fenomenalidad de las cosas: la investigación musical en la era de Internet

Resumen: Una civilización moderna caracterizada en los albores de la Internet de las cosas ha transformado ampliamente el estilo de vida humano que le da una magnitud drástica a las conexiones virtuales que hacemos con el entorno a través de dispositivos mediados por computadora. Esta nueva experiencia de vida potencialmente cambia los patrones de ver y pensar. De aquí en adelante, las formas de entender la música en la era de Internet ya no son lineales y singulares, mientras que los hábitos etnográficos convencionales de pensamiento y trabajo deben ser reexaminados. A medida que el surgimiento de Internet y el pensamiento de la virtualidad reconfiguran la concepción del tiempo y las dimensiones espaciales, el conocimiento existente de la música que se considera "real" y "auténtico" puede volverse inadecuado hoy, ya que todos los demás atributos que cambian a través del tiempo y Los espacios pueden haber sido ignorados de ser parte de la realidad. Una reciente investigación doctoral en música budista, que emplea una metodología en la etnografía virtual, se embarca en una perspectiva de ideas paralelas en fenomenalidad y virtualidad que se adapta al surgimiento de Internet. A menudo se predice que tanto la metodología etnográfica posicionada en este estudio como las apariencias problemáticas de la música se convertirán en un problema para los etnógrafos. Sin embargo, uno de los hallazgos de este estudio demuestra que estos problemas típicos podrían resolverse considerando lo siguiente: la propiedad virtual de la música se considera integral a la realidad; y la causa de la fenomenalidad en la realización del objeto etnográfico se considera significativamente. Si bien la naturaleza de la música adquiere un amplio conocimiento en la filosofía budista, este estudio propone un posible enfoque en el sentido de las investigaciones contemporáneas en la música como una forma de saber.

Palabras-clave: Internet era. Internet de las cosas. Fenomenalidad. Virtualidad. Etnografía virtual.

Introduction

This paper is a discussion extended from a doctoral research in Buddhist music tailored to a time when the internet is rising (Chow 2015), in which I employed virtual ethnography to establish an inquiry which is framed on parallel ideas in phenomenality and virtuality. Contradictions can be predicted in this discussion as the ethnographic methodology employed in this study is abstruse: the setting of the internet as the ethnographic field is deemed arguable, and the making of music in cyberspace as ethnographic objects is problematic. However, I attempt to propose a possible approach in a modern-day research as a way of knowing in the Internet Era by introducing a comprehensive understanding in the Buddhist philosophy on all matters.

There are three aspects in this paper: the rising of the internet and the *Internet of Things*; the Buddhist philosophy which exclusively emphasizes on phenomenality; and a practical ethnographical approach that integrates the ideas of phenomenality and virtuality into the sense-making of music in cyberspace.

Rising of the Internet

The internet is one of the most intriguing revolutions in human technology. Emerged in the 1990s, it took only about two decades to lead nearly all trends of life aspects that expansively define what a modern life is for humankind. It has changed drastically the way things are done in the past. Modern people, especially urbanites, would lavish their dependency on the internet in order to

obtain the convenience of a variety of accessible services, ranging from the mundane routine of heating up water in a kettle to a banking transaction. As the way things are understood in the current time has also practically evolved with Internet applications, globalization in the 21st century is brought into a new, radical, decentralized phase that transforms human interaction dramatically with media technology.

The conception of the internet began in the United States after World War II. Scientists came up with a vision to create a human–computer knowledge management systems that helps researchers to access a useful corpus of all knowledge. J. C. R. Licklider, whose interest was to develop a collaborative modeling among human and computer, theorized a framework for an 'intergalactic network'. He tested whether intellectual and scholarly resources can be established by the society and shared by digitalized information holders without restriction (Hauben, J. 2007: 51-52), and whether "to be online" is a privilege or a right for a citizen (Licklider and Taylor 1990: 40). He also envisioned that members of an online interactive community in the network are not linked to a common location or accidental proximity, but are selected more by common interests and goals instead (Licklider & Taylor 1990: 38, 40).

The internet was born in 1973 when researchers of several national and diverse networks from the United Kingdom, France and the United States initiated an establishment of "a network of networks" that serves as "a means for networks from diverse countries to intercommunicate" by linking the computer systems across political

borders (Hauben, R. 2007: 50). In the 1980s, networking researches and conferences were made common and the internet finally became a reality in the 1990s. It was described as "an important prototype to understand the creation of a multinational, collaborative, and scientific research project" that "depends on and fostered collaboration across the boundaries of diverse administrative structures, political authorities, and technical designs" (Hauben, R. 2007: 50). In 2002, Web 2.0, an interactive social software signifying "a cultural shift in how web pages were developed, designed, and used" (Morrow 2014), was realized and has empowered a crowd-sourced innovation in communication technology, which enables data to be inserted, used, and modified with user-friendly authorizing means. The much-discussed Web 3.0 or the Semantic Web (Shadbolt, Berners-Lee and Hall 2006), the next level of the internet which is "semantic, artificially intelligent, virtual and ever-present" (Morrow 2014), is still under development, the trend moves towards the direction of the Internet of Things (Mattern & Floerkemeier 2010; Mitew 2012; Fell 2014) at the same time.

Life with Internet of Things

The term *Internet of Things* [IoT hereafter] was first coined in 1999 within a research by the Auto-ID Center and the MIT Media Lab. Kevin Ashton and Neil Gershenfeld attempted the incorporation of things into the internet in an active role (Mattern and Floerkemeier 2010: 2), aiming in "making world comprehensible for things, or allowing things to use the internet" (Mitew 2012: 1). There are various definitions for IoT, but the following encompass most aspects of it:

1. "Networked connection of physical objects" that becomes the "internet of everything", which is a network of networks where "billions or even trillions of connections" comprising things with added capabilities, more people, and new types of information data (Mitchell et al. 2013).

2. The specific time when more "things or objects" were connected to the internet than people (Evans 2011: 2). The birth of IoT is therefore traced back to a time between 2008 and 2009 (Evans 2011: 3), when the ratio of device connectivity to world human population has just exceeded 1:1[1].

At present or in the very near future, it has become a reality that the internet is extended to daily objects that operate as interfaces to internet functions. AI-driven devices communicate with the system server and each other. Massive storage of information are digitally archived in the "cloud"[2]. A human user no longer needs to physically get out of his armchair to learn almost everything. With a smart device in hand, he can monitor the device processes remotely, despite handling online business

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1   The corporate's statistical data reveals that in 2003, there were about 500 million devices connected to the internet serving a world population of 6.3 billion people, but it is estimated to increase drastically in 2020 with 50 billion connected devices serving 7.6 billion people worldwide, that in average each human is to possess 6.83 devices connected to the internet (Evans 2011: 3).

2   "Cloud computing" is a metaphoric term which depicts a computer system operated by "a model for enabling ubiquitous, convenient, on-demand network access to a shared pool of configurable computing resources" that can be immediately retrieved and released with the least effort or interaction within the management of the service provider (Mell and Grance 2011: 2).

activities, indulging himself with streams of audiovisual data and interact with other people. Bruce Sterling (2005), a novelist of the cyberpunk genre, has actually visualised life with IoT:

> *I no longer inventory my possessions inside my own head. They're inventoried through an automagical inventory voodoo, work done far beneath my notice by a host of machines. I no longer bother to remember where I put my things. Or where I found them. Or how much they cost. And so forth. I*

just ask. Then I am told with instant real-time accuracy. I have an Internet of Things with a search engine. So I no longer hunt anxiously for my missing shoes in the morning. I just Google them. As long as machines can crunch the complexities, their interfaces make my relationship to objects feel much simpler and more immediate (Sterling 2005: 93–94).

Today, China's internet development can be considered as one of the most fitting corresponding depictions to Sterling's description above.
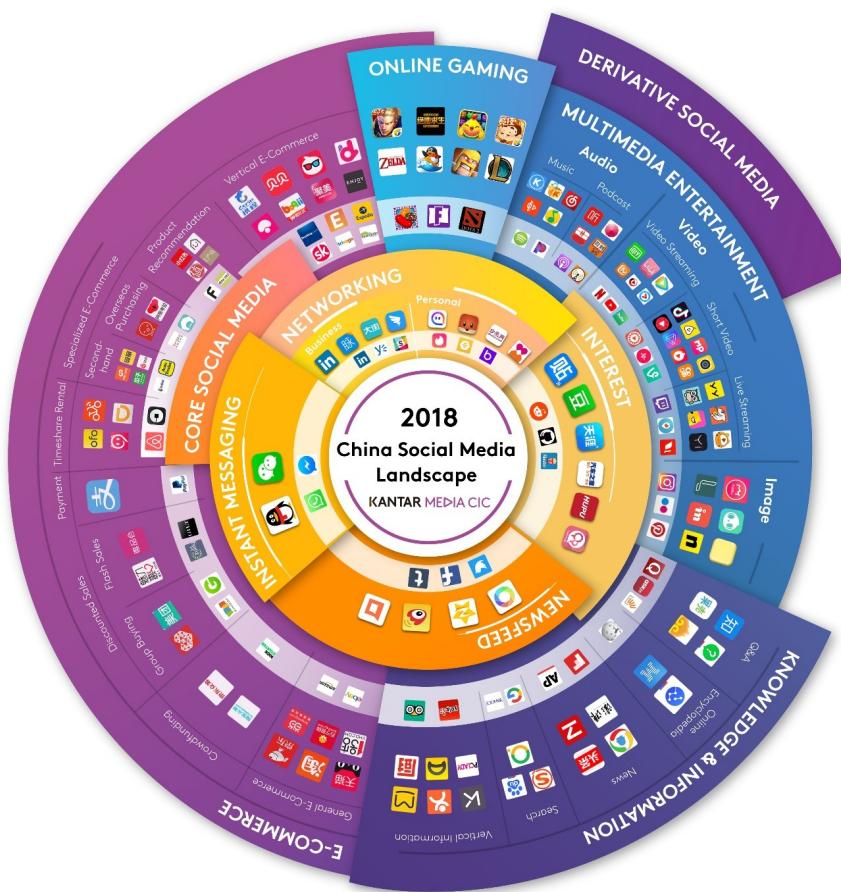
Figure 1: The social media landscape in modern-day China. Source: Kantar Media CIC (Jin 2018)
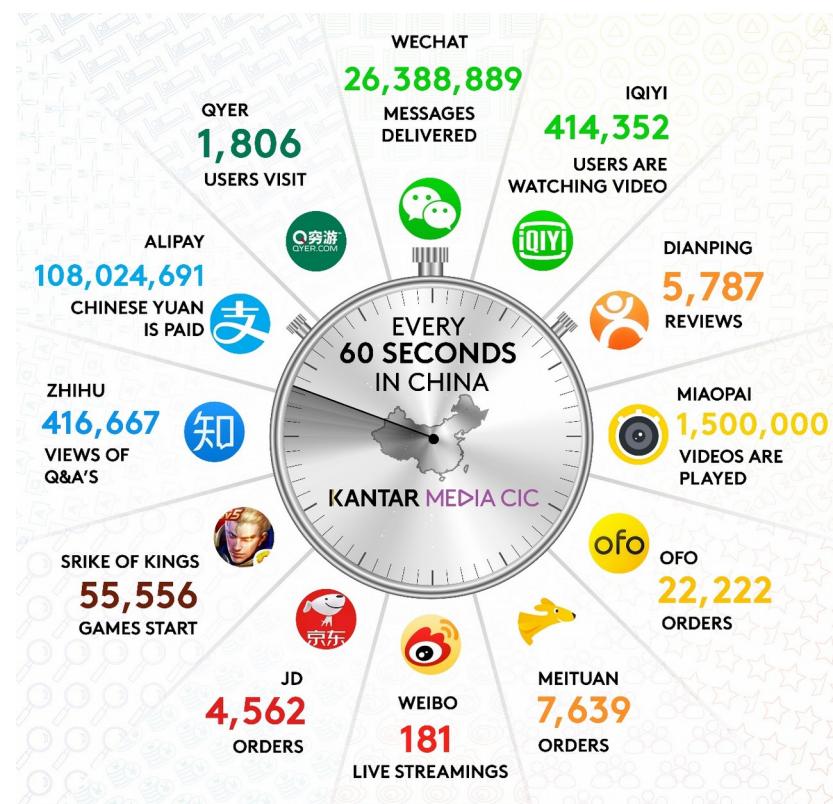
Figure 2: Essential statistics on social media activities of every 60 seconds in modern-day China (Kantar Media CIC 2017)

Figure 3: Richard Watson's "Table of Trend and Technologies for the World in 2020"
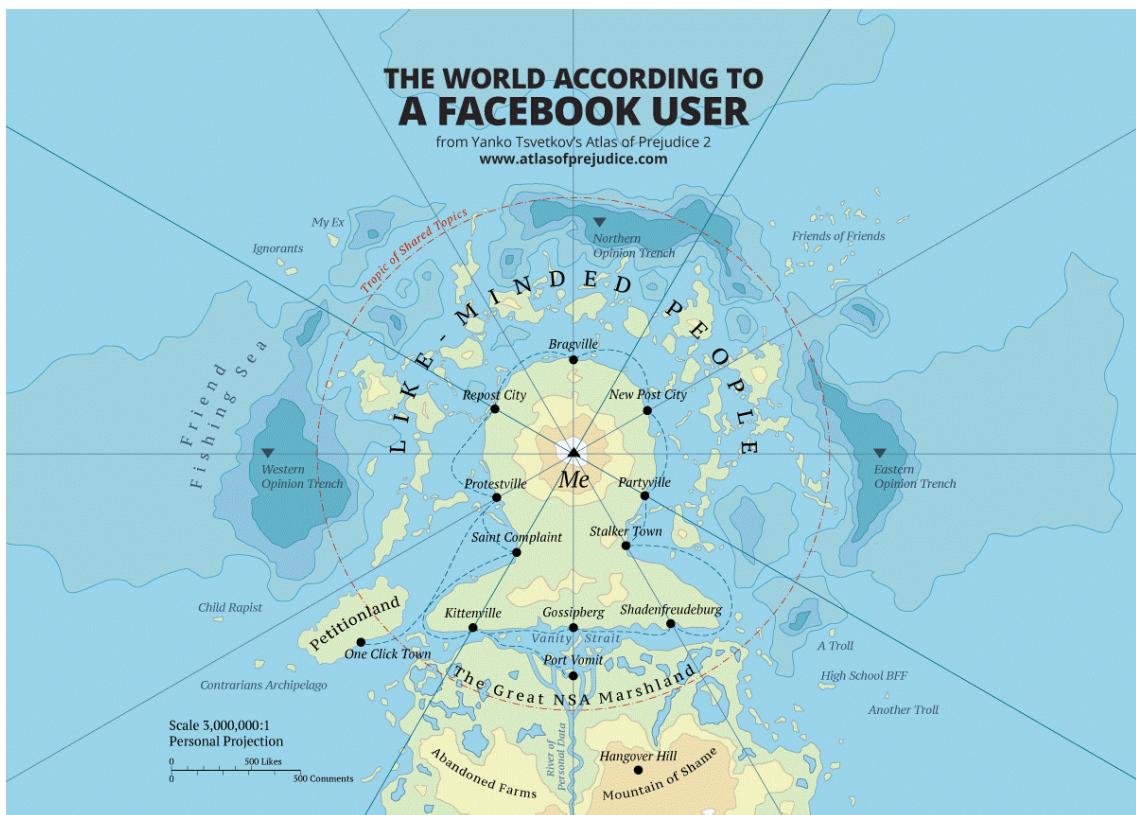
Figure 4: Yanko Tsvetkov's "The World According to a Facebook User"

The emergence of IoT as the future of human life are much anticipated. To some, this huge change may also be intimidating. The materiality of everything can be understood in the selected parody works shown in fig. 3 and 4 (Watson 2013, Tsvetkov 2014)[3].

The popularized trend of getting online in the contemporary time has preordained the changes in human behaviors in the

appreciation of music. David Beer (2008) observes that people nowadays significantly shift from physical and analogue towards virtual cultural artifacts. They intensely rely on the internet media to access music. They no longer buy CDs but subscribe to, or download digitally compressed music files from the internet or 'rip' audio music from the CD, audio tapes and vinyl records. They discuss shared interests, tastes on social network sites with "like-minded" people whom they have never actually met. They "make friends" with performers and celebrities, and get involved in their promotional campaigns within the collaborative functions of the internet. They watch and share live performances from gigs they have never actually attended (Beer 2008: 223–230).

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3   Richard Watson's "Table of Trend and Technologies for the World in 2020" deliberately substitutes chemical elements in the periodical table with internet jargons and technology-related ideas to reflect a predicted human life in 2020, or what is described as "one futurist's recommended set of ideas to watch" (Fell 2013: 50). Yanko Tsvetkov's "The World according to a Facebook User" (2014) features an imagined topography consisting of contours and meridians in satirized labels. The idea of the parody is to illustrate the materialization of a user's ego-centric interaction network in Facebook or, at large, a social networking service application of any place.

Additionally, Internet users no longer solely learn to play musical instruments from tutors but YouTube. They can publish music compositions on the internet with no involvement of music labels. This new culture could have prepared a great leap in popular music consumption that has re-invented an ecology for music industry today[4].

The Buddhist Philosophy

Buddhism is one of the oldest living religion in the world since more than two and a half millennia ago. It may appear as a complex religion to study in the modern time, but the core idea of Buddhist teaching focuses on a story how an ordinary man named Siddhārtha Gautama attained enlightenment. Buddhist practitioners neither discuss religiously characterized incidents nor focus in a specific sacred text. Rather, they are more to discuss an abstract, perplexing experience called *nirvāna*[5]. In order to achieve the state of *nirvāna*, there are diverse approaches for the religious practice. In modern-day Malaysia, there are five Buddhists denominations which are commonly available: *Mahāyāna* [literally big vehicle], *Theravāda* [literally school of the

elders], *Vajrayāna* [literally diamond vehicle], Zen Buddhism or Chan Buddhism and Humanistic Buddhism.

Despite its general image as one of the world's popular religions, Buddhism rather appear more as a way of life, as well as a universal philosophy on all matters of life – not just at present but also the previous and future lives through reincarnation. Above all essential teachings, the following are the highlights of significant concepts in the Buddhist philosophy:

1. *Dukkha*: A Pāli word generally means 'suffering', 'pain', 'sorrow' or 'misery', but additionally includes deeper ideas such as 'imperfection', 'impermanence', 'emptiness' and 'insustainability' (Rahula 1974: 17)[6].

2. *Samsāra*: It is the 'cycle of continuity' (Rahula 1974: 8) or the 'turning of the wheel of transmigration' (Soothill and Hodous 2003).

3. *Śūnyatā*: Translated from Sanskrit, it means 'emptiness' or 'voidness' that denotes though materials in the world we can perceive are real and existent in the outside, the true property inside is insubstantial and void, while unreal matters appear as real. 'Emptiness' symbolizes an absence of self-property (Chang 1971: 60).

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4   In 2017 alone, physical formats accounted for 30% of global music sales, but digital revenues accounted significantly for 54% of total recorded music industry revenues worldwide. The digital formats include streaming, paid subscription audio streams and digital downloads (International Federation of the Phonographic Industry 2018: 13)

5   The ultimate aim of Buddhist practice is to achieve *nirvāna*, a state of being that is indescribable with language or any known human experience but can be verbally simplified as 'liberation from *dukkha*'. To achieve *nirvāna*, one needs to understand *dukkha* and the cessation of *dukkha*, or further explore into four fundamental discussions known as the Four Noble Truths (Abe 2003: 49–51).

6   Walpola Rahula does not provide an equivalent English term for this in order to avoid a misleading and superficial interpretation that life according to Buddhism is nothing but suffering and pain, and thus Buddhism is subsequently regarded as pessimistic (Rahula 1974: 16).

Emptiness and Phenomenality

'Emptiness' does not mean "zero" or "a state of nothing". It rather means that the self-property of everything is "absent" in nature. Based on the fundamental principle in "Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra" and Nāgārjuna's "Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā", the world is a state of existence that is continuously experienced as a phenomenon. Hence, all phenomenal beings are basically "empty" as they have no self-property (Abe 2003: 111). In other words, the existence of being is not dependent on a singular, self-contained and unchanged condition.

The following *kōan* [Zen riddle 公案] illustrates a metaphor that strengthens the importance of "emptiness" for Buddhist practitioners:

> *Encountering a Buddha, killing the Buddha;*
> *Encountering a Patriarch, killing the Patriarch;*
> *Encountering an Arhat, killing the Arhat;*
> *Encountering mother or father, killing mother or father;*
> *Encountering a relative, killing the relative;*
> *Only thus does one attain liberation and disentanglement from all things, thereby becoming completely unfettered and free[7] (Abe 2004: 56-57).*

This is one of the contradictory but genuine emphasizes in the advanced Buddhist practice that in order to be liberated from the sufferings, one should reject the attachment to the delusion caused by the worldly phenomenon. In order to achieve true *Buddhahood*, one should not concentrate on the thought of "being Buddha", because

there is no Buddha to worship. One needs to break through the delusion of Buddha as well as all worldly existence which does not exist by itself, in order to reach enlightenment. One learns to understand the causation, the refutation of the existence of "self", "ego" or *ātman* (Rahula 1974: 51), and practices to let go of the attachment to the impermanent delusion in order to seek "the ultimate happiness". Hence, the truth about embracing "emptiness" is that "if one takes what is non-Buddha as the ultimate, what is non-Buddha turns into a Buddha" (Abe 2004: 63-64).

Phenomenality, the quality or the state of being phenomenal, refers to the worldly existence of phenomenon and the consciousness towards it. According to "higher-order" theories of consciousness, phenomenality is explained as nothing more than "a species of the mind's self-representation" (Siewart 2013: 236). He elaborates:

> *Phenomenality is that feature exemplified in cases of something's looking somehow to you, as it would not be in blindsight as just conceived. Any instance of its looking somehow to you is essentially a phenomenally conscious visual state (Siewart 2013: 242).*

In another context, Buddhist practitioners conceive the humanly world as "the phenomenal world" which is an external, impermanent, impure and unreal existence; hence phenomenality is "of a dusty path", "neither becoming nor passing", "likened to assembled scum, or bubbles", and produced by a subjective mind (Soothill and Hodous 2003).

With such an understanding of the living world, Buddhists learn to understand the

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7   As in "Lin-chi Lu" 《临济录》 written by Linji Yixuan 临济义玄, a Zen master in Tang Dynasty China. Original Chinese text: 逢佛杀佛，逢祖杀祖，逢罗汉杀罗汉，逢父母杀父母，逢亲眷杀亲眷，始得解脱，不与物拘，透脱自在。

causation, the refutation of the existence of "self", and the "devoid of a self" (Soothill and Hodous 2003) of phenomena, and practice to let go of the attachment to the impermanent delusion in order to seek happiness in the ultimate goal of *nirvāna*.

Virtual Ethnography

In 2013, I intended to begin my doctorate research in Buddhist music with an ethnography based in Malaysia, though I collected some audiovisual data in two cities of Thailand. Bearing in mind that *Buddhist music* is a problematic term for Buddhist practitioners of the *Theravāda* tradition where Buddhist chants are not considered as music, I searched for a possible methodology that would allow an inclusive interpretation of Buddhism-related music without losing a relatively compatible perspective from the Buddhist philosophy. I was then convinced to discard the conventional ethnographic method and adopt virtual ethnography (Hine 2000) which is relatively new, more feasible in both online and offline environments, and more challenging when integrating the ideas of phenomenality and virtuality in the entity.

Christine Hine (2000) recommends a contemporary approach that renders a form of ethnographic inquiry suited to the internet, which involves ethnography "as a textual practice and as a lived craft", and "destabilizes the ethnographic reliance on sustained presence in a found field site" (Hine 2000: 43). This approach has particular concerns on how an ethnographic object is to be constituted, and how that object is to be authentically known. She applies the ethnographic thinking to the interactions facilitated by the internet by looking

particularly into three essential areas in the study of the internet: the role of travel and the face-to-face interaction in ethnography; text, technology and reflexibility; and the making of ethnographic objects (Hine 2000: 43–63).

With this consideration, she details ten principles of virtual ethnography. The following are the highlights (Hine 2000: 63-65):

1. The internet as "problematic" – it does not appear inherently sensible; it is a way of communicating, an object within people's lives; it is a site for community that is established and maintained in the ways in which it is used, interpreted and reinterpreted;

2. The internet is both culture and cultural artifact and not just a detached space of real life connections. A high-degree interpretive flexibility is therefore acquired, learned, interpreted and incorporated into context;

3. Mobility in mediated interaction is useful in the inquiry of the making and remaking of space. Therefore, ethnography is no longer done for specific places or even being multi-sited;

4. Culture and community are not self-evidently located in place, then neither is ethnography. An ethnographic object can be essentially reshaped by concentrating on the flow and connectivity rather than location and boundary as the organizing principle;

5. *A priori* boundaries of the "virtual" and "real" are challenged and explored

throughout the course of ethnography. Boundaries and connections are dynamically defined and reformulated as the ethnographic object, depending practically on the embodied ethnographer's constraints in time, space and ingenuity;

6. Due to temporal and spatial dislocation, an ethnographer's engagement with mediated contexts is crossed into his interactivity in other spheres and media;

7. Virtual ethnography is necessarily partial because a holistic description of any informant, location or culture is impossible to achieve. Leaving alone the idea of "pre-existing, isolable and describable informants, locales and cultures", this approach can be based on "ideas of strategic relevance" rather than "faithful representations of objective realities";

8. The shaping of interaction, either with informants by the technology or of the ethnographer with the technology, is part of the ethnography. Intensive engagement with mediated interaction in virtual ethnography essentially introduces a new reflexive dimension to explore the use of the medium in context. An ethnographer's engagement with the medium is a valuable source of insight since he also plays the role as an informant through his interactions with the technology;

9. All forms of interaction, including the face-to-face and remote messaging, are ethnographically valid. A kind of relationship within the ethnography is allowed for informants and the

ethnographer to be both "absent" and "present" across temporal and spatial divides;

10. "Virtuality" carries a connotation of "not quite". It is sufficient to apply in practical purposes even if not strictly representing the "real" thing. Virtual ethnography is sufficient for the practical purposes in exploring the connectivity of mediated interaction, even if not quite the "real" thing in "methodologically purist terms".

Hence, data are mainly collected through the following means by embracing face-to-face and virtual approaches that could be possibly managed:

1. Interviews: All 21 interviews are face-to-face except one with the virtual method from 2013 to 2015. All informants are Malaysians except two from Thailand and one with a Tibetan heritage;

2. Remote information gathering: This include a manual questionnaire, a few set of online questionnaire designed with SurveyMonkey[8], and a set of questions on Quora[9], an online query-based platform;

3. Audiovisual recordings: They include interview data, video recordings of live music performance, and audio files of music compositions by two composers;

4. Music events: Live music events attended in September and November 2014;

5. Published materials: They include programme booklets, compact disc

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8   https://www.surveymonkey.com/
9   https://www.quora.com

booklets and online Buddhism-related websites are referred for their contextual attributes;

6. "Integrated auxiliaries": Online streaming platforms, social blogs, instant messaging service apps, academic search engine, online encyclopaedia, and online forums/bulletin board system (BBS).

With such methodology in my most recent attempt (Chow 2015) I then rendered data analysis with a combined method in qualitative research that comprises discourse analysis, hermeneutic phenomenology, metaphorical analysis, ethnostatistic, and music analysis or microanalysis.

When all partial components resulted from the above mentioned analytical methods were sorted systematically, the data were eventually interpreted as a whole ethnographic entity.

"Phenomenality of Things"

In such process, ethnographers have to cope with the quality of low-cost maintenance, anonymity, open-endedness and interactivity in cyberspace, as well as the state of contradiction and indeterminacy (Bu 2012: 218). The following is an illustration by Lysloff (2003):

> *During my research, I never physically leave my home. I just need to infiltrate a new music community which I think I will never meet and I believe to exist according to the textual information I get about them. I wish I know whether I am actually doing fieldwork, because in spatial terms I have never been to any place and I do not have to create any physical need or to experience any risk ethnographers normally do. In contrast, doing fieldwork means spending the night time surfing from a distance in a virtual dimension. With my instant messaging system and email, I am always online all night: moving from a website to another, logging in a huge online community, reading and sending comments to electronic music workers and their fans, staring at still or moving pictures, and listening to auto-playing music on websites (translated from Bu 2012: 225).*

This also reflects the most significant advantage in virtual ethnography that the internet environment provides an opportunity for ethnographers to completely go lurking inside an online community in order to explore their subject (Bu 2012: 226).

The problematization of virtual ethnography in my research is that the virtual properties of the internet join seamlessly into the nature of a Buddhist subject. The study into the exploration of Buddhist music online and offline can be relevantly constituted as an ethnographic object that can be known authentically. The internet and Buddhist music both appear to the researcher as a phenomenal existence, like all other matters in the worldly existence, that they are interconnecting and interweaving, if not being complementary to each other.
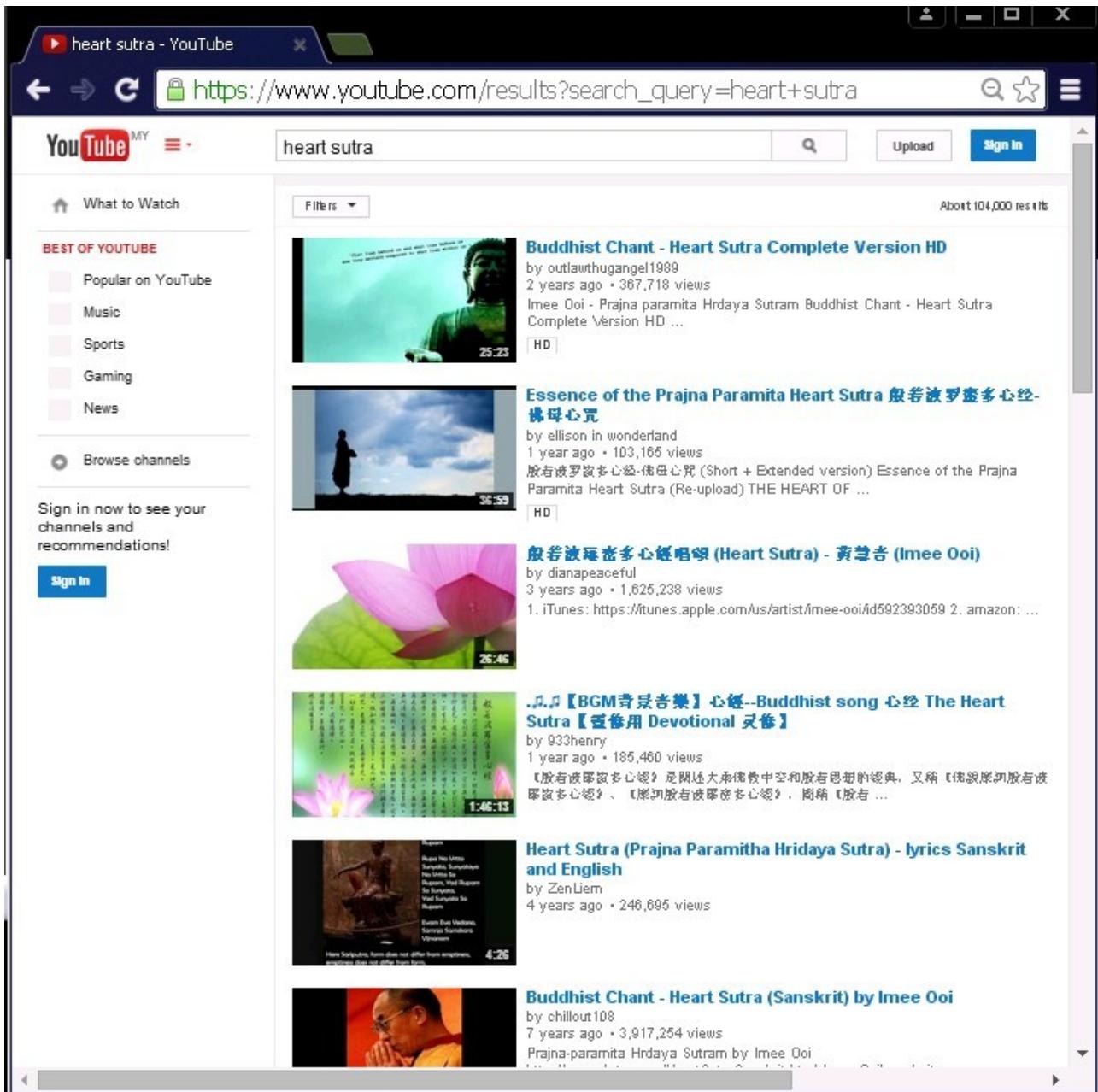
Figure 5: Using YouTube as one of the "integrated auxiliaries". This screen capture shows the search result of "Heart Sūtra", a famous Buddhist scripture in audiovisual form, on YouTube, 22 February 2015 (Chow 2015: 42).
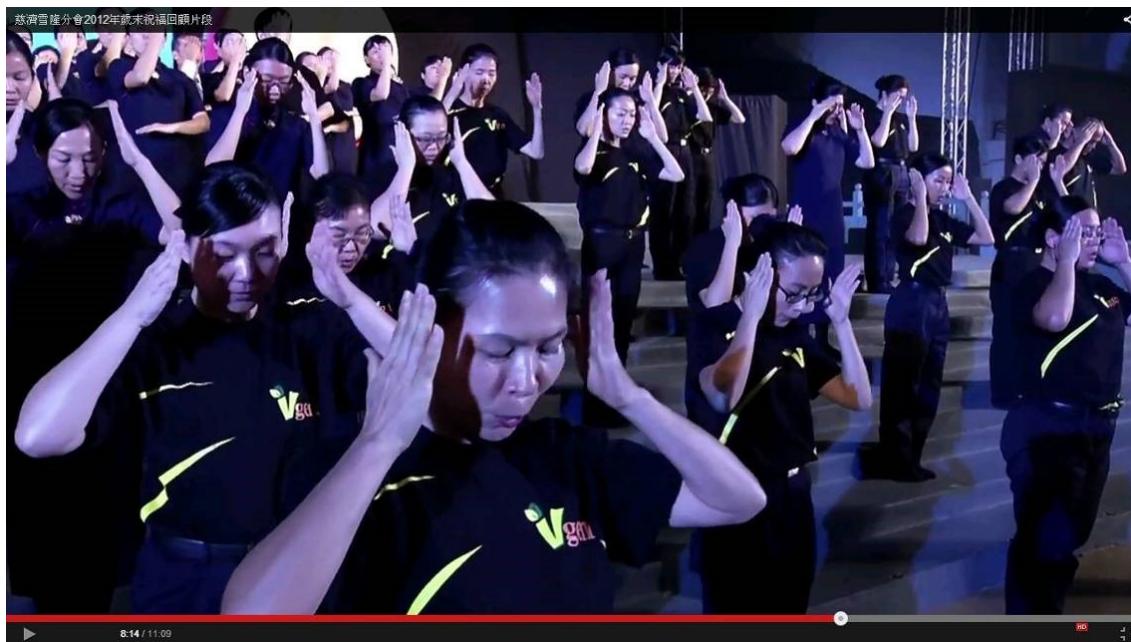
Figure 6: Tzu Chi Foundation's unique sign language presentation in a massive ensemble performance, illustrating an example of the "integrated auxiliaries" rendered in virtual ethnography (Tzu Chi KL and Selangor Branch 2013; Chow 2015: 38).

As a solution to the contradiction arising from both the methodology of virtual ethnography and the tricky properties of the digital data, the idea of the "impermanence of being" [无常] can be therefore considered. It is an important concept in the core Buddhist ideology that links to "emptiness". For example, Buddhist chanters can experience impermanence by "reflecting upon and observing the rising and passing away of the sound, ideas, and emotions in a constant flow of interconnected states of being", as well as "the nature of the transformation in how he or she senses, perceives, and feels" (Chen 2001: 46). It is, however, not nihilistic. Instead, one has to be conscious of a process-based experience. He then learns to undertake the middle path, which is to avoid the extremes or to persist a non-existent absolute being.

As IoT marks the rising awareness of virtuality as an integral part of reality, the conscious boundaries of "real" and "virtual", "presence" and "absence", "online" and "offline", and the singularity and multiplicity of "self" have become blur: all things are constituted of phenomenal beings, and all things are phenomenal. As this new idea about things challenges all known authentic concepts in conventional ethnography, an understanding in phenomenality helps to make a new sense in the making of an ethnographic field and object. Consequently, paradoxical attributes of the internet can be balanced in light of the "non-self" nature of things which are deemed more complex and no longer absolute: at each instant, the internet are both real and virtual; people are both absent and present, or both online and offline; a "self" can be both singular and multiple in the conscious existence.

Conclusion

Virtual ethnography has an "adaptive" nature as an ethnographic object "sets out to suit itself to the conditions in which it finds itself" (Hine 2000: 65). This corresponds to the idea of phenomenality in which spatial and temporal settings of the field has become more open-ended and towards a construction from the consciousness of the ethnographer.

Moreover, the coherence of virtuality and phenomenality based on the doctrine of emptiness allows a shared understanding of the phenomenal properties of things when researching music in the Internet Era. A methodology adapted to the consideration of phenomenality could be applicable not just in Buddhist subjects but also ethnography of all other disciplines in the humanities. While conventional ethnographic approaches seem not being able to transcend the constraint of making a virtual object known authentically, ethnographers could consider the virtual properties as phenomena integrated to the reality, as well as the causation of phenomenality in the making of the ethnographic object. Adopting "Phenomenality of Things" into ethnography is, however, a challenge in the conventional ethnography, but this would be instrumental to solve cognitive problems that come along the development of the internet. More discussions and debates by ethnographers should be encouraged to explore more possibilities to research music in the 21st century.

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George Herzog's Transcriptions of Mohave Birdsongs: What Happened to the Dance?

Steve Elster

Abstract: In 1927, George Herzog (1901-1983), an early ethnomusicologist, conducted a field trip to some of the tribes located along the Colorado River and also within Southern California. Based on the fieldnotes and the musical transcriptions that he made of *Birdsongs*, one of the genres of music that local singers perform today, I will be examining one of his Birdsong transcriptions. In the process, I will be asking and attempting to answer questions centered around why Herzog seemed to limit his musical explorations and did not, for instance, embrace both music and dance in his consideration of Birdsongs? I hope to show that part of the answer lies in the particular types of training that Herzog received as he studied piano, counterpoint, some of the folk music of Europe, and also music from non-European cultures. This training, I will be arguing, had not trained him to embrace both music and dance, when making musical transcriptions of *Birdsongs*, for instance. At the same time, I will be arguing that such an approach is necessary because of the close relationship between music and dance that is so much a part of Birdsongs.

Keywords: Transcription. Herzog. Birdsong. Dance.

Transcrições de George Herzog das Birdsongs dos Mohave: o que aconteceu com a dança?

Resumo: Em 1927, George Herzog (1901-1983), um antigo etnomusicólogo, conduziu uma viagem de campo a algumas das tribos localizadas ao longo do rio Colorado e também no sul da Califórnia. Baseado nas notas de campo e nas transcrições musicais que ele fez das *Birdsongs*, um dos gêneros de música que os cantores locais executam hoje, eu analisei uma de suas transcrições de *Birdsong*. No processo, tentarei responder a perguntas sobre por que Herzog parecia limitar suas explorações musicais e, por exemplo, não abordou a música e a dança como um elemento único em consideração às *Birdsongs*? Espero mostrar que parte da resposta está nos tipos particulares de treinamento que Herzog recebeu ao estudar piano, contraponto, parte da música folclórica da Europa e também música de culturas não-européias. Este treinamento, eu argumentarei, não o treinou para abraçar tanto a música quanto a dança, ao fazer transcrições musicais de *Birdsongs*, por exemplo. Ao mesmo tempo, argumentarei que tal abordagem é necessária por causa da estreita relação entre música e dança, que faz parte das *Birdsongs*.

Palavras-chave: Transcrição. Herzog. Birdsongs. Dança.

Las transcripciones de George Herzog de Mohave Birdsongs: ¿Qué pasó con la danza?

Resumen: En 1927, George Herzog (1901-1983), un antiguo etnomusicólogo, condujo un viaje de campo a algunas de las tribus ubicadas a lo largo del río Colorado y también en el sur de California. Basado en las notas de campo y en las transcripciones musicales que hizo de las *Birdsongs*, uno de los géneros de música que los cantantes locales ejecutan hoy, he analizado una de sus transcripciones de *Birdsong*. En el proceso, trataré de responder a preguntas sobre por qué Herzog parecía limitar sus exploraciones musicales y, por ejemplo, no abordó la música y la danza como un elemento único en consideración a las *Birdsongs*? Espero mostrar que parte de la respuesta está en los tipos particulares de entrenamiento que Herzog recibió al estudiar piano, contrapunto, parte de la música folclórica de Europa y también música de culturas no europeas. Este entrenamiento, yo argumentar, no lo entrenó para abrazar tanto la música y la danza, al hacer transcripciones musicales de *Birdsongs*, por ejemplo. Al mismo tiempo, argumentar que este enfoque es necesario debido a la estrecha relación entre música y danza, que forma parte de las *Birdsongs*.

Palabras-clave: Transcripción. Herzog. Birdsongs. Danza.

Introduction

In the early 1990's, when I first began to study the music of the tribes of Southern California, my work took me in many directions, one of these involved attending ceremonial events with tribal singers[1]. A group of these singers were in their late teens or early twenties. Late into the night, I can still remember these young singers gamely posing questions about any number of poignant issues. These young men were not only learning songs, but they were also involved in reconstructing them, by speaking with tribal elders and other tribal members. In general, these singers have focused on learning *Birdsongs* as well as others[2], ones that have melodies and words that seem to be directly related to their respective native culture(s). In the process, they were honing their skills as tribal oral historians[3].

Why did these young men need to reconstruct their songs? Two polar elements need to be explored when beginning to answer this question: first, the events that have led to a loss of culture; and, second, the attributes that have enabled tribal members and their communities to keep alive their cultural traditions[4]. It seems likely that both of these elements have always been present, in a dialectic, with one or the other coming to the fore since the arrival of Europeans and then Euro-Americans. While providing a history of this dialectic is beyond the scope of this paper, it seems clear that since Europeans and Euro-Americans first began their respective colonial interventions that various officials and missionaries and settlers and scholars have persistently told the local Southern Californian tribes that they should abandon their cultural traditions and knowledge. In fact, some parts of their cultural knowledge have been lost; these tribes, however, have not stopped celebrating their traditions[5]. Looking to the future, Harry Paul Cuero, Jr., a master singer[6] and the Vice-Chairman of the Campo Kumeyaay Nation, explained to me that "the old people say" that forgotten traditions "are

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1   While it has been a privilege to have the opportunity to learn about the music of the tribes of Southern California, I want to make it clear that this paper is not an attempt to establish the truth about the music. What I write below constitutes my interpretations, and mine alone. In addition, while a number of tribal members have shared information with me and corroborated the assertions that I will be making here, I take full responsibility for the possibility that in listening to what was said that I may have somehow altered its content. I will only be providing the names of tribal members with whom I collaborated and worked with over a number of years.

2   I will be discussing *Birdsongs* in the second part of this paper. *Bird* is a shorthand way of referring to *Birdsongs*. A tribal member might look at a group of singers and explain: They're sing'n Bird.

3   I will be differentiating the terms I have created versus the terms that tribal members have shared with me. "Tribal oral historian" is a term that I have developed.

4   For an argument that discusses the resiliency of Native Americans as well as the problems that go along with casting them as solely damaged, see Tuck (2009).

5   Although I will not be reviewing this history, I will, however, provide some references for those who want to learn more about it. The following provide a macro view of issues rather than treatments focused on the local Southern California tribes. See Anderson (2013), for a macro view regarding how Europeans and Euro-Americans management of the land resulted in a reduction of native foods; White's (2011) and Merrell's (1989) separate discussions regarding the sale of alcohol to tribal members, during colonial times; and Jackson's and Castillo's (1995) discussion of the spread of disease amongst local Native Americans, in California, during the time of the missions; In 1921, the Bureau of Indian Affairs issued Circular 1665 that expressed disdain tribal cultural traditions.

6   "Master" singer is my term for a knowledgeable singer who has sung, taught, led other singers at ceremonies, for years.

sleeping." "They are sleeping," until they can be brought back[7].

Despite the hardships that they have faced, tribes and their members have found ways not only to continue to take part in their ceremonies but also to teach and pass on their songs and other cultural knowledge to their youth. For many singers, resiliency does not appear to revolve solely around the musical practices; it seems more likely, rather, that the ability to maintain tribal culture inheres from being involved in a matrix of supportive activities. Some singers who lived through alcoholism and other challenges gave up alcoholism, continued to sing, and to teach tribal youth. Many of today's experienced singers continue to be staunchly anti-alcohol. Many have accepted role(s) in their tribe's leadership. Still others serve on repatriation or other committees[8]. Some have led leaders of tribal youth groups, designed to prevent the abuse of alcohol and drugs. Learning to be a tribal oral historian[9] is still another skill that many singers have been developing, one that promotes resiliency. As they tap into the extended network of tribal members throughout Southern California and its neighboring tribes, these singers continue to share and to gather information concerning songs and other cultural knowledge. Since I met this group of young singers in the 1990's, I have seen some of them become teachers and/or mentors to subsequent waves of young men and women.

While attending ceremonies, I began to survey and study the relevant archival materials such as the audio recordings and field notes held at the Archives of Traditional Music at the Indiana University[10]. Additionally, I began to read and get familiar with ethnographic reports such as Alfred Kroeber's *Handbook of the Indians of California* (1925), Leslie Spier's *Yuman Tribes of the Gila River* (1933), T. T. Waterman's *The Religious Practices of the Diegueño* (1910), and those of other scholars[11].

Most of these ethnographies and archival audio recordings were collected or written down and published before World War II. Some, however, date to the first decade on the 1900's. While I quickly realized that these materials contain information that could be of useful to the tribes; I also saw that these reports can be hard to decipher. Touching on a related topic, Rainer Hatoum – an anthropologist, archivist, and a Franz Boas (1858-1942) specialist – pointed out that Boas's handwriting was so hard to read that Hatoum had to spend time learning how read them, before he could make sense of the fieldnotes. Having done so, he reported that Boas's early years with the Kwakiutl seemed to convey "…the state of confusion and ignorance we experience when we are confronted with cultural settings utterly

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7   Harry Paul Cuero, Jr. Personal Communication, 2018.
8   Some Kumeyaay singers serve on The San Diego Kumeyaay Cultural Repatriation Committee (KCRC).
9   Saying that singers are oral historians is my insight; and, I believe, an apt one, considering what they have and continue to accomplish.

10   To cite some more: the Research Archives - San Diego History Center. San Diego, California (http://www.sandiegohistory.org/researcharchives , accessed December 2, 2018); The Pacific Region Records Center Facility. Riverside County, California (https://www.archives.gov, accessed December 2, 2018); Archives of Traditional Music, Indiana University (https://www.indiana.edu/~libarchm/index.php, accessed December 2, 2018).
11   Some of which include: Kroeber, Spier, and Waterman.

different from our own"[12] (Hatoum 2016: 238).

Hatoum thought Boas was aware of this and that, as a remedy, regularly consulted with his native collaborator, George Hunt, when preparing papers for publication.

Another factor that can make publications and fieldnotes difficult to understand derives from the difference between the time-specific training of different generations of researchers.

The idea that observers, even ones from different intellectual generations, could visit a people and come up with conclusions that might be contradictory is an issue that some scholars have struggled with. Responding to this, James Clifford pointed out that by 1925 ethnographic reporting and analysis had changed; because anthropologists had figured out how to generate ethnographies in relatively short periods of time, by focusing on the social structure of a group and other key parameters. James Clifford referred to these as the "new ethnographies.[13]" Clifford Gertz's (1995) striking account of a Balinese cockfight is but one example". James Clifford contrasted these "new ethnographies" to the reports that 19th century "arm-chair" anthropologists created, based on their compilations of information gathered in the field by a variety of experts. Still other anthropologists suggested that the use of narrative styles in ethnographic writing undermined the scientific nature of objective reporting.

Responding to the fact that Freeman (in 1984) and Mead (in 1928) had "come to opposite conclusions about the same society," namely Samoan adolescent sexuality, and seeing this as a result of observer bias; Aunger (1995) asserted that such bias could be accounted for by using a methodology that he had developed. Sangren disagreed, arguing that "disputes of interpretation have always been with us"[14].

Moving back to the moment when I first began to listen to the late-night banter of younger singers, in the 1990's; it was at that point that I decided to dedicate some of my time to interpreting older ethnographic and archival accounts, with the hope of demonstrating strategies that could be used when deciphering older sources. I hope that this work may help to bring others closer to the day when they are able to awaken currently slumbering traditions.

The Geographical Area:

At ceremonial events, I soon realized that the musicians I was meeting came from a relatively large geographical region and had similar approaches to performance. When thinking about musical areas, many scholars have defined areas as a result of classifying both melodies and scales and combinations thereof. In contrast, my idea of a musical area or region emphasizes the use of similar approaches towards performance. Margaret Kartomi has refined and expanded on what I mean by performance, with her discussion and definition of "performativity." According to Kartomi:

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12 Here I am thinking of Hatoum's: "I wrote all my notes in shorthand…" (2016: 238). This conclusion seems to relate to field notes and diaries written from 1894 to 1897. Also see, for instance, Briggs and Bauman (1999).

13 Argued in Elster (2010), Chapter 2.1, "The Question of Transcription," p. 80-85. Also, see the original sources: Clifford (2002).

14 See Sangren's comments to Aunger's article (Aunger 1995: 121)

Performativity, on the other hand, refers to all the describable and analysable aspects of a performer's or group's competence or accomplishment while performing, including the sounds, movements, and gestures that the artist(s) produce.[15] (Kartomi 2014: 190)

The larger geographical performance region appears to include the southern part of Southern California, the tribes located along the Colorado River, and the tribal communities in Northern Baja California, in Mexico[16]. I will be using the term the Extended Southern California Performance Region (ESCR) when referring to this region (see Figure 1). Singers from any number of reservations may be invited to participate or may decide to attend a ceremony or tribal gathering held anywhere throughout the ESCR.

Elements of performance practice

Throughout the ESCR, a variety of musical genres are performed or otherwise celebrated. In this paper, I will be focusing on song-cycles and in particular *Birdsongs*, a song cycle and one of the ones that George Herzog (1901-1983) discussed in his 1928 paper: "The Yuman Musical Style" (Herzog 1928: 183-231). When referring to *Birdsongs*, I will sometimes refer to it as being a song cycle and at other times as a "song," following the terminology that I have heard singers and tribal members use, such as: Which song does that singer sing? Answer: *Bird*. The terms *Bird* and *Birdsongs* are used synonymously[17].

In a performance of a song cycle, a singing group may perform 200 to 300 songs, throughout a night[18]. Performers often work together in what I will be referring to as a singing group[19], each of which is led by a "master" singer[20]. In turn, master singers are accompanied by helper singers, comprised both of highly experienced and novice singers, and by a group of dancers, and relatives and friends. At a ceremony or gatherings, multiple singing groups might be heard performing simultaneously, even though each singing group may be singing a different song cycle. There is no attempt to coordinate the performances of one group with another. In fact, the starting and the ending points of the songs of different singing groups may not coincide. The net sonic effect is a unique kind of enriched "wall of sound"[21], one that provides support for all present.

In addition, because singing groups often perform throughout the night, each group tends to get into a groove. It is as if each singing group sets the course of its music/dancing ship towards the morning. Dance steps that will be performed throughout the night become more economical. Each song has its own

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15 See also Cook (2001).
16 By Northern Baja, I mean the area extending from the U.S. border to a point just south of Cabo San Quintin, in Baja California, Mexico; this is approximately 100 miles south of Ensenada.
17 I will make clear those times when I am using "song" to refer to a song cycle (as in *Bird*), in

contrast moments in which I use "song" to refer to one of the songs from the *Birdsong* cycle.
18 Unless a singer(s) has not yet reconstructed a sufficient number of songs from a given song cycle; but it is difficult to make generalizations about song cycles when only a subset may be known; further, I am not privy to the nature of all or even most song cycles.
19 My term.
20 I use "master singer" when referring to singers who have performed for years; who have mastered a song; whose knowledge as a singer appears to be respected, possibly throughout the ESCR; and who travel to and sing at ceremonies throughout the ESCR. Of course, my idea of who might fall into this category is limited to my experience.
21 My term.

melodic/rhythmic profile generated as the performers sing and dance its songs. The singing generally begins with the singers sitting on a bench or row of chairs. The dancers and friends and relatives stand on the dance floor, facing the singers. In response to the leader's cue (consisting of verbal shouts and physical gestures such as the raising of his gourd while generating a distinct percussive pattern); the helpers join in, singing in unison. In response to another cue, the singers stand up and the singing group begins to dance. Dance steps can be economical, reflecting the fact that a singing group often dances through night, with the most basic dance step involving a shifting of one's weight from one foot to the other, in time with the music. All elements are woven together like a finely stitched embroidery, each supportive of yet framed by the other. This includes the dance steps, the rhythmic patterns articulated with the gourds, and the words of each song. The most common percussion musical instrument is a seed-filled gourd[22], the act of using the gourd sometimes being referred to as "throw'n gourd." Through years of participation and practice, singers learn to produce complex rhythmic patterns as they "throw gourd." While dancing, a singer's gourd stroke is integrated with each dance step. A gourd stroke emanates from a singer's core and legs, communicated through his shoulder, the forearm, to the singer's circling wrist, the action of which determines the way(s) in which the seeds make contact with the inside walls of the gourd, thus generating the

sound. Singers can generate sharp, staccato sounds. Or, they also create softer, shushing, or swishing sounds. They create the latter sounds by moving the seeds more gently and slowly. The following illustration shows how the that seeds might move, inside of a gourd while generating either a shushing or a staccato crashing sound (See Figure 2)[23].

The next illustration depicts a gourd pattern that might be used in a three-beat rhythmic pattern (See Figure 3). The sound of the seeds crashing or rolling against the gourd continues after the beat, for a brief moment. In the following illustration, each downward moving stroke is represented with the letter D. The swish stroke is represented with the letter S. In both strokes, the sounds of multiple seeds striking the insides of the gourd begin slightly before each beat and end slightly after it. In contrast to a down stroke, with the swish stroke, the sound of the seeds starts sooner and the duration of their sounds continues for slightly longer.

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22 Other percussion instruments are used such as a tin-can rattle. Still others were used in the past such as deer toe rattles, sticks that were used to articulate rhythmic patterns on an overturned reed basket, and other more idiosyncratic forms such as the beating of one's chest with one's open hand.

23 Wiley Elliot, a Manzanita tribal member and singer, kindly shared the terms shushing and swishing with me. Personal communications, June-November, 2009. Although I have adopted Elliot's terminology for gourd strokes, any errors in interpretation that I have made are of course my own. See Elster (2010: 23-25).
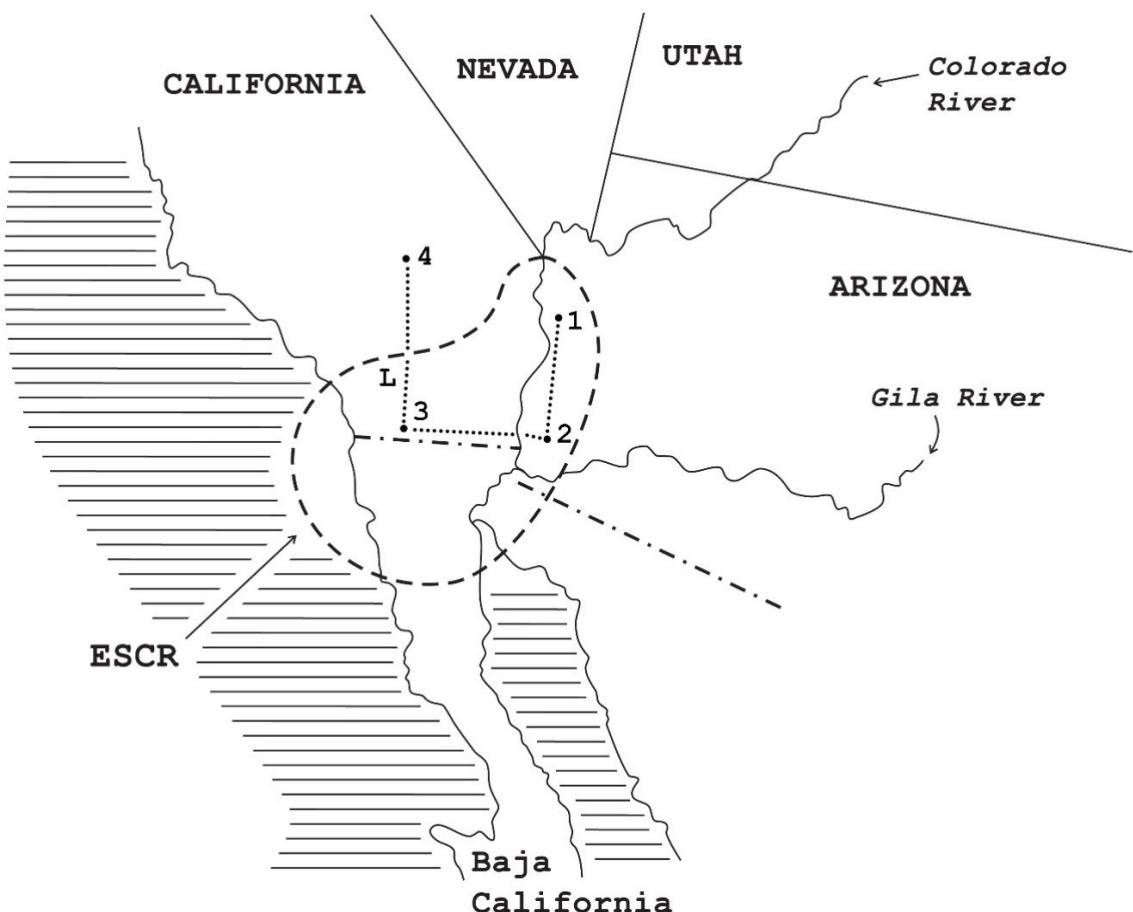
The approximate outline of the ESCR is indicated with: "----------"
The U.S./Mexican boundary is indicated with the symbol: "— · — · — · "
The itinerary of George Herzog's 1927 field trip, in the order he visited:
1. Needles; 2. Yuma; 3. Campo; 4. the Serraño (location approximate).
Helen Roberts worked with the Luiseño. "L" indicates their general location.

Figure 1. The Extended Southern California Region (ESCR)

Down stroke   Swish stroke
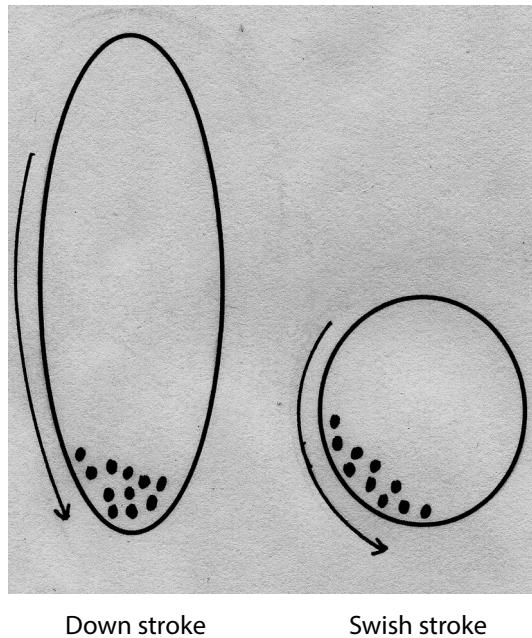
Figure 2. Two gourd strokes. Two possible strokes used when "throwing gourd." These are the "down" stroke (on the left) and the "swish" stroke (on the right).
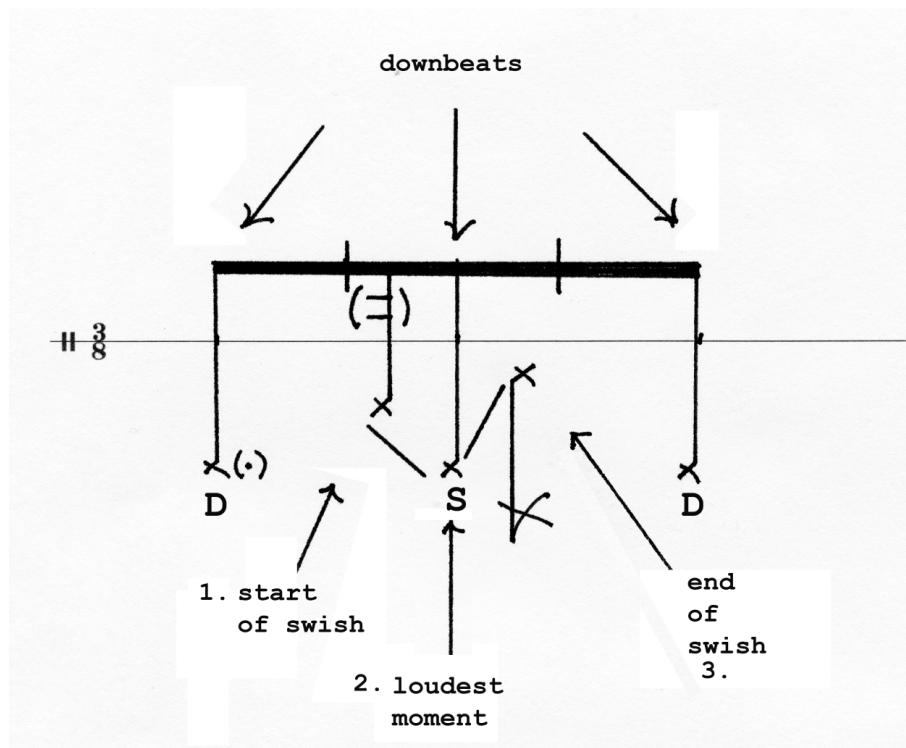
Figure 3. Gourd, a three-beat pattern. The figure shows both the more staccato "down" strokes and "swish" stroke, the latter of which emphasizes a slightly longer sliding of the seeds against the inner wall of the gourd[24].

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24   See the map in Figure 1. Also, see Elster (2010: 23-25).

George Herzog (1901-1983)

During the summer of 1927, the ethnomusicologist George Herzog traveled to the ESCR to make audio recordings of singers from various tribes[25]. Along the Colorado River, in Needles, California, he interviewed and made audio recordings of Mohave singers. Close to the U.S/Mexican border, in Yuma, Arizona, he appears to have worked with Mohave, Quechan, and possibly Cocopa singers. Traveling westward, likely on the road to San Diego, California; Herzog stopped at the Campo reservation. From there, he traveled north to the Serraño, located in San Bernardino County, on the outskirts of Los Angeles[26].

In 1928, Herzog published his descriptions of the music that he had heard, in his paper: "The Yuman Musical Style" (YMS). He included thirty-nine musical transcriptions.

Born in 1901 in Budapest, Herzog attended the Budapest Royal Music Academy, starting in 1917. There, he studied with the composers Zoltán Kodály (1882-1967) and Béla Bartók (1881-1945), and his subjects included: counterpoint, music theory, and piano (Katz 2013: 199). Bartók's interest in studying and transcribing Hungarian folk music preceded his work with Herzog, as is made clear in a 1906 letter that Bartók wrote to his mother (Lampert 2008). Bartók probably introduced Herzog to the study and transcription of Hungarian folk music. Herzog continued his studies at the Berlin Hochschule für Musik, where he studied piano with the Dutch virtuoso Egon Petru (1881-1962) (Katz 2013: 200). In 1920, when the anti-Semitic Admiral Nicholas Horthy

rose to power, in Hungary, Herzog was unable to take his exams in order to qualify for admission to a university[27]. From 1922 to 1924, Herzog volunterred as a research assistant at the Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv that curated a collection of some 10,000 phonograms and that was led by Erich von Hornbostel (1877-1935). (Note: wax cylinder audio recordings were called phonograms. They were recorded on phonographs, audio recording machines.)

By the first decade of the 1900's, the Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv had already set up a program to encourage researchers to make audio recordings from around the world.

> *The arrangement was clear. They [researchers] received a phonograph with the necessary equipment and a bulk of blank [wax] cylinders from the Archive. Upon their return, the equipment was given back, together with a so-called "journal"… Hornbostel himself or other researchers transcribed the music and published the material. (Koch, Wiedmann and Ziegler 2004: 227)*

At the Archiv, Hornbostel and others developed and standardized strategies for making musical transcriptions. They included their decision to use metronome markings to indicate tempo rather than Italian terms that were not relevant for non-European music. Further, they agreed upon symbols to indicate pitches that fell between the cracks of the equal tempered scale. Herzog must have been familiar with this system since he transcribed some 400 was cylinders while at the Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv. In 1924, Franz Boas asked Hornbostel to send him a student who:

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25   On aluminum discs.

26   His itinerary is shown as a sequence of points: 1-4, connected by a dotted line in Figure 1.

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27   Herzog was Jewish. Also, see Inman (1986).

could be trained to carry out anthropological investigations of American Indian music. Von Hornbostel offered the opportunity to Herzog and he eagerly accepted, motivated in part by the political conditions at the time in Germany.

Not able to take his exams in Hungary, Herzog moved to Serbia, where he took his graduate entrance exams in the Yugoslav language. In 1924, he entered graduate school at Columbia University (Inman 1986), where he studied anthropology with Boas. From 1929 to 1931, he was a research assistant at the University of Chicago, where studied with the linguist Edward Sapir. In 1931, Sapir was hired by Yale, at which time he asked his students to join him as lecturers. This included George Herzog, Helen Roberts, and others (Katz 2013: 200). Roberts and Herzog shared a mutual interest in establishing an archive at Yale[28].

Herzog and Helen Roberts, his associate at Yale, urged a reluctant Sapir to at least rent the Fairchild record[29] for a trial period in support of the plans to establish at Yale a sound archive of national importance (Inman 1986).

Robert's fieldwork in the Southwest may have set an example for Herzog. She deposited her first audio recordings in 1923, of Hawaiian music. In 1926 she deposited recordings from a number of tribes, including the Luiseño who are located northeast of San Diego, California[30]. In 1928, she deposited recordings of the Hopi and Pueblo. The next year, she deposited more recordings, made at other Pueblo villages. Her monograph on

Luiseño music, "Form in Primitive Music", appeared in 1933 and included musical transcriptions (Roberts 1933).

Boas and Herzog may have been influenced by Robert's field studies. According to Marilyn Graf, archivist with the Indiana Archives of Traditional Music: "In the summer of 1927, Franz Boas asked George Herzog to make a survey of Indian music in the Southwest." That summer, he made recordings in the ESCR and in New Mexico, with a number of Pueblo tribes.

Thus, when visited the ESCR in 1927, Herzog was a graduate student at Columbia. He was experienced in Hornbostel's methods for taking field notes and making musical transcriptions; further, he was a European-trained musician and pianist with an interest in the traditional musics of the world.

Writings on the work of the Berlin Phonogram Archiv have focused on the number of phonograms held in this archive, the fact that musical transcriptions were made, that Hornbostel and others developed a standardized set symbols to be used when making musical transcriptions, and the musical expertise of those who made the musical transcriptions. Unmentioned, however, is the question of what might happen when a musician encountered an audio recording of a people for which he or she had no cultural context. I am not thinking about a general knowledge of a people and their customs; I am thinking of the kinesthetic memory that musicians apparently can develop upon observing music making. Or as Mitchell and Gallaher wrote in their article titled Embodying Music: Matching Music and Dance in Memory (2001), "music prompts kinesthetic (motor) responses in both children and adults that

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28   Mary Wheelright donated two thousand cylinders to the "new Yale archive." (Inman 1986: 3).

29   A wax cylinder recording machine.

30   By the mid 1920's, Roberts had begun to do fieldwork and make audio recordings. For the approximate location of the Luiseño tribes, see the symbol "L" on the map in Figure 1.

often match some aspect of the music" (p. 66), or "when someone observes a dance, he or she can perform similar actions, translating the visual images from the dancer into kinesthetic and visual of himself or herself" (p. 67)

When Herzog and Hornbostel listened to recordings of music that they had experienced firsthand, might they have evoked and remembered the dance steps that went with that music? What might have occurred, when they listened to music for which they had no visual or first-hand kinesthetic cues, as in: I am listening to some music; yet, because I have never visited or watched the singers and the dancers, making this music, I have no idea how they move or gesture, as they made this music? Musicians, known to be a creative bunch, to say the least, may have believed that they could discern the rhythmic patterns they were hearing. And in some cases, they may have been correct. In other instances, their guesses might have proven to be incorrect.

Herzog faced a variation of this problem, when he transcribed the audio recordings that he had made of ESCR singers; but, it may not have been because he lacked visual cues. As we shall see, he had certainly watched singers and dancers, firsthand. I am not sure, however, that his training at the Berlin-Archiv

prepared him to put together visual information with audio, when it came to making musical transcriptions. Further, as we shall see, ESCR musicians may pose a unique challenge, not just for Herzog, but for any musician who has not spent time dancing to ESCR music.

Based on my fieldwork since the early 1990's and on what singers have kindly shared with me, I know that ESCR song cycles contain both "single-" and "double step" dances. The former utilize a pattern of either two's or three's, from start to finish. While maintaining a steady underlying rhythmic tactus, a double-step song shifts between two's and three's, as shown in Method 1, in Figure 4.

Know implicitly by each singing group, double-step dances introduce both variety and artistry into the already finely woven mesh that links together the words of a song with its melody, its dance steps, and with the rhythmic patterns articulated by the gourds. Having said this, a double step song is likely to throw off novices who may be expecting a song's initial rhythmic pattern (in two's, or in three's) to continue from start to finish. For a beginner, in a double step song, rhythmic shifts can seem to come without warning. This is one element that Herzog would need to respond to when transcribing the recordings that he had made.

Method 1   Method 2

Figure 4. Two types of rhythmic variation

In his YMS, Herzog indicates that he realized that rhythmic shifts were occurring. But as I will demonstrate, it is not clear that he perceived the presence of an underlying tactus, as shown in Method 1 of Figure 4; or whether he thought that the duration of each measure remained the constant unit but that the number of beats per measure might change, as is indicated in Method 2 of Figure 4. Two types of rhythmic variation. Here is an excerpt of what Herzog wrote. Note that while he mentions rhythmic variation, he does not say whether there is a steady underlying tactus:

> *In more than half of the songs the time-unit ("bar") is not constant within the song. The most diverse combinations occur, which reappear without change in subsequent repetitions of the song. Such forms imply a more complex and more flexible feeling for rhythm than is ours, and they do not have to be interpreted as deviations from simple norms to which our rhythmic habits have become limited. (Herzog 1928: 194)*

With another statement of his, he also does not clear up this issue. I will subsequently be asserting that because he did not clear up this problem, he made rhythmic errors in some of his transcriptions.

> *Often the same rhythmic configuration is found in subsequent time-units ("bars") of different length. This may appear as a shortening or lengthening of the same rhythmic figure, by eliding or adding a rhythmic unit (beat). (The last bar of a phrase is often set off in this way, as in [transcriptions] Nos. 1, 4, 29, 30). Or, the number of beats is kept but their actual time-values are changed; in which case the figure appears contracted or expanded. A common practice of this kind is a temporary change from a two-unit to a three-unit rhythm, a continuous movement like ♪♪ ♪♪ changes*

> *for a few beats to ♩ ♪ or vice versa (See Nos. 5, 14, 26). In many songs, the rhythmic unit is a combination of these two elements (as in Nos. 12, 21, 25, 27, 30, 32). (Herzog 1928: 194)*

As a concert pianist and lover of traditional music, Herzog was eminently qualified to discuss rhythmic variation. However, he had not been trained to gather and synthesize rhythmic information from a variety of sources: melody, dance movements, gourd patterns, and other types of movements and gestures. It seems clear that both Herzog and Roberts, his contemporary at Yale, were part of a group of scholars who spearheaded the recognition that so-called primitive peoples were as sophisticated as Europeans and Euro-Americans. Even a brief review of the literature on dance and anthropology or the study of music and dance will show that neither of these topics had drawn more than marginal interest, in Herzog's time. Concerning scholars who have been interested in both music and dance, Brenda Farnell, an anthropologist and dancer, noted that Boas (one of Herzog's teachers) was apparently always interested in this topic, as evidenced in the title of his 1888 publication: "On Certain Songs and Dances of the Kwakiutl of British Columbia" (Farnell 2003[31]). Farnell believes, however, that Boas missed a chance to bring this topic into the mainstream of scholarship, when he chose to exclude "gesture language" from his 1911 The Handbook of American Indian Languages (Farnell 2003: 46-47). With her brief chronology, Farnell demonstrate that there has always been interest in the nexus between anthropology and dance and music (Farnell 2003)[32]. She notes that Franz Boas, for

31 For the original, see Boas (1888).

32 For another historical discussion of scholars interested in dance and anthropology, see Torp (2013) and also Richter (2010).

instance, reconsidered this question, at the age of 70. Possibly in response Rudolf Laban's then recent work on dance notation (Laban 1928[33]) and because he was working with Franziska Boas (1902-1988), his daughter and a modern dancer, and because he could now procure and travel with a motion picture camera; Boas once again visited the Kwakiutl, this time with both a wax cylinder recorder and a motion picture camera (Farnell 2003: 43-55). Technology had advanced, his intent was clear. Boas wanted to use audio recording in conjunction with film, to study the relationship between Kwakiutl music and dance.

Whereas Boas and Sapir and their students were ready to debunk the idea of the primitive, others have suggested that there would be quite a delay before scholars embraced the study of anthropology and dance or of music and dance. One group of scholars writes that these interests did not become disciplines until the 1960's and 1970's (Kringelbach and Skinner 2012: 2-5). In 1993, Grau (1993) reports that "The study of dance, let alone 'dance anthropology,' is still barely accepted by academic…". Farnell even goes so far as to suggest that the bifurcation of anthropology and dance reflected a belief in participant-observers that they needed to have a separation between themselves and the people they studied. Farnell writes:

> The participant-observer may participate in a ghostlike manner, wandering through the ethnographic groves, making notes, drawing diagrams, learning to talk and ask questions; but not, for the most part, learning how to dance, how to gesture appropriately, how to make fires or build a hut, make dry meat, pound grain, or put a baby to sleep, and all the other myriads of activities that constitute

> tacit and embodied knowledge in cultural practice. (Farnell 1994)

Thus, it seems possible that there has been a division between those who study music, and those who study dance, and those who study anthropology. Based on this, perhaps Herzog (in 1927) was more likely to stick with his pen and musical manuscript paper than to set them aside and become a participant-dancer.

What solutions, however, have scholars come up with for notating both music and dance on the same score? The answer to this question does not seem to be clear. While highly accurate, dance notations such as Labanotation seem so complex that most people could not be expected to understand their meaning. As Brenda (2002: 38) wrote, "few readers are literate in this [Labanotation] writing system". As a temporary remedy, I will be using a simple yet direct method, for indicating dance steps in Birdsongs.

Hamini kovara, a "single-step" song

I will now consider one of the musical transcriptions that Herzog made of the eleven *Bird* songs that the Mohave singer Sitcomai sang, in Needles, Arizona.[34]. Herzog described Sitcomai as being forty-five years of age. This song is *Hamini kovara*, a "single-step" and it uses the same rhythmic pattern from start to finish. A scan of Herzog's

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33 This was not published until 1928, well towards the end of Boas's career.

34 Herzog's audio tapes and his fieldnotes are at the Archives of Traditional Music, Indiana University. The field notes are not paginated but are divided into a number of categories. For the information that Herzog includes about Sitcomai, see the type-written notes that begin with the heading: "Phonograph records collected by George Herzog, Summer, 1927."

transcription of *Hameni korerãa* is shown in Figure 5.

As suggested in his transcription of this song, Herzog rarely used bar lines in his musical transcriptions. In this instance, he used a time signature of 21/4 in conjunction with a metronome reading of each quarter note = 106, implying a brisk and regular tempo.

I have listened to Herzog's audio recording of this song. The gourd or other percussion instrument is not audible. While there are moments when the singer Sitcomai distorts the underlying rhythmic pulse, the recording sounds like a song with a steady three-beat pattern. Because the underlying tactus is brisk, while dancing to this song, one might simple shift one's weight from one foot to the other, in time with the downbeat of first beat of each measure, as indicated in Figure 6[35].

As a first step towards indicating the steady, three-beat pattern, I have re-notated Herzog's transcription, adding bar lines, measure numbers, and a time signature of 3/4 (see Figure 7).

Each song (in the *Birdsong* song cycle) generally contains two sections, each of which may be repeated, a number of times. In my experience, it is easiest to perceive these sections while dancing and listening to the music, the gourd pattern, and the words. After having spent enough time dancing at ceremonies, I have found that it is also possible to get a sense of the rhythmic pattern of an individual song and even its dance steps[36]. As I listen, I hear two sections.

The performer Sitcomai sings a number of repetitions of each of section. Herzog's transcription also indicates two sections; but they are in different places, ones that do not reflect the repetitions of the words and the melody, on the tape. While Herzog had developed a general understanding that each song contained two sections; it seems unlikely that he listened to his tape that much since his repeat signs do not delineate the sections 1 and 2, as heard on the audio recording. To indicate these sections and other aspects of this song, I have provided my own transcription (see Figure 8), with the first section consisting of measures 1-14. After repeating this first section, a number of times; Sitcomai sings some repetitions of section 2, consisting of measures 15-28. Beginning with measure 16, the singer reaches his higher pitch, for the song. A rise to the highest pitch level for a song, in the second section, is a characteristic that Herzog referred as the "Yuman rise." It apparently occurs in all *Birdsongs*. I have graphically aligned repeated phrases of this song such as *Hey-yo-oo* in measures 6-7 and 13-14, as well as others.

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35 This figure consists of the first two system shown in Figure 8. *Hameni kaurerãay*, based on the tape. I developed the dance step symbol (the "foot") in Elster (2014).

36 This is one point where I need to emphasize that my perceptions may very well differ from those of others, especially when listening to a song that I have never seen performed.

Figure 5. A scan of Herzog's transcription of *Hamini kovara*.
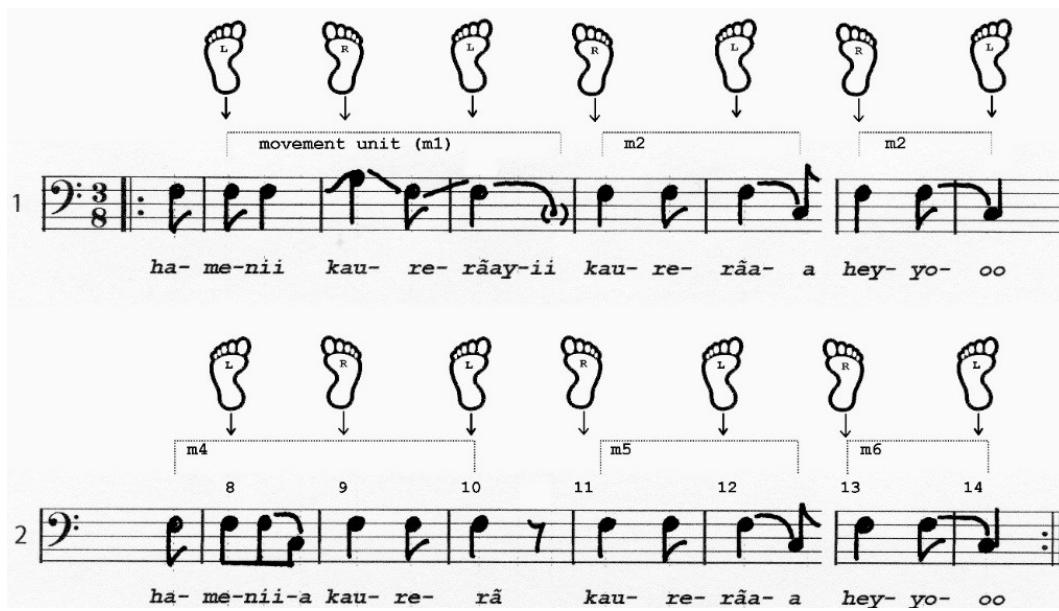
Figure 6: Dance step[37]

Figure 7. Herzog's *Hamini kovara,* rewritten with bar lines

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37 A possible dance step for a song with a steady, repeated three-beat pattern. I am using a graphic to indicate alternating between the left and right feet. The "movement units", m1 – m6 are discussed below".

Figure 8. *Hameni kaurerãay*, based on the tape

As indicated above[38], each individual *Birdsong* song has elements that seem to support and help to support a singing group as they perform through the night. Hamini is an excellent example (See Figure 6). Part of the support comes from I call the "movement

units" (MU) that draw on elements in the melody, the rhythm, and the dance steps. Each MU contains a repeated middle level pitch ("f"). From there, the singer either reaches up a third or down a fourth, to pitches that seem to give drive to the melody. Each time the singer reaches down to the fourth, he does this on an upbeat, and

38   See the heading: Elements of Performance:

the melody seems to be propelled back to the mid-level pitch. The final "*hey-yo-oo*", at the end of each system, is one of the few places where the singer reaches the lower fourth on a downbeat. This, immediately followed by a faster moving recitation of "*hey-yo-oo*" seems to add even more motion to the melody. This combined with the steady motion of the dance step (left foot, right, left, right…) produces the kind of tight-knit sound and motion that birdsingers are known for and that seems to help them move through the night, from song to song, and hour to hour.

Herzog's wrote down quite a few details, in his field notes[39]. They include the main words for each song, and each song's rhythmic gourd pattern and on which beat the singers struck the ground with his foot. In addition to his audio recordings, the Archive of Traditional Music at Indiana also has musical transcriptions that Herzog made for many songs. a page of transcription for each song that he transcribed[40]. Regarding Sitcomai, Herzog said:

> *Almost all of the songs have at the beginning a few words spoken; the number of the song [said by the singer] (for me) and joking remarks addressed for the dancers in order to clear them up [i.e. encourage them to dance]. At the end of all (except for No. 1, here singer has forgotten to do it) have 'ha' syllables repeated. At these [,] the dancers jump and "make jokes" Charlie Wilbur [Herzog's Mohave collaborator?] said around the seventh song: "these songs are not so good, now it becomes always better and better …*

Above, Herzog wrote that: "the dancers jump." It seems possible the he may have been referring to the jump dance step. As they execute a jump step, dancers pivot from the right to the left (or left to right), timing their jumps to coincide with a downbeat. As their feet touch the earth, the dancers bend their knees deeply while holding their arms out in front of their torsos (See Figure 9).

I learned more about what Sitcomai had said by playing the tape to a dear friend, Ione Dock (1924 – 2007), a Mohave elder, oral historian, an expert dancer, and always supportive of younger tribal members from throughout the ESCR who wanted to learn more about their respective cultures. Apparently starting with his 6th song, Sitcomai spoke in Mohave to those who had gathered to listen. Here are excerpts from Dock's translation[41]:

> **Sitcomai**: This is the 6th song now you kick the ground or stomp your feet you know like keeping in time. You really dash.
>
> **Sitcomai**: This song is the 7th so really get into it. This is the 7th song so I'm really gonna get into it. I'm gonna sing but really kick the ground.
>
> **Dock**: Regarding Sitcomai's remarks, she explains, "It's like a boost or encouragement."
>
> **Sitcomai**: This is the 8th song and what I'm gonna do is I'm gonna lift my foot up real high.
>
> **Dock**: "What he means is [to keep] in time with the music [when Sitcomai says] I'm gonna stomp the ground."

39 The accession number for Sitcomai's recordings of eleven *Birdsongs* at the Indiana Archive of Traditional Music (ATM) are ATM Cylinder #'s 3992 through 4003.

40 Probably meaning this. Herzog is not clear.

41 On July 11, 2001, Ione Dock was kind enough to listen to Sitcomai's tape and the remarks that he made before each song. Ione Dock, Personal Communications.

Sitcomai: I'm gonna get really into it I'm gonna lift up my leg and stomp the ground. Lift both legs up and really keep in time with the music.

Sitcomai: Really get into the rhythm and really stomp your foot. That's what I'm gonna do he said.

Sitcomai: This is the tenth song and really get into it. You really stomp your feet.

Dock: "That's what it [the tape] says."

Dock's translation makes it clear that Herzog's time with Sitcomai transcended the strict confines of an ethnographer-interviewee relationship. For, as Sitcomai continued to sing, a lens seems to have been opening up into how tribal members gathered around a singer and began to dance. In addition, Dock helps us to understand what and how Sitcomai was communicating with and asking his audience to do, namely to dance with all their heart. Not just as conveyed by Sitcomai's remarks but also based on my own experience dance seems to be an element that cannot be separated from any of the other elements that comprise a *Birdsong*. Indeed, singing *Bird* means *throw'n gourd* while singing and dancing. For those interested in learning more about *Birdsongs*, learning to dance to them is a step that no one should leave out.
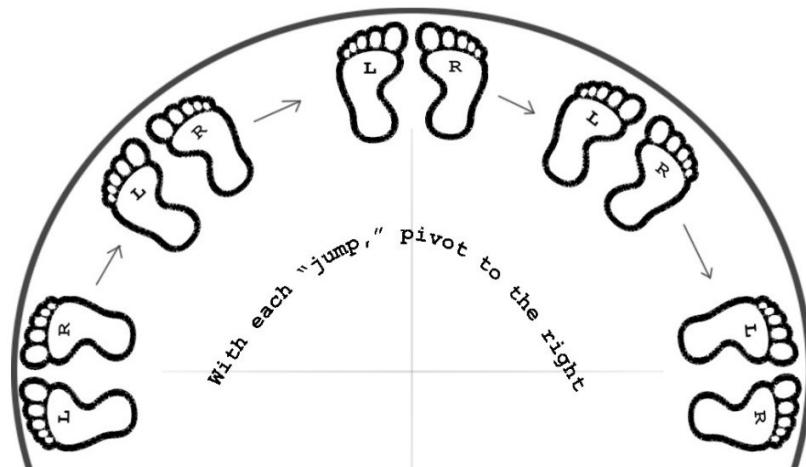
Figure 9. The jump step.

Conclusion

I do not see how Herzog could have been expected to discern either the steady underlying tactus or these rhythmic shifts, based solely on listening to his recordings. It seems possible that he along with others came to expect that they could proceed in this fashion in part because they were such superbly trained European musicians. When it comes to making musical transcriptions of *Birdsongs*, there apparently is no substitute for learning to dance to these songs and perhaps even learning to *throw gourd*. Studying dance as a strategy for learning more about a people's music does not appear to have been part of the philosophy suggested to the musicians who were making musical transcriptions of the cylinders at the Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv. In this sense, Herzog was the recipient of a training that seems antiquated today. On the other hand, his 1927 audio recordings of ESCR musicians along with his field notes would seem to constitute materials of a kind that might not be found today. At the same time, *Bird* is a song-cycle that many of today's singer know. I hope that this discussion may be of use to tribal scholars or others who would like to rescue jewels that may be hidden away in archives and publications from nearly a century ago, waiting to be awoken.

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Joyful boys singing *Hoya Hoye*: biblical, social, cultural connotations and symbolism of the *Buhe* celebration in Ethiopia

Timkehet Teffera

Abstract: *Buhe* belongs to the major religious holidays of Christian Orthodox Tewahido community of Ethiopian. It commemorates the Transfiguration of the Lord Jesus Christ on Mount Tabor. This article will review all imaginable aspects of *buhe*. Only a handful of written accounts referring to *buhe* are at our disposal. Selected materials, private conversations and interviews with community members have been used in this study. Besides the description, the traditional boy's song *hoya hoye*, has been thoroughly discussed. The reason why boys perform this functional song is to epitomize shepherds, who played at the foot of Mount Tabor, marking the day of Jesus' Transfiguration. Audio materials derived from recordings made during fieldworks in Ethiopia in 2005, 2006, 2015 and 2016.

Keywords: Buhe. Hoya Hoye. Ethiopia.

Garotos alegres cantando Hoya Hoye: Conotações bíblicas, sociais e culturais e simbolismo da celebração de Buhe na Etiópia

Resumo: *Buhe* pertence aos principais feriados religiosos da comunidade ortodoxa cristã de Tewahido da Etiópia. Comemora a Transfiguração do Senhor Jesus Cristo no Monte Tabor. Este artigo reverá todos os aspectos imagináveis do *buhe*. Apenas um punhado de relatos escritos referentes a *buhe* estão à nossa disposição. Materiais selecionados, conversas privadas e entrevistas com membros da comunidade foram usados neste estudo. Além da descrição, a música tradicional do menino, *hoya hoye*, foi amplamente discutida. A razão pela qual os meninos executam essa canção funcional é de sintetizar o papel dos pastores, que tocaram no sopé do Monte Tabor, marcando o dia da Transfiguração de Jesus. Materiais de áudio são oriundos de gravações feitas durante trabalhos de campo na Etiópia em 2005, 2006, 2015 e 2016.

Palavras-chave: Buhe. Hoya Hoye. Ethiopia.

Chicos alegres cantando Hoya Hoye: connotaciones, simbolismo, culturales y culturales de la celebración de Buhe en Etiopía

Resumen: *Buhe* pertenece a las principales festividades religiosas de la comunidad ortodoxa tewahido de Etiopía. Conmemora la Transfiguración del Señor Jesucristo en el Monte Tabor. Este artículo revisará todos los aspectos imaginables de *buhe*. Solo un puñado de cuentas escritas referidas a *buhe* están a nuestra disposición. En este estudio se han utilizado materiales seleccionados, conversaciones privadas y entrevistas con miembros de la comunidad. Además de la descripción, la canción del niño tradicional *hoya hoye*, ha sido ampliamente discutida. La razón por la que los niños interpretan esta canción funcional es para personificar a los pastores, que tocaron al pie del Monte Tabor, para marcar el día de la Transfiguración de Jesús. Materiales de audio derivados de las grabaciones realizadas durante el trabajo de campo en Etiopía en 2005, 2006, 2015 y 2016.

Palabras-clave: Buhe. Hoya Hoye. Ethiopia.

Introduction

The word *Buhe* is believed to originate from the term *buha* (Hebrew) or *boha* ቦሃ (Amharic) meaning bold head, barren land or something exposed a light and something bright. The latter refers to seasonal changes. Buhe takes place towards the end of the rainy season with mainly wet and gloomy weather, only a couple of weeks before the Ethiopian New Year[1], *ənqutatash*[2], 11th/12th September, a period that replaces the rainy season with relatively brighter, blue-sky days accompanied by the New Year. This seasonal change is spiritually represented with the glory of Jesus Christ's Divinity.

Another *Buhe*-related term is *bəhu'ə* or *buho* ብሑ፡ዕ/ቡሆ (Ge'ez), meaning dough, referring to the dough prepared to bake the special *Buhe* loafs, *mulmul*. The syllable *bwa* ቧ also denotes the Lord Jesus Christ's appearance, lighting the area with brightness and shimmer with His snow-white robe (Abebe and Tadesse 2015). In this regard, *Buhe* refers to light or to the graceful brightness that was witnessed during the transfiguration.

Ethiopian clergymen relate *Buhe* with the Amharic designation *Däbrä Tabor*. *Däbrä* means 'mountain' and *Tabor* alludes to the Mount Tabor. Another biblical story associated with Mount Tabor is Peter's (the apostle) confession to Jesus Christ, which took place on this mountain. In Matthew 16:13-17, the following is narrated:

> Now when Jesus came into the district of Caesarea Philippi, He was asking His disciples, "Who do people say that the Son of Man is?" And they said, "Some say John the Baptist; and others, Elijah; but still others, Jeremiah, or one of the prophets. He said to them, "But who do you say that I am?" Simon Peter replied, "You are the Christ, the Son of the living God.[3]" And Jesus answered him, "Blessed are you, Simon Bar-Jonah! For flesh and blood has not revealed this to you, but my Father who is in heaven"[4].

40 days prior to His humiliating death for the sins of mankind, Jesus revealed the glory of His Divinity on Mount Tabor to only three of His twelve disciples, leaving the remaining nine at the foot of the mountain. In Matthew 17:1-5 the following is narrated:

> After six days Jesus took with him Peter, James and John the brother of James, and led them up a high mountain by themselves. There he was transfigured before them. His face shone like the sun, and his clothes became as white as the light. Just then there appeared before them Moses and Elijah, talking with Jesus. Peter said to Jesus, "Lord, it is good for us to be here. If you wish, I will put up three shelters—one for you, one for Moses and one for Elijah. While he was still speaking, a bright cloud covered them, and a voice from the cloud said, "This is my Son,

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1   The Ethiopian calendar is based on the Coptic calendar. Seven to eight years' gap exists between the Ethiopian and Gregorian Calendars. The Ethiopic calendar is made up of 12 months, each consisting of 30 days. Every month has its own local name taken from the ancient *Ge'ez* language. Besides the 12 equal months (*Mäskäräm, Təqəmt, Hədar, Tahsas, Tər, Yäkatit, Mägabit, Miyazia, Gənbot, Säne, Hamle* and *Nähase*), the remaining 5 or 6 days (in leap years) resulting from this calculation are considered as the thirteenth month, *Pagume* (see also Getahun 2014: 150; Wainwright and Westerfield Tucker 2006: 145). Therefore, Ethiopia is known as the land with the '13 Months of Sunshine' a motto used to advertise the tourism industry of the country (see also Teffera 2015).

2   According to the Ethiopian calendar, it is the month called *Mäskäräm*. See details about the Ethiopian New Year in Timkehet Teffera (2015).

3   In the liturgical language Ge'ez this phrase is read as follows: አንተ ውእቱ ክርስቶስ ወልደ አግዚአብሔር ሕያው።

4   See further information in Exodus 33:17-23.

whom I love; with him I am well pleased. Listen to him!".

This was the moment Jesus Christ was referring to when He said,

"There be some standing here which shall not taste of death till they see the Son of man coming in His Kingdom". (Matthew 16:281)[5]

Jesus Christ took only three of His disciples to the mountain, leaving the other nine at the mountain's foot. The reason why he left the others was because of Judah, who was not meant to watch the miracle on the Mount Tobor. On the other hand though there are assumptions that The Lord did not want to leave Judah alone, assuming that he would reveal the secret and deceive Him (Abebe and Tadesse 2015; Mengistu 2015). Nonetheless, the eight apostles sensed Jesus' glory and secret taking place on Mount Tabor, even though they were not physically on the spot. The bible reports the following in the introduction of the Sermon on Mount Tabor:

Now when Jesus saw the crowds, he went up on a mountainside and sat down. His disciples came to him, and he began to teach them. He said: "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are those who mourn, for they will be comforted. Blessed are the meek, for they will inherit the earth. Blessed are those ho hunger and thirst for righteousness, for they will be filled. Blessed are the merciful, for they will be shown mercy. Blessed are the pure in heart, for they will see God. Blessed are the peacemakers, for they will be called children of God. Blessed are those who are persecuted because of righteousness, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are you when people insult you, persecute you and falsely

say all kinds of evil against you because of me. Rejoice and be glad, because great is your reward in heaven, for in the same way they persecuted the prophets who were before you (Matthew 5:1-12).

The reason why Jesus Christ deliberately chose Mount Tabor for his Transfiguration was to fulfill David's prophecy. "The north and the south you have created them: Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in your name". Tabor and Hermon - That is, the west and the east - the former of these mountains being on the western side of Palestine, the other on the eastern, and both of them being objects of beauty and grandeur. The idea is, that God had control of all parts of the universe; that the world in every direction, and in every part, declared his power, and made known his greatness. Shall rejoice in thy name or, do rejoice in thee. That is, They, as it were, exult in thee as their God. They are clothed with beauty, as if full of joy; and they acknowledge that all this comes from thee as the great Creator" (Psalm 89:12; 65:8; 65:12 and 96:11-12)5.

In addition, the biblical account of Deborah and Barak is related to Mount Tabor. As repeatedly mentioned in the Holy Bible, for instance, in Judges 4-5, Deborah, a prophet and wife of Lappidoth, sang a song on Mount Tabor glorifying Jesus Christ after Barak defeated the army of Sisera.

Pursuant to the astonishing miracle, they witnessed on Mount Tabor, the faith of Peter, James and John grew stronger than ever before. Therefore they were prepared for the trial of the Lord's approaching passion and death and they were able to witness not only human suffering, but the entire passion of the Son of God, as well. Moreover, they saw Moses and Elijah speaking with the Lord (figure 1), and thereby, understood that He,

5   See additional information in Mark 9:2-8; Luke 9:28–36 and Peter 1:16–18; see also interview with Alemu Haile in Sheger (2017).

Himself, was not Elijah or any other prophet, but someone superior, namely He [The Lord], who calls upon the Law and the prophets to be His witnesses, because He was the fulfilment of both (Mengistu 2015).

Jesus Christ brought the two prophets from the Old Testament, Moses and Elijah and three disciples from the New Testament (Peter, James and John) to Mount Tabor and revealed His glory. The Lord deliberately selected Moses and Elijah in order to make sure that the two represent both the married and unmarried. Moses had namely a married status, while Elijah was still a virgin (unmarried). This is to denote that both married and unmarried are allowed to entering the paradise. Both are considered equal in the eyes of the Almighty God. Similarly, the church also opens its doors to both married and unmarried humans. In other words, *paradise* and *church* are home for everyone regardless of his/her marital status. Peter, John and Jacob were perplexed when Moses and Elijah suddenly appeared in front of them talking with God. At this moment,

> Peter said to Jesus, "Lord, it is good for us to be here. If You wish, I will put up three shelters: one for You, one for Moses, and one for Elijah".[6] (Matthew 17:3-4; see also Mark 9:5 and Luke 9:33)

In the *Ge'ez* language, the following sentence expresses the moment related with Christ's transfiguration ዝንቱ ውዕቱ ውልደየ ዘአፈቅር ወለተስምኦ. It narrates about God the Almighty's voice that came from the cloud, saying, "This is my Son, whom I have chosen; listen to him" (Luke 9: 35; see also Sheger

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6   Ahade leke, wehade lemuse wehade le'elias ngber mahdere = አሃደ ለከ ወሃደ ለሙሴ ወሃደ ለሙሴ ለኢልያስ ንግበር ማህደረ (ancient Gə'əz language, Ethiopia)

2017). This narration is of vital importance for the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahədo Church, which accepts both Old and New Testaments (Abebe and Tadesse 2015; Woldu 2012; Sheger 2017).

Ethiopian scholars relate *Däbrä Tabor* with the account of Noah and his descendants. This account narrates the construction of a gigantic ship for years in which animals went in two by two survive the flood. Further narratives refer to the dove that came back to the ship with an olive branch in order to announce the end of the suffering (Genesis 8: 11-12). Then the receding of the waters follows and finally - as a sign of God's covenant with Noah - and his descendants a rainbow (indication for God's eternality) appeared in the sky, an arc of refracted light glimmering in the all colors. So in relation with the *Däbrä Tabor* feast in Ethiopia, the day when Noah and his descendants saw the tip of mountains for the first time after 40 days of suffering. This was the day when the water receded as narrated in the book of Genesis (8: 3-5):

> and the water receded steadily from the earth, and at the end of one hundred and fifty days the water decreased. In the seventh month, on the seventeenth day of the month, the ark rested upon the mountains of Ararat. The water decreased steadily until the tenth month; in the tenth month, on the first day of the month, the tops of the mountains became visible.

This miracle gave Noah great hope so that he subsequently commanded his descendants to commemorate the discovery of the mountain's top and the gradual receding of the water. In other words, this narrative also indicates the end of the dark period of the year and the dawn of the bright season,

which is also symbolized with the *Buhe* or *Däbrä Tabor* holiday (Abebaw Ayalew 2017).

Whip Cracking: Its Biblical Connotation and Symbolism

Another custom connected with the *Buhe* holiday is that of the whip-cracking that is heard in many areas (figure 2). Tree barks or vegetable fibers are used to make whips, locally called *ǧəraf* (Amharic). The fibers are braided in order to create a sonorous sound from the *ǧəraf*. A few days prior to *Buhe*, the sound of cracking whips echoes in many neighborhoods, signaling the approach of the holiday as well as marking the end of the dark season.

Abebaw Ayalew (2017) describes the use of the *ǧəraf* in conjunction with the cropping season that starts around the mid of *Hamle* (July) and lasts until the beginning of *Nehassie* (August). Farmers all over Ethiopia are busy with cropping. The period after the cropping, namely *Nehassie* (August) to *Təqəmt* (October) farmers and their families are busy protecting the crop fields from wild animals and birds. In many parts of Ethiopia, it is the traditional duty of young boys who serve as shepherds gazing their flocks and at the same time also protecting the crop fields. It is customary that the boys, among other things, use *ǧərafs* to guide their flocks, but they also crack them as loud as possible in order to scare away animals from the fields. While during other seasons of the year shepherds would use simple sticks to gaze their flocks, during the rainy season, *ǧəraf* sounds are common to protect the field and to gaze their flocks.
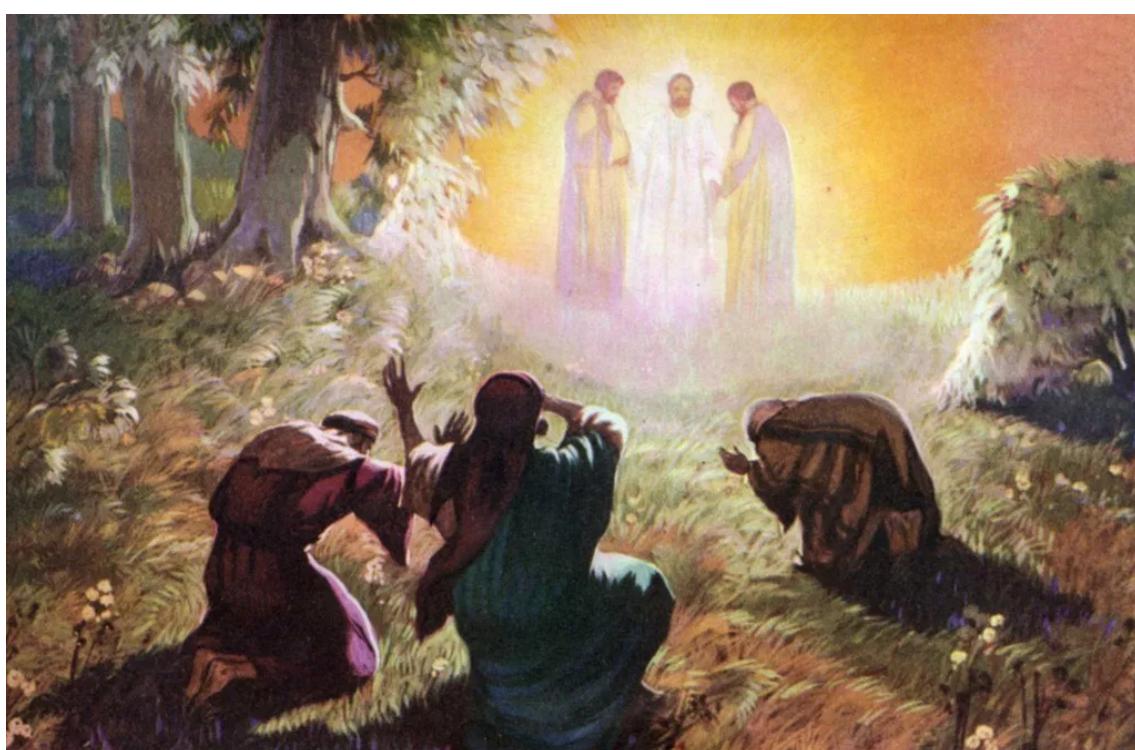
Figure 1: Image displaying the transfiguration of the Lord Jesus Christ on Mount Tabor in front of his disciples Peter, James and John; Moses and Elijah are seen in the light standing Jesus' right and left side speaking with Him. Photo source: https://godshotspot.wordpress.com/tag/jesus-transfiguration-on-mountain

In Gondär (northern Ethiopia) and nearby rural villages, for instance, shepherds form small groups and go to hill tops to enjoy cracking the *ǧəraf*s they made, usually comparing the sound of one whip with the other. Participants try their level best to produce the loudest sound from their respective whips and win a competition amongst them. Each boy takes *mulmul* breads (home-baked loaves only baked from wheat for this holiday; see detailed description below). At the end of the competition the winner is ascertained. Consequently, he will be given the opportunity to take all the *mulmul*, with a right to determine whether to share it with the other boys. Fearing to loose, every participating boy tries his level best to become the winner of the game[7] (Desta 2010). The symbolic meaning of the *ǧəraf* cracking is connected with the thunderous sound that was heard when Jesus revealed His glory and transfigured.

In relation with the explosive *ǧəraf*s sounds that penetrate the darkness and echo in the air, Roy (2005: 25) discusses "organized battles of men, young and old, who lashed out at each other in teams until one of them could no longer stand the pain". According to Alemu Haile (2017) the lashing battle takes place to symbolize the suffering of the Lord Jesus Christ who was whipped by Judas 6.666 times. This tradition has diminished today largely, because at times severe injuries occur through the lashing. Some few rural areas are however, assumed to practice it still today. In some regions of Arsi and Gojjam, such battles take place at central

spots of villages where people come together on various events. Reminick similarly argues about an old ritual of whipping contests in which masculinity and honor plays a vital role among the *Amhara*, a tradition that is ever since attributed to the male domain as the scholar puts it as follows in connection with Buhe:

> *Of all the religious celebrations that derive from both the Christian and indigenous realms the celebration of Buhe is most expressive of the values of masculinity and the code of honor implicit in the body of values. ….it has been the custom for men to pit their skill and stamina against their fellows in a whipping battle that proves beyond doubt where the superiority lies. For about a week prior to the actual event men and boys find their whips, repair them, affix new snappers or set about making new whips from rope or hide. During this period the males of the community are also getting their arms in shape practicing with the whip; renewing old skills and learning new whip cracking techniques.(Reminick 2006: 185-186)*

Furthermore, Desta (2010) explains another version of cracking *ǧəraf* during the *Buhe* season in connection with traditional farming activities. In traditional agrarian communities ploughing is done by using paired oxen since ancient times. During the initial cultivation of soil in preparation for sowing seed, farmers use these animals until total exhaustion beating them with *ǧəraf* whips. This task should be accomplished until *Buhe*, because after that there is no farming as the rhymes below accordingly reflect it:

> ቡሄ ካለፈ የለም ክረምት
> [*No more rain, after the Buhe holiday*]
>
> ዶሮ ከጮኸ የለም ሊሊት
> [*No more darkness after the rooster crows*]

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7   Information retrieved from Mesfin Messele Desta's interview at Deutsche Welle Amharic Program. Desta is staff of the Addis Ababa University (AAU), College of Humanities, Language Studies Journalism and Communication.

So, in some areas, people believe that farmers would feel guilty for having beaten their animals with *ǧəraf* whips. Therefore, on *Buhe* they gather and whip one other in order to remove their sins.

From a biblical aspect, the whip cracking embodies the Lord's thunderous voice and the sparkling light witnessed during His transfiguration.

Mulmul Bread: Its Biblical Connotation and Symbolism

As stated earlier, *mulmuls* (Figure 3) are a type of bread, especially baked for the *Buhe* holiday. The relation of *mulmuls* with the biblical history goes as follows: When the Lord's glory was revealed on Mount Tabor, shepherds were excited and thought the night did not yet set in. They stayed there leaving their parents worried for not showing up at home at their usual time. Parents, therefore, went out to search for their kids, carrying freshly baked bread to feed them wherever they found them. This act symbolizes love, attachment, concern and care between family members. It is also part of the tradition that Ethiopian mothers bake and distribute *mulmuls* to children of close family members or group of boys, who come to sing *Hoya Hoye* (Abebe and Tadesse 2015). It is also important to mention that *mulmuls* symbolize the Last Supper, during which Jesus Christ distributed loafs of bread to His followers. His disciples represent the children, while Jesus' act reflects that of their mothers (Matthew 10:12). Therefore, for some religious scholars, *mulmul* breads directly symbolize the Lord, whose flesh is true food and whose blood is real drink (*Ge'ez* = ሕብስት ዘወረደ ከሰማያት ወአቢሎት� ለኩሉ ዓለም; see also John 6:55).

Figure 2: Shepherd boys cracking their whips high above Addis (seen in the background). Source, http://thomasmeyerson.blogspot.de, last retrieved December 08, 2018.

Figure 3: Mulmul bread baked only for the celebration of Buhe. Source, https://www.flickr.com/photos/ilri/4919364846, last retrieved December 08, 2018.

Mulmuls are habitually prepared of white wheat flour. The whiteness of the flour epitomizes the brightness of the Lord's face during the moment of His Transfiguration.

It is part of the *Buhe* custom that *mulmuls* are prepared in every household of both rural and urban communities. I have vivid memories how important the tradition of exchanging of mulmuls between close relatives and family members was during my childhood and youth in Addis Ababa. The number of *mulmuls* sent to different families corresponded to the number of children in that particular household. Of course, *mulmuls* that come from different homes had their respective taste. I remember certain types of tasty *mulmuls* I enjoyed eating made at home of some of our relatives and/or neighbors. This tradition, however, gradually

diminished, mainly in urban areas since the early 1980s[8].

Desta (2010) explains that in some regions of Gojjam Godfathers habitually let their wives; mothers or other female relatives prepare *mulmuls* for their Godchildren.

In the *hoya hoye* song, there are various narrations of the *mulmul*. The following rhymes may serve as example:

የቡሄ ዳቦ የሚሉ·ት *ሙ·ልሙ·ል*
[The bread they call mulmul of Buhe]

ጎበዝ ተ·ስ·በስ·ብ ቡ·ሄ እንበል
[Folks! Let's get together and sing the Buhe song]

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8   The major reason for this change was the worsening economic situation of the country during the military Derg regime. The political unrest had pushed Ethiopia to a disastrous economic collapse and to poverty.

ሆያ ሆዬ ጉዴ
[Hoya hoye! Oh, my God!]

ሙልሙል ይላል ሆዬ
[I am craving for mulmul bread]

Torch Lighting Ceremony: Its Biblical Connotation and Symbolism

Another aspect of the Buhe celebration is the *čəbbo*[9] lighting ceremony. In areas such as Addis Ababa and neighboring areas, this ceremony takes place on the eve of Buhe around evening. The *čəbbo* are bundles of dried twigs tied together (figure 4a). Lighting *čəbbo* torches takes place outside of the dwelling or in front the premises of a private house. On this occasion, family members gather together around the flickering fire and sing functional songs (antiphonal songs), clap their hands, dance and enjoy the moment of togetherness until the fire expires (figure 4b).

The *čəbbo* ceremony marks the story of the children lost while playing near Mount Tabor on the day of the transfiguration of the Lord Jesus Christ. Because of the bright light resulting from the transfiguration, the children were of aware that the night had set. Hence, they continued playing and enjoying themselves until their worried parents searched for them holding torch lights until they eventually found them (Abebe and Tadesse 2015).

Despite its traditional and religious connotations and background, all Christian communities of Ethiopia have a *čəbbo* ceremony for *Buhe*. Among others,

communities in Gondär, Gojjam and Tigray (central and northern Ethiopia), do not practice this ritual.

It is worth mentioning that *čəbbo* lighting ceremonies take place on other religious holidays of the Orthodox church as well, e.g. *Mäsqäl* (The Finding the True Cross on which Jesus Christ was crucified) and *ənqutatash* (New Year) holidays.

Yäqolo Tämari and the Däbre Tabor (Buhe) Feast

In the country's ancient traditional theological schools, churches and monasteries located in various towns, e.g. Däbre Libanos, Gojjam and Gondär, mendicant students (only male), called *yäqolo tämari*, celebrate *Däbre Tabor* or *Buhe* in a special way. In the areas where these traditional church schools exist, *Däbre Tabor* is considered as the holiday of the *yäqolo tämari*.

Since the means of survival for church students mainly relies on mendicancy, by wandering from one village to the other, begging residents for either food or ingredients to prepare meals and beverages for daily survival as well as during the holidays. According to Kassahun (2012: 59) this practice of begging

> is a traditionally and religiously accepted activity for students in the traditional church education. Begging has purposes beyond fulfilling food substances. It is a tradition practiced by students attending traditional church education for a long time. Students' begging act does not necessarily mean they are poor and their family is financially incapable.[10]

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9   The online Abyssinica dictionary defines *čəbbo* as "torch, wrapped pieces of dry sticks, torch, firebug, fire cracker, bundle of stick under fire". Available at https://dictionary.abyssinica.com/%E1%89%BD%E1%89%A6, accessed December 02, 2018.

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10   See also Tsegaye (2011: 45-47).

Figure 4a: *Čəbbo* offered at a roadside around Sululta. Photo taken by the author, Sululta September 2016.

Figure 4b: *Čəbbo* (torch) Lighting Ceremony. Photo taken by the author, Addis Ababa September 2016.

Well aware of the custom, people willingly and kindheartedly share whatever they have with mendicant students. And using the ingredients donated by the community, the students bake *mulmuls* and brew the local beer, *tälla* which they distribute to worshipers after the liturgy on the *Däbre Tabor* holiday[11].

11 In fact, villagers willingly and gladly support the livelihood of *yäqollo tämaris* while they are in the traditional schools that last between 6 and 8 years

Music Analysis: Hoya Hoye Song

Singing *hoya hoye* begins on the eve of *Buhe* and continues on the break of the next day. Either groups of boys perform the song at the front gate or sometimes, if permitted in the premises of the houses in the neighborhoods they choose to go to. From biblical perspective, the boys embody Jesus' 12 apostles, whom He sent to preach his words, live and dine with the poor. The apostles did follow His instructions as stated in Matthew 10:5-15:

> *Do not go among the Gentiles or enter any town of the Samaritans. Go rather to the lost sheep of Israel. As you go, proclaim this message: 'The kingdom of heaven has come near.' Heal the sick, raise the dead, and cleanse those who have leprosy, drive out demons. Freely you have received; freely give. Do not get any gold or silver or copper to take with you in your belts – no bag for the journey or extra shirt or sandals or a staff, for the worker is worth his keep. Whatever town or village you enter, search there for some worthy person and stay at their house until you leave. As you enter the home, give it your greeting. If the home deserves let your peace rest on it; if it is not, let your peace return to you. If anyone will not welcome you or listen to your words, leave that home or town and shake the dust off your feet. Truly I tell you, it will be more bearable for Sodom and Gomorrah on the Day of Judgment than for that town.*

depending on what one is expected to become, i.e. a deacon, a priest or an administrative staff of a church. Yohi Mersha (2008) points out that these traditional church schools have contributed a lot to Ethiopia's literature, art and music apart from their spiritual involvement and influence to spread the Christian faith. He points out: "It has initiated the creation of the system of writing that has developed from Sabean scripts into Ethiopic alphabets. Amharic literature takes its roots from the church literature that has ignited since the Axumite period."

Hence, providing singing boys with *mulmul*, goes beyond tradition and is linked with a religious purpose. Their singing represents the joyful news shared by Christ's disciples about salvation and new life. In the same manner the disciples taught, preached, baptized and blessed His people everywhere, while the singing boys visit a family, perform songs, get rewarded for which they express gratitude to the family and consequently, adding lyrics of blessing and praise in the name of the Lord (Mengistu 2015).

Hoya hoye comprises several song parts. Each part consists of distinct melodic-rhythmic course and lyrical messages. The song arranged in call-response singing style. Thus, one of the boys serves as a lead singer and the rest of the group as accompanying chorus. Commonly, each member of the group holds a wooden stick (ca. 1 meter long) in his hand, which he stamps on the floor to support the rhythmic course of the song (Figure 5a-b).

Five tones with relatively fixed intervals play a vital role in the melodic structure of this song. The tones and their intervals represent the traditional scale called *qənət* that make the foundation of central and northern Ethiopian music cultures, e.g. the *Amhara*. Consequently, four major *qənəto* (pl. to *qənət*) types may be distinguished named *təzəta*, *bati*, *an i hoye läne* and *ambassäl*. The *hoya hoye* tune employs the tones of the *bati qənət*.

The staff notations or music examples in Figures 7 to 12 are written down out of memory. In so doing, "middle C" serves as the "departure pitch". Starting from this pitch, the intervals of the five *bati qənət* tones would, therefore, be C E♭, F G B♭ (in ascending order), with intervals of minor third; major second,

major second and minor third (Figure 6). This is just for the orientation of the reader. As we may encounter in the musical notations, two more pitches, namely G and Bb, appear in the lower octave (see e.g. figures 10 and 11). The numbers of additional pitches that may appear in lower or higher octaves generally depend on the respective melodic arrangement.

The song lyrics in the tables below display the melody lines (ml) indicated as a, b, c…. etc. and their variations, for instance, a1, b1. The call and response parts of the song leader and the accompanying chorus group, called *awrağ* and *täqäbayo,* are designated with the abbreviations A or T.

Figure 5a: Group of young boys performing the hoya hoye each holding a wooden stick and stamping on the floor for rhythmic accompaniment. Source, https://aboutaddisababa.wordpress.com/2013/08/20/Buhe-ethiopian-religious-gala-inaddis-ababa, accessed December 02, 2016. Photographed by Sara Genene, posted on August 20, 2013.

Figure 5b: Group of teenage boys performing *hoya hoye*. Photo taken by the author.
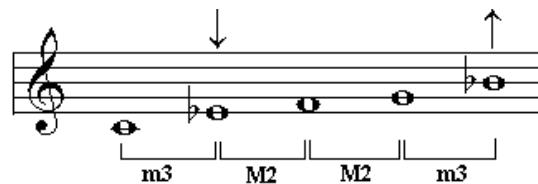
Figure 6: Tone sequence and intervals; *bati qәnәt* (relative pitches)

The lyric is presented in the original language, Amharic, whereas each line is translated into English[12].

The song is arranged in fixed rhythm (2/4 beat). In the following, the song's parts are described in detail.

Song Section I: With the first song part (Table 1), the boys' group announces its arrival from a distance. The boys start by

singing this part of the song before they proceed to the next. The melody phrases A-B-C of both *awraǧ* and *täqäbayoare* short and cyclic. The text mainly consists of redundant (untranslatable) words. The staff notation in figure 7 shows how the call and response parts are set melodically and rhythmically. The rhythmic course is accentuated by stamping of the sticks that falls on the stressed beat of the regular duple meter (see the last line = rhythmic stamping).

Song Section II: Here the *awraǧ* sings a complete verse line, which is repeated by the *täqäbayoc* in the same style (Table 2).

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12 Translating song lyrics from one language to another is a painstaking task, because what is meant to express something in one language might not make sense in others' language. Hence, in this article, an attempt is made to reproduce the song content in a simplified and understandable manner.

Table 1/ Hoya Hoye, song part 1 (see also figure 7)

vl	ml	A/T	original script	translation
1	a	A	አሲዮ ቢሊማ	Assiyo Bellema
	b	T	ኦሆሆ	Ohoho
	c	A	አሃይ በል	Say *ahay*
2	a	A	የቢሊማ ጥጃ	*Bellema's* calf
	b	T	ኦሆሆ	Ohoho
	c	A	አሃይ በል	Say *ahay* – (–––)
3	a	A	አብረን እንንጫጫ	Let us romp (have fun) together!
	b	T	ኦሆሆ	Ohoho
	c	A	አሃይ በል	Say *ahay* – (–––)

vl = verse line

Figure 7: Hoya Hoye, section 1

Table 2a: Hoya Hoye, song part 2 (see also figure 8a)

vl	original script	translation
1	መጣና መጣና / ደጅ ልንጠና	Here we are, coming to pay a visit
2	ክፈት በለው በሩኈ / የጌታዬኈ	Tell him to open my master's gate (head of the household)
3	ክፈት በለው ተነሳ / ያንን አንበሳ	Wake up, open the gate and tell that 'Lion' (the master)
4	መጣና በዓመቱ / እንደምን ሰነበቱ?	Here we are, paying our annual visit! How have you all been?
5	መጣሁኝ በዝና / ተው ስጠኝ ምዘዝና	Here I came to visit you because of your fame; please give me my tip (financial reward)
6	ሆያ ሆዬ ነው· / የምንለው·	It is *hoya hoye* that we are singing
7	ሆያ ሆዬ ዝና / ተው· ስጠኝ ድገምና	*Hoya hoye zəna*, just tip me more
8	አረ በቃ በቃ / ጉሮሮችን ነቃ	Release us from singing loud – our throat is aching
9	አረ በልጅዋ ይራራ ሆድዋ	Please respond to our song in the name of your child

Figure 8a: Hoya Hoye, extract of section 2

Figure 8b: Melody variations of section 2

Each verse line possesses an internal rhyme, i.e. a rhyme that happens appearing within a single line. In the verse line shown below, the bold highlighted syllable **na** (ና), for instance, represents an internal rhyme. Likewise, the syllables of the verse lines in table 2a is highlighted bold.

> መጣና መጣና   /   ደጅ ልንጠና
> *mätana mäta**na***   /   *dä**ğ**ə lənta**na***

Each verse consists of 12 (sometimes 11) syllables. Pronunciation and accentuation of words, coupled with the number of syllables, may create slight melodic and rhythmic variations. While the melody presented in Figure 8a may be considered as standard, Figure 8b demonstrates two additional variations of this standard line.

Regarding the lyric, this song section is performed by the time the boys' group approaches the front entrance or gate (that is often closed) of the selected homestead. The boys through their songs plead for the guard or any member of the household to open the gate of the chosen homestead, singing the verse lines 1-3 in order to get access to the premises of the house and continue their performance. If the gate is still not opened, verse lines 4 and 7 are sung. With lines 8 and 9, the boys express their exhaustion and aching throat due to singing, which intensifies the plea and request for the gate to be opened.

Song Section III: This song section (Table 3a) begins in the moment when the boys' group gets permission to enter the house or the host family to step inside welcomes it. The call and response lines are relatively short, particularly parts of the chorus. While the lead singer steadily adds new text with different messages in his song lines (Table 3b), the *täqäbayoc's* response is limited to a single syllable '*ho*' throughout this section. The musical notation in Figure 9 demonstrates this call and response pattern.

Further verse lines praise family heads (fathers and/or mothers). The rhymes in table 3c refer to male family heads or men, while the lines in table 3d praises mothers or women for their beauty, their special skills in cooking, spinning, cleaning and generally in taking care of their households and families are mentioned in the text.

Table 3a: *Hoya Hoye,* song part 3 (see also figure 9)

sl	mp	A/T	original script	translation
1	f	A	ሆያ ሆዬ	*Hoya hoye!*
	g	T	ሆ	*Ho*!
	f[1]	A	ሆያ ሆዬ	*Hoya hoye!*
	g	T	ሆ	*Ho*!

Table 3b: song part 3; text lines of the awrağ (see also Figure 9)

vl	original script	translation
2	እዚያ ማዶ ሆ ጭስ ይጨሳል ሆ	There is smoke over there
3	አጋፋሪ ሆ ይደግሳል ሆ	A host is having a feast
4	ያቺን ድግስ ሆ ውጬዮ ውጬዮ ሆ	I overeat at that feast
5	በድንክ አልጋ ሆ ተገልብጬዮ ሆ	…and lying down on a mini bed
6	ያቺ ድንክ አልጋ ሆ አመለኛ ሆ	The mini bed – so uncomfortable
7	ካላንድ ሰው ሆ አታስተኛ ሆ etc.	… with no space to accommodate more than one person etc.
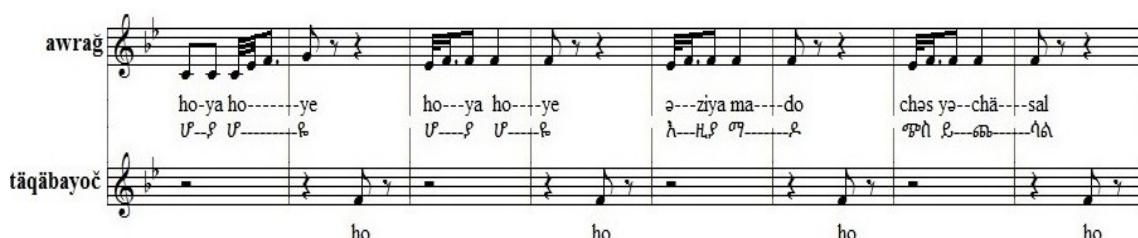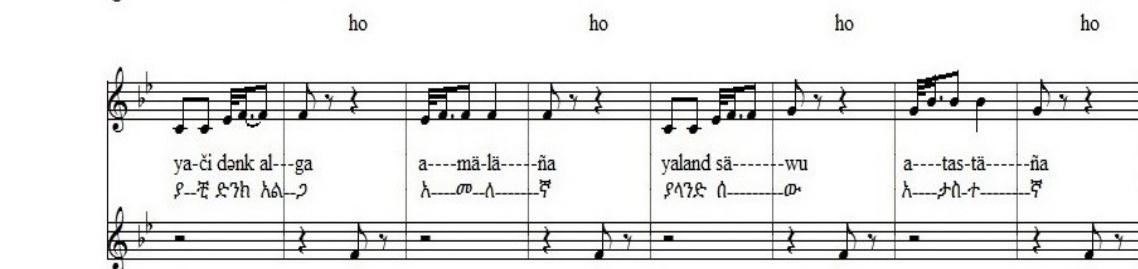
Figure 9

At this point, it would imperative to explain the biblical connotation of the above-mentioned lyrical lines. At first, the call-response lines Hoya hoye! Ho ሆያ ሆዬ ሆ! (table 3a) allude to 'my honored lady', 'my blessed mother' or 'my honored father'. In practice, the singing group, of course, addresses the heads of families they are visiting, while simultaneously spiritual figures, like the Virgin Mary the Lord Jesus Christ, God, Holy saints and apostles are symbolized (Woldu 2012; Abebe and Tadesse 2015; Mengistu 2015).

Next come verse lines 2 and 3 (Table 3b), which,

> አዚያ ማዶ ሆ ጭስ ይጨሳል ሆ
> *It is smoking over there*

> አጋፋሪ ሆ ይደግሳል ሆ
> *a host is having a feast*

narrate the biblical history of the Israelites who were freed from the enslavement of Egypt. On their journey back home, too much cloud or fog resembled smoke (ጭስ). During their long and tiresome journey in the wilderness, it was Saint Michael, the Archangel, who guarded them (Exodus 23:20).

> *Then the Egyptians will know that I am the Lord, when I am honored through Pharaoh, through his chariots and his horsemen. The angel of God, who had been going before the camp of Israel, moved and went behind them; and the pillar of cloud moved from before them and stood behind them. So it came between the camp of Egypt and the camp of Israel; and there was cloud along with darkness, yet it gave light at night. Thus, the one did not come near the other all night. (Exodus 14:18-20).*

The word ጭስ (*chis* = smoke) stands for 'the pillar of cloud', while the word አጋፋሪ (*agafari*

= host at a feast) refers to Saint Michael, the guardian and protector.

The next verse lines, 4 and 5:

> ያቸን ድግስ ሆ ውጬጭ ውጬጭ ሆ
> *I overate at that feast*

> ከድኳክ አልጋ ሆ ተገልብጬ ሆ
> *lying down on a mini*

replicates the biblical narrative, as well. The feast refers to Saint Michael's deeds, who - with the blessing of God – provided manna (food) for the Israelites for 40 years, until they reached their final destination, the Promised Land, Jerusalem. In the song, Jerusalem symbolizes the 'small bed ድኳክ አልጋ (*dǝnk alga*)'.

> *The sons of Israel ate the manna forty years, until they came to an inhabited land; they ate the manna until they came to the border of the land of Canaan. (Exodus 16:35; see also Joshua 5:12; Acts 7:36; Abebe and Tadesse 2005).*

The next verse lines are 6 and 7

> ያቺ ድኳክ አልጋ ሆ አመለኛ ሆ
> *That bad mini bed*

> ካላንድ ሰው ሆ አታስተኛ ሆ
> *which has no space for more than one person*

The content of these verse lines, again, is concomitant with the Israelites whose total number at the time of their departure from the desert of Egypt was 600,000 (Exodus 12:37), but those who were blessed to enter the "Promised Land" were only Joshua and Caleb.

> *Surely, none of the men who came from Egypt, twenty years and above, shall see the land of which I swore to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, because they have not wholly followed Me, except Caleb the son of*

Jephunneh, the Kenizzite, and Joshua the son of Nun, for they have wholly followed the Lord" (Numbers 32:11-12; Deuteronomy 1:8; Abebe and Tadesse 2005).

Besides the above discussed and presented lyrics, which deal with biblical chronicles, the verse lines below praise heads of the households or family members, i.e. mothers, fathers and elders. Accordingly, the rhymes in table 3c praise male family members including heroes for their open-handedness and courage.

Contrary to table 3c, the lyric in table 3d are dedicated to female family members (mothers or other women in the house), complimenting them for their beauty, their special skills in cooking, spinning, cleaning and overcoming their responsibility of supervising their households and families11.

The next rhymes, in Table 3d, refer to both men and women.

Besides the lyrics represented below, nowadays lyrics exclusively narrating the biblical story of the Transfiguration are increasingly gaining due attention. This, however, takes place during church ceremonies after a liturgy. Table 3f shows an extract.

Table 3c: song section 3; text lines of the *awraiǧ* (see also Figure 9)

original script	translation
ወይ የኔ ጌታ / የሰጠኝ ሙክት	The sheep my master gave me
አግንባሩ ላይ / አለው ምልክት	….. has a sign on its forehead
መስከረም ጠባ / እሱን ሳነክት	I was able to eat it until *Mäskäräm* (New Year) dawned
የኔማ ጌታ / የገደለበት	At that very spot where my master defeated his enemy
ስፍራው ጎድጉዶ / ዉሃ ሞላበት	.. a trench was created and filled with water.
እንኳን ሰው·ና / ወፍ አይዞርበት	Let alone humans, not even birds are seen
የአሞራ ባልቱት / ዉሃ ትቅዳበት	Left for the female raven, to fetch water
የኔማ ጌታ / የሰጠኝ ካራ	The machete my master gave me [the head of the house]
አዚህ ብመዘው / ጎንደር አበራ	…..glitters as far as *Gondär* [town], whenever I pull it out.
በጌታዬ ቤት በጉልላቱ	On the apex of my master's home …..
ወርቅ ይፍሰስበት በእናት በናቱ	may gold rain on it over and over again.
የኔማ ጌታ ጌታ ነው ጌታ	My master, head of this house, is the master of masters….
ሲቀመጥ ሲያምር ሲቆም ሲረታ	…. full of grace and charm, seated or standing.
የኔማ ጌታ የሰጠኝ ላም	The cow that my master gave me…
አስር ዓመትዋ ፃረች በዓለም	….. is still alive with complete health for the past ten years now..

Table 3d: song section 3; text lines of the *awraǧ* (see also figure 9)

original script	translation
የኔማ እመቤት / መጣንልሽ	My Lady, we are coming to pay you a visit
የቤት ባልትና / ልናይልሽ	….. to witness your efficiency in cooking and family care
የኔማ እመቤት / የጋገረችው	That bread my lady has baked
የኑብ እንጀራ / አስመሰለችው	….. is a wonderful ənjära, that resembles a beehive
የኔማ እመቤት / ብትሰራ ዶሮ	When my lady cooks chicken sauce
ሽታው ይጣራል / ገመገም ዞሮ	….. the scent of its delicious aroma smells from a distance.
ወይ የኔ እመቤት የፈተለችው	The cotton my lady has spun by hand
የሸረሪት ድር / አስመሰለችው	….. resembles a spider's web.
ሸማኔ ጠፍቶ / ማርያም ሰራችው	Was woven by no weaver; but St. Mary herself.
ለዚያች ለማርያም / እዘኑላት	Have mercy for St. Mary
ዓመት ከመንፈቅ / ወሰደባት	…. because it took her 1.5 years to finish the weaving.
ወይ የኔ እመቤት / ብትሰራ ዶሮ	When my lady cooks chicken sauce
ሽታው ይጣራል / ገመገም ዞሮ	The scent of its delicious smell is felt across the hills;
የማነው እንዝርት / ከግልገሉ ላይ	Whose spindle is that in that basket?
የዚያች እመቤት / የቀጭን ፈታይ	It belongs to that lady – known for her fine spinning style;

Table 3e: song section 3; text lines of the *awraǧ* (see also figure 9)

original script	translation
የዚህ ቤት ጌቶች / እንደምን ናችሁ	How are You, both – owners of this house?
በዓመት አንድ ቀን / መጣንለላችሁ	Here we are coming to pay our annual visit.
በዓመት አንድ ቀን / ለመጣ እንግዳ	For a guest who shows up once a year
እራቱ ሙክት/ ምሳው ፍሪዳ	lamb dish is served for dinner and beef dish for lunch

Table 3f: *Hoya Hoye*, spiritual lyric (see also figure 9)

original script	translation
ቡሄ በሉ ! ሆ!	Say *Buhe*, all of you! Ho!
ያዳም ልጅ ሁሉ! ሆ!	All children of Adam! Ho!
የኛማ ጌታ ፤ የአለም ፈጣሪ	Our Lord! Creator of the Universe
የሰላም አምላክ፤ ትሁት መካሪ	The Lord of peace and kindness!
ድምጽህን ሰማና ቡብሩህ ደመና	Heard your voice through a bright cloud
የቡሄው ብርሃን ለኛ መጣና	Here comes the Buhe light to bless us
ያዕቆብ ዮሃንስ ሆ! እንዲሁም ጴጥሮስ	Jacob, John and Peter
አምላክን አዩት ሆ! ሙሴ ኤልያስ	Look unto our Lord! Ho-- Moses and Elijah
አባቱም አለ ሆ! ልጄን ስሙት	His Father [God] said: Listen to my Son [Jesus Christ]
ቃሊ ነውና ሆ! የወለድኩት	Because he is my promise! He is my child

Song Section IV: This section consists of a call and response pattern. At first, the *awrağ* sings the two melody phrases h-I that are repeated by the *täqäbayoc*. Then, this can be sung 2 to 3 times applying different lyrics shown in Table 4. An extract of this song section is reproduced in musical notation in Figure 10.

After having intensively praised the host family in the previous song section, it is time to ask for the reward, which may be money, *mulmul* bread or other items.

During the course of the day, several groups of singing boys with the same song hoya hoye may visit a family. The family, in this case, has the right to inform the group that it has already been visited by another group and rewarded them for their praise songs. In such circumstances, boys do not (and should not) anticipate a reward. Hence, they leave for the next homestead to sing *hoya hoye*, thus extending holiday wishes.

Song Section V: This part sets in as a post-reward version of the song. In that lyric, they thank the family for its generosity and hospitality. The lyric, in other words, aims at wishing the family to be blessed with perfect health and long life, coupled with wealth, happiness, as well as good harvest with grace from the Almighty God (Table 5a; see also Figure 11). Finally the boys bid farewell to the family, express their wish to be there for the coming year's *Buhe* and depart for the next destination[13].

Additional verse lines praise the male master of the house (Table 5b; see also Figure 12). The structure of these verse lines particularly fit to the second, third and sixth song sections.

13 The *hoya hoye* song has functional similarities with the New Year's song performed by girls, *abäbaye hoy*. In both songs a group moves from house to house to perform a specific song expecting to be rewarded at the end according to the tradition.

Table 4: *Hoya Hoye* song part 4 (see also figure 10)

sl	mp	A/T	original script	translation
1	h	A	ሆ ያ ሆ ዬ ጉ ዴ	*hoya hoye*; Oh, my God!
	i		·ብርዋን ·ብርዋን ይላል ሆ ዬ	My heart desiring that reward money
	h	T	ሆ ያ ሆ ዬ ጉ ዴ	*hoya hoye*; Oh, my God!
	i		·ብሯን ·ብሯን ይላል ሆ ዬ	I am desiring that reward money
2	h		ሆ ያ ሆ ዬ ጉ ዴ	*hoya hoye*; Oh, my God!
	i		ጨዋታ ነው ልማ ዴ	I am a fun-loving person
3	h		ሆ ያ ሆ ዬ ጉ ዴ	*hoya hoye*; Oh, my God!
	i		ሙ ል ሙ ል ይላል ሆ ዬ	I am eager to get the mulmul (reward bread)

Figure 10: *Hoya Hoye*, extract of section 4 (see rhythmic stamping in figure 8a)

Table 5a: *Hoya Hoye*, song sections 5 (see also figure 11)

sl	mp	A/T	original script	translation
1	j	A	ዓመት በውድ ዓመት	Every year comes this Holiday
	k	T	ድገምና	Come again
	j¹	A	ዓመት	Every year!
	k¹	T	ድገምና	Come again
2	j	A	የጌታዬን ቤት	In the house of my master.
	k	T	ድገምና	Come again
	j¹	A	ዓመት	Every year!
	k¹	T	ድገምና	Come again
3	j	A	ወርቅ ይዝነብበት	May gold rain!
	k	T	ድገምና	Come again
	j¹	A	ዓመት	Every year!
	k¹	T	ድገምና	Come again

Figure 11: Hoya Hoye, extract of section 5 (see rhythmic stamping in figure 8a)

Table 5b: *Hoya Hoye*, song sections 6 (see also figure 12)

sl	mp	A/T	original script	translation
4	l m	A	ክበር በስንዴ	May your wheat harvest be abundant!
		A	ክበር በጤፍ	May your *teff* harvest be abundant!
		A	ምቀኛህ ይርገፍ	May your haters diminish!
5	l m	A	ክበር በስንዴ	May your wheat harvest be abundant!
		A	ክበር በጤፍ	May your *teff* harvest be abundant!
		A	ምቀኛህ ይርገፍ	May your haters diminish!

Figure 12: Hoya Hoye, extract of section 6 (see rhythmic stamping in figure 8a)

Conclusion

It is obvious, that both the *Buhe* celebration with all the holiday activities and the *hoya hoye* song evoke nostalgic feelings to all those who spent their childhood singing it in groups and enjoying the company of one another. The same serves for the girls' song *abäbaye hoy* performed for the Ethiopian New Year. Nevertheless, the tradition is in constant transformation and redefinition. Hence, *Buhe* or *Ənqutataš* songs and the related customs that existed three or four decades ago are, obviously not the same today. Social, cultural and political changes have influenced the musical landscapes as much as they have influenced and changed the way of thinking of the generation in present-day Ethiopia.

Nowadays, new lyrics are inserted to the existing melodic-rhythmic structure of the *hoya hoye* song and are partially or fully replacing the original lyric. The text contains the same structure as the original one, but, their content may be political opposing the current government or satirical[14]. Other lyrics narrate about current social and cultural

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14 Keeping the frame of the original *hoya hoye* lyric, the internet (including social media portals) is also full of new texts, among other things, written and posted by activists residing in the Ethiopian Diaspora.

matters. The new lyrics often do not necessarily make sense compared to the traditionally used song text. The content of other lyrics that are often used nowadays is exclusively religious, mainly narrating the biblical story of the Lord's Transfiguration as shown in Table 3f.

In big cities, such as the capital Addis Ababa, some boys' (or adult men's) groups use the *hoya hoye* song purely to make business, i.e., asking for money (demanding money). They use lyrics they created for this very purpose, i.e., begging for money and if people refuse to reward them, lyrics with insult or curse would follow. Unlike the traditional style of wandering from house to house-singing *hoya hoye*, boys nowadays go to restaurants, cafes and other commercial establishments and bother business owners and their clients with constant begging. Such boys no longer are interested in *mulmul* bread, but money only.

Changes in the sphere of music are reflected in people's musical behaviors (Nketia 1962: 5). Therefore, the study should focus on finding out the reasons of such changes along with possible acculturation processes and problems related to and resulting from it. This research approach is important in order to find out to what extent the existing musical culture has faced external influences and which part of is still practiced.

Due to the oral tradition of the *Amara* and many other Ethiopian communities, every member of a given society is usually capable of understanding the musical rules. This includes songs and their arrangements and performance styles. Of course, it is obvious that different levels of perception exist depending on various backgrounds and matters. Kubik (1983: 326) mentions them in

relation with: "a) individually different background of the person; b) affiliation to different sub–cultures; c) affiliation to different age groups". With regard to the *Yoruba* of Nigeria, fairy tale songs, Kubik (1988: 271) talks about a similar relationship between the song leader and the accompanying choir in a song performed alternately.

However, a real understanding would not only diminish because of regional distance between cultures, but there are also time gaps that need to be taken into consideration as well, since cultures are always subjected to changes (Kubik 1988: 326).

The phenomenon of self–restriction that is observed in many African countries lead to the fact that in time of extreme economic and social changes, the lack of knowledge and the search for expertise of traditional cultures as a decisive factor of the social instability becomes noticeable. This process also created a number of conflicts between different generations and ethnic communities. Even the proverbial continuity of wedding customs including all appropriate artistic and cultural activities does not remain spared of it. The impoverishment of the repertoire and the one–sided presentation, which is gradually emerging, is only one part of the obviously perceivable change. Very far reaching are the symptomatic indicated changes in the aesthetics, moral conceptions and in the self–awareness of the different ethnic communities. Of course, in the old Ethiopia history strong upheavals have occurred, but they were relatively gradual and thus left time for a stabilizing reflection of artistic articulations and for the adoption of new traditional elements, e.g. in the recent verse

poetry, in warrior's songs or in the professional *azmari* groups. At present, such processes take place with a fast speed and under the already existing critical conditions of material and technical dependence that cause discrepancies particularly between the differently developed societies of this weak agricultural country that are far beyond the traditionally rooted opinions. Addis Ababa is an example for the fact that above all the migrated poor city dwellers suffer under the loss of their double roots; i.e. the rural and the ethnic. The gain of modern possibilities of making decisions must, for instance, be settled with the renouncement of the traditional dignity of a wedding, whereas rich families are able to afford the luxury of professional musical support and recognized originality. Even though the new development is irreversible, it is nevertheless, it is time to steer this not in all points negative and/or destructive vision through calculated researches and publications, active dedications and careful documentations of still existing cultural evidences.

Apart from its religious connotation, the *hoya hoye* song should preach love, togetherness, and respect to one another, communal enjoyment as well as traditions and cultures. It should not be used as a means to beg and to reflect intolerance towards others as well as to express political dissatisfaction.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that *Buhe* or *Däbre Tabor* with all activities that accompany the celebration, i.e., the whip cracking and torch lighting, the symbolic meaning of the singing boys' group, the song and its lyrical content, the *mulmul* bread and its meaning, should continue be handed over from generation to generation

as a religious-cultural asset. This, however, can only be realized, if children of the present generation are properly taught about the significance of honoring and preserving their culture, tradition/custom and identity, a task that should be given due attention and priority by parents or close family members.

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"At the sources of the Nile": creative writing as a tool to work on student's colonial views

Nepomuk Riva

Abstract: This article describes the experiences with an ethnomusicological teaching method from the field of performative ethnography in Germany. In a creative writing process students are asked to develop a fictional ethnography of a people group 'at the sources of the Nile'. Based on the corpus class room discussions are carried out to deconstruct the students' 'image of Africa' and to thematise postcolonial theories. The author describes the project design and gives an evaluation of the outcomes of four applications of the project at different German institutions for higher education. It shows that the students have consistent stereotypes of African cultures and its musics that are mainly generated by the German media and international movies. Feedback of the students and critical reflections lead to the question how it is possible to discuss colonial stereotypes and racist world views in ethnomusicological teachings without reproducing it at the same time.

Keywords: Postcolonial studies. Ethnomusicological teaching method. Performative ethnography. Image of Africa. Creative writing.

"Nas fontes do Nilo": a escrita criativa como ferramenta para trabalhar nas visões coloniais dos estudantes

Resumo: Este artigo descreve as experiências com um método de ensino etnomusicológico no campo da etnografia performativa na Alemanha. Em um processo de escrita criativa, os alunos são convidados a desenvolver uma etnografia fictícia de um grupo de pessoas "nas origens do Nilo". Com base nos textos, as discussões são realizadas em sala de aula para desconstruir a "imagem da África" dos alunos e tematizar as teorias pós-coloniais. O autor descreve o desenho do projeto e avalia os resultados de quatro aplicações do projeto em diferentes instituições alemãs para o ensino superior. Isso mostra que os estudantes têm estereótipos consistentes de culturas africanas e suas músicas que são geradas principalmente pela mídia alemã e filmes internacionais. O feedback dos estudantes e as reflexões críticas levam à questão de como é possível discutir os estereótipos coloniais e as visões de um mundo racista nos ensinamentos etnomusicológicos sem, ao mesmo tempo, reproduzi-los.

Palavras-chave: Estudos pós-coloniais. Método de ensino etnomusicológico. Etnografia performativa. Imagem africana. Escrita criativa.

"En las fuentes del Nilo": la escritura creativa como una herramienta para trabajar en las opiniones coloniales de los estudiantes

Resumen: Este artículo describe las experiencias con un método de enseñanza etnomusicológica en el campo de la etnografía performativa en Alemania. En un proceso de escritura creativa, se les pide a los estudiantes que desarrollen una etnografía ficticia de un grupo de personas "en las fuentes del Nilo". Sobre la base del corpus, se llevan a cabo discusiones en la sala de clases para deconstruir la "imagen de África" de los estudiantes y para tematizar las teorías poscoloniales. El autor describe el diseño del proyecto y evalúa los resultados de cuatro aplicaciones del proyecto en diferentes instituciones alemanas para la educación superior. Muestra que los estudiantes tienen estereotipos consistentes de las culturas africanas y sus músicas que son generadas principalmente por los medios alemanes y las películas internacionales. La retroalimentación de los estudiantes y las reflexiones críticas llevan a la pregunta de cómo es posible discutir los estereotipos coloniales y las visiones de un mundo racistas en las enseñanzas etnomusicológicas sin reproducirlas al mismo tiempo.

Palabras-clave: Estudios poscoloniales. Método de enseñanza etnomusicológica. Etnografía performativa. Imagen de África. Eescritura creativa.

Introduction

When teaching postcolonial theories and African music at German universities, I regularly face a peculiar challenge: students easily understand and can even transfer the concepts to various musical examples, yet they refuse to reflect on their own colonial and racist views and regard them as the problem of 'others'. This challenge arises partly as Germany's colonial period ended after the First World War and is rarely discussed today. Public culture memory culture is dominated by the Holocaust and invasions during the Second World War, so few German students know of the genocide in Namibia and the colonial wars in East Africa. Neither are postcolonial politics in Africa taught in German schools. Apart from tourist sites in Northern Africa and South Africa, where some German students have travelled, Africa is completely *terra incognita*. Few students have any contact with Africans from the relatively small migrant communities in Germany. Consequently, German students rely mainly on the media-produced images of Africa, which continuously reproduce stereotypes. Africa is generally regarded as an underdeveloped continent in a permanent state of crisis, and its musical cultures are said to consist of only traditional drumming, dancing and joyful singing, most often in religious and ritual contexts.

In this situation, I found a method called 'phantom islands' to be helpful. Developed in the context of museum pedagogy in Germany, it uses imagination and creativity to construct a fictional place and culture to make students aware of the techniques of researching and curating an exhibition. In my

seminars, I transformed this method into a creative writing workshop in which students developed an ethnography about a fictional people group 'at the sources of the Nile'. This project gave students the possibility to work together on a project on which they later reflected critically. Through classroom discussions afterwards, they became aware of their individual images of Africa and understood the reasons for their stereotyped imaginations about African music. Moreover, the outcome of a fictional ethnography gave them insights into how ethnomusicological research is conducted and documented.

In this article, I aim to describe this teaching method and discuss the different outcomes of projects with four student groups in Berlin, Rostock and Bremen over 2014–2018. It became apparent that the students projected the expected elements (e.g. their own history and desires) onto the other and that their images of Africa depended on their own social surroundings and status in the university hierarchy. Drawing on this case, I argue that methods such as creative writing can be included in the teaching of ethnomusicology to enable students to strongly engage in seminars and realise the relevance of lessons.

'Phantom islands' as a method to mediate knowledge about the other

Simulation exercises are a frequently used tool in intercultural youth work in Germany. Groups are asked to perform the behaviours of fictional cultures and meetings and exchanges between cultures new to each other. In doing so, groups practice situations in unknown contexts and reflect on their

own perceptions of the foreign and the other (Reindlmeier 2009). Imagined ethnographies have also appeared in the area of popular music, such as the documentary film *FRAKTUS* (2012) about the reunion of a fictional techno-band, which satirised the standard form of journalism reports and challenged the writing of popular-music history.

Recently, the method of *performative ethnography* has become quite popular in several educational contexts (Menrath 2015). In the article 'Phantom islands for a transformative music mediation. A project of the Übersee-Museum in Bremen' (Menrath 2012), Stephanie Kiwi Menrath described her experiences designing a project in which a youth group developed a showcase for an exhibition on the musical culture of a fictional island. Based on historical sources about the phantom islands of Antilia, Crespo and Pepys, the group was asked to research what the music history of such an island might have been, how the music might have sounded and what kind of music instruments the inhabitants might have used. The group created exhibition texts, prepared instruments and composed the island's music. Through developing part of an exhibition in this way, the youths learned about the production of academic knowledge and got critical insights into the construction of the other within museum contexts.

Menrath's case study recently inspired several students in education and social work at the University of Applied Science Clara Hoffbauer in Potsdam to transfer the method to kindergarten and primary schools. Groups of children used their creativity to model and create fictional islands and invent their musical cultures. Afterwards, the groups

discussed the children's perceptions of the foreign and unknown and questions of diversity.

My interest was to find a way to discuss with my students their images of Africa (cf. Arndt 2006) and show them how these images influenced their daily behaviour towards blacks in Germany (cf. Sow 2009). The students were not to analyse typical examples of discrimination against blacks and Africa in advertisements and newspapers but to project their own worldviews without knowing the purpose beforehand. I, therefore, transferred Menrath's method to a creative writing workshop in which the students invented a fictional people group 'at the sources of the Nile'. By producing a complete ethnography focused on cultural performances, they created a corpus that could be used to critically discuss their views on Africa and to deconstruct their projections onto the other. They should also become aware of the reasons why they stereotyped African music. Through creating a people group whose music practices were closely linked to their cultural context, the students could understand why the ethnomusicological approach is based on the social life of peoples, not on musical works, stylistics and instruments. This point became especially important at music conservatories where students were taught music in the strict sense of the theory and the history of music works and had never heard of the anthropology of music.

The project design

The topic of 'the people at the sources of the Nile' was chosen as the exploration of the

sources of the Nile has a real historical background in the race among 19th-century British explorers, such as John Speke, Richard Burton and David Livingstone, who based their travel plans on vague references in historical sources. This topic also offered the possibility to locate a people group 'in the heart of Africa' where probably no students had ever gone. The students thus were forced to invent something for which they had no model, so they were likely to project their images of Africa onto that people group.

The project was divided into the initiation, creation, evaluation and reintegration phases. In the initiation phase, I distributed one page of information on the people group to provide a framework for the students to develop their ethnography. The text included three short fictional historical reports. The first was loosely connected to 'The Histories' by Herodot (about 450 BC) and gave a picture of the geography where the people group lived. The second was dated around 700 AD and referred to Arabian traders in contact with the people group. The students had the possibility to establish intercultural exchange between Arabian and African peoples and received some hints about the people group's material culture, including musical instruments. The last fictional report was about a French military company with musicians that became lost during Napoleon's exploration of Northern Africa over 1798–1801. This source allowed the students to connect a European culture, language and military system with an African society.

They had to build their narratives on this information but were free to integrate more influences or to describe different historical stages of their fictional people group. They were instructed to use no other sources and

not do any online research about the sources of the Nile. To stimulate the imagination of the students in the first group, I offered some chapters from the fictional travel guide *Molwanien: A Land Untouched by Modern Dentistry* (Cilauro and Sitch 2004), which presents exaggerated stereotypes of Eastern European countries. Later, I realised this was not necessary and that all the students already had enough creative ideas.

In the creation phase, the students were divided into five groups to develop different components of an ethnography. The first one described the geography, basic economic system and related cultural festivals of the people group. The second was asked to invent ideas about the people's outlook, language, social-political system and life feasts. The third group outlined the people's religion, including their world-view, morals, ethics and rituals. The fourth group gave an overview of the various professions and the social life of the fictional people group. Finally, the last group detailed the people group's musical instruments, singing styles, dances and songs. In two weekly seminars, the student groups were asked to develop their ideas and write 1–2 pages each week, which they shared with the next group that built its ideas on the previous group's text. In one seminar, the same student group performed the creation phase in five consecutive sessions to ensure the coherence of the story. In the last seminar, the five different groups invented their chapters at the same time and integrated them into one story at the end, which surprisingly did not cause any inconsistencies.

The main point of the project was the evaluation phase. First, I started to summarise the students' complete fictional ethnography in a short slideshow. For it, I

took the key concepts of their ethnography and searched online for images that supported their creative ideas and fit together. Surprisingly, I had no difficulty quickly finding existing images that could easily be interpreted as authentic pictures of the 'people group at the sources of the Nile'. Several times, the students applauded the slides, a clear sign they were surprised at the ease of creating a selection of images that gave the impression that something invented exists.

Afterwards, we engaged in an intense group discussion reflecting on the project, particularly the students' various projections and imaginations. I wrote all the project keywords from the five groups on cards and placed them on tables. Then I asked the students to group the cards several times and pin them on a wall to answer questions such as: 'When did you construct the other as a contrast to your own?' 'When did you project a European historical past onto the other?' 'When did you project your own desires or fears onto the other?' 'When did you use the other to criticise the hierarchies in which you live?' In a second round, we discussed the reasons for these projections in the same way: 'How does the media influence your image of Africa?' 'What impacts has your education had on your image of Africa?' 'To what extent is your knowledge of Africa based on individual experiences in Africa or with Africans?' 'What do you know about African music in general?'

In all projects, the discussions in this stage were very lively, and the students willingly and clearly perceived their own projections. The design of a joint project helped individuals not feel accused of holding the colonial and racist views they wrote in their parts of the ethnography. They realised what

they had created or accepted within the group work, but due to the fictional nature of the work, they did not feel guilty and could take it as the first stage in a learning process.

Finally, in the reintegration stage, I returned the students to the theoretical concepts of orientalism and postcolonial studies and encouraged them to select their individual musical topics for their seminar papers. With this experience and knowledge, it was easier for the students to analyse the constructions and projections in others' work and reflect on their own world-views and question how they used language when describing African music.

How do German students project the other?

In general, nearly all the students appreciated the project as they had never experienced the method within the university context. While engaged in the writing process and later discussions, they found out that their own participation and opinions in the seminar had meaning. Additionally, it was interesting to analyse the fictional ethnographies and see how the students constructed their imagined people groups.

In all the projects, the students based their geographical descriptions mainly on one region they already knew and mixed it with their knowledge of other non-European cultures. With the Nile giving the people group its name, ancient Egyptian civilisation served as a model for several groups. The political structure was sometimes constructed following the form of pharaonic courts, a detailed irrigation system was described, and a queen named 'Tra Pa Kleo'

(the inversed syllables of *Cleopatra*) appeared. The Nile also gave two groups the idea to connect the people group with the Indian Hindu culture of baptisms, annual feasts and funerals in streams. At the same time, many accounts of the animals and landscapes pointed to East African safari tours with elephants, hippos and zebras. Stereotypes of West African countries were only mentioned when describing the material culture with colourful clothes, make-up and drumming. In a few accounts, the students projected their own country onto the other with terms such as the 'Switzerland of Africa' and an annual feast called 'To Ok Ber' (the inversed syllables of the Bavarian *October* feast). Only in Berlin did the students try to connect their story to recent political developments in Africa, for instance, through exploitation of a raw material they called 'rigidium' (Ri). Yet, this could also have been an imitation of the raw material 'vibranium' from the *Black Panther* comics and their fictional African country Wakanda. In the following discussions, the students became aware of how their rather scant knowledge of non-European countries informed their construction of places they had never heard about.

In all the projects, the social structure of the people group was a projection of medieval European societies onto the other. Feudal societies with kingdoms and armies were described, while the normal people were cast as farmers, craftspeople and traders. Only in Bremen did the students create an extensive caste system, with an indigenous group responsible for the religion, a high-ranking caste of 'niloram' conducting commerce and separate migrant and slave castes. The projection of the historical past onto a recent other presented the opportunity to discuss

with the students the stereotype of 'the uncivilised and underdeveloped Africa' in the European imagination.

Regarding religion, all the students agreed that the people at the source of the Nile followed polytheist belief systems with myths recalling ancient Greek narratives. Again, the Nile and water were the central elements of all creation stories. Shamanic priests were seen as the 'watchers of the Nile' and maintainers of the world. The people group's ethics were always described as following a circle of life—a concept probably stemming from the Disney movie *The Lion King*. Classifying religions as forms of evolutionary systems opened up a discussion on the power relationship between western and non-European societies.

Racial imaginations were not strong but appeared in two groups. The Berlin students invented a new human species called 'homo baMuwiens' (*muwi* is the acronym for *musicology* in German) who had special singing and hearing abilities beyond the normal human range and could participate in a shared consciousness. The Bremen students' indigenous people group had dark-coloured skin and jade-green eyes. For both groups, the fictional Na'vi people group in the movie *Avatar* might have served as a model.

The language of the people group was most frequently described as a version of Arabic or Nile-Saharan languages with some French influences. In Berlin, the students also invented new expressions using onomatopoeias such as *rums ta*. The concept of cultural transfer or hybridisation thus was strong in this category and led to a discussion on the concepts of conflicts

between cultures and acculturation processes between cultures.

Completely new inventions rarely appeared. Only the students in Berlin imagined a new fruit called 'water potato' and the ability for one person to sing in polyphony and communicate in ultra- or intra-sounds.

Projection of personal fears onto the other never happened, although all the students were surely familiar with popular action and fantasy movies working with those emotions. Personal erotic desires and imaginations of different kinds of human relationships emerged occasionally but were not dominant, so the historical sexualisation of Africans was not reproduced. However, that could have resulted from the rather conservative academic settings where no one wanted to expose individual sexual fantasies.

In some projects, the students projected the hierarchy in the seminar onto the other by having fun with my name. In Berlin, the students invented a city named 'Rivanepo'. During the first project in Rostock, the students made up 'King N'po Muk I'. For the students in Berlin, humour played an especially important role. One group invented a drug that contrasted with the mentioned raw material 'rigidium'; instead, 'frigidium' reduced female fertility. These examples were used to discuss the trope of ridiculing the other within (post-)colonial contexts.

The musical practices were closely linked to the cultural expressions, such as sowing, harvest festivals and all rituals connected with the Nile. The invented instruments included a sounding water bowl and making music by hitting the rafts on the Nile. In 2016, the students in Rostock invented a myth

about a 'musical accident' in which drummers coincidentally drummed the self-resonance of the temple, which then collapsed, killing several people. In all the projects, the students generally presented two musical genres. The first was more meditative and repetitive and included singing and flute playing in minor scales, particularly at funerals and in religious setting to induce a trance. In some projects, it was also influenced by Arabian music with quartertone singing. The second musical genre was more entertaining, secular and joyful, with wild dances, drumming and singing. The influence of Arabic music and, to lesser degree, French music on the people group's culture was also mentioned several times. In this category, we discussed not only how our knowledge and experience influenced the way we project music onto the other but also the musical terms we used to talk about music in academic contexts. The Berlin students especially agreed that their recent knowledge from systematic musicology courses inspired their invention of the ability to hear ultra- and intra-sounds.

When discussing the reasons for the construction of these narratives in the second round, it became obvious to the students that most of their knowledge on Africa was derived from stereotyped media productions, such as news, documentaries and movies. They realised that they had not gained deep knowledge on Africa during high school. They admitted that none of them had even travelled to an African country or tried to acquire more objective academic knowledge on African cultures. Finally, they realised that most of the content they presented reflected not knowledge of foreign cultures but projections of their own cultures and European history.

The various groups presented some differences. The musicology students from Humboldt-University in Berlin were the most creative and clear. They had more diverse cultural backgrounds, and city life with its infinite possibilities of identity construction may have inspired them to inventions more than the other groups. The students at the Conservatory for Music in Rostock, who were mostly women in a teacher training programme, had more conformist world-views but also lively fantasies. The musicology students at the University of Bremen were similar, even though they were all men. The project outcomes proved that the situations within society influenced the projection of the other.

Students' reactions and concluding thoughts

The students gave overall positive feedback. They liked the new, creative method, finding it to be 'exiting and useful', and they appreciated that their 'fantasy was stimulated' (HK, female student, Rostock, private email communication). They also noticed that the approach gave their self-generated input meaning. As one student in Rostock wrote: 'I liked this inductive approach very much as we became aware of our unconscious prejudices and reflexes as we constructed an unknown culture. Within academic teaching, in my opinion, there should be more project work instead of deductive, fact-based courses (MR, male student, Rostock, private email communication)'.

Some students expressed reservations about group work in general: 'Individual creativity is requested, although it gets controlled throughout the exchanges with others. Unfortunately, I have to say that I don't like group work that much. I remember many situations in the past in which only some and not all members participated in the work. The overall result was only the result of a little group (NZ, female student, Rostock, private email communication)'. One student admitted that the group work was based primarily on only his ideas and that he did online research to be able to describe the geography and used a translation program to get Arabic expressions for his German terms (HG, male student, Rostock, private email communication).

The participants all agreed that they became more sensitive towards prejudices about Africa and African music: 'We all have our imaginations about other cultures that we articulate daily in certain forms but are based mostly on very limited knowledge. Many cultural practices are foreign to us as we have not experienced them in their cultures. In particular, the Eurocentric view that differentiates among nations, regions and their descendants and outlooks provided limited knowledge of global cultures' (HG, male student, Rostock, private email communication).

Some students were even inspired to use the method in the context of their own teaching. 'I believe this project fits not only into the context of higher education but also schools. Perhaps one day, I will have the chance to work with pupils on a similar project ' (MR, male student, Rostock, private email communication). The students' responses also indicated that they understood why my teaching of ethnomusicology was based not on musical examples and music theories but on the ethnography of groups and regions. 'All in all, I became more curious about other

forms of music making. Music, for me, is not bound to determined forms or instruments anymore. Moreover, it is exciting to see how men have used music as medium in different times and different places' (HG, male student, Rostock, private email communication). In the examinations and papers the students wrote, they became more conscious about the terms they used to describe non-western people groups and music cultures. They tried to avoid generalisations and collective descriptions of cultural behaviours.

However, I also must acknowledge that by letting the students construct a people group somewhere in Africa from their imagination, I simultaneously permitted the reproduction of colonial and racist stereotypes. The information they got in the beginning was clearly formulated from a Western perspective that might even forced them to orientalise the fictional people group. I intentionally did not tell the students the purpose of the exercise from the beginning, so they would not restrict their imagination. Although we intensively deconstructed the project afterwards, and the students became aware of their own world-views, I cannot preclude that some of their inventions might have seemed so entertaining that they were later passed on to other persons outside of the seminar. A safe space for such projects, therefore, must be clearly defined. The students should be sensitised to the possibility that even the game-like situation of developing an ethnography where humour and caricature are permitted may have harmful influences outside the classroom.

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Nacionalismo no metal brasileiro parte 1: uma introdução

Hugo Ribeiro

Resumo: Esse artigo é uma introdução ao nacionalismo em música e seus usos para a criação de uma percepção identitária no Metal produzido no Brasil. Para alcançar esse objetivo, pretendo investigar quais os sinais evidentes que o público do Metal procura e o que as bandas exibem, para marcar seu pertencimento à cultura brasileira. Dessa forma, procuro analisar o uso de determinada simbologia da cultura local/nacional em produções audiovisuais como forma de, por um lado, criar uma identificação com as práticas musicais locais, e por outro lado, criar um diferencial em relação às tradicionais bandas de metal estrangeiras. Esse texto inicia com uma abordagem histórica sobre a construção do nacionalismo musical brasileiro por meio do uso constante de certos padrões de ritmo, melodia e timbre, para depois abordar as características do gênero Rock em geral e do Rock no Brasil. Em seguida tratarei sobre o gênero Metal no Brasil e finalizo com uma proposta de referenciais teóricos para essa análise etnomusicológica.

Palavras-chave: Nacionalismo. Rock. Heavy metal. Ritmo. Melodia. Timbre. Mário de Andrade.

Nationalism in Brazilian metal part 1: an introduction

Abstract: This article is an introduction to nationalism in music and its uses for the creation of an identity perception in Metal produced in Brazil. To achieve this goal, I intend to investigate the obvious signs that the Metal audience is looking for and what the bands exhibit, to mark their belonging to the Brazilian culture. In this way, I try to analyze the use of a certain symbology of the local / national culture in audiovisual productions as a way, on the one hand, to create an identification with the local musical practices, and on the other hand, to create a differential in relation to the traditional metal bands foreign countries. This text begins with a historical approach on the construction of Brazilian musical nationalism through the constant use of certain patterns of rhythm, melody and timbre, to later address the characteristics of the genre Rock in general and Rock in Brazil. Next, I will deal with the genre Metal in Brazil and end with a proposal of theoretical references for this ethnomusicological analysis.

Keywords: Nationalism. Rock. Heavy metal. Rhythm. Melody. Timbre. Mário de Andrade.

Nacionalismo en el metal brasileño parte 1: una introducción

Resumen: Este artículo es una introducción al nacionalismo en música y sus usos para la creación de una percepción identitaria en el Metal producido en Brasil. Para alcanzar ese objetivo, pretendo investigar cuáles son las señales evidentes que el público del Metal busca y lo que las bandas exhiben, para marcar su pertenencia a la cultura brasileña. De esta forma, procuro analizar el uso de determinada simbología de la cultura local / nacional en producciones audiovisuales como forma de, por un lado, crear una identificación con las prácticas musicales locales, y por otro lado, crear un diferencial en relación a las tradicionales bandas de metal extranjera. Este texto empieza con un enfoque histórico sobre la construcción del nacionalismo musical brasileño por medio del uso constante de ciertos patrones de ritmo, melodía y timbre, para luego abordar las características del género Rock en general y del Rock en Brasil. En seguida traté sobre el género Metal en Brasil y finalizo con una propuesta de referenciales teóricos para ese análisis etnomusicológico.

Palabras-clave: Nacionalismo. Rock. Heavy metal. Ritmo. Melodía. Timbre. Mário de Andrade.

Introdução

Esse artigo faz parte de um projeto de pesquisa sobre fronteiras identitárias no Heavy Metal, no qual pretendo investigar quais os sinais evidentes (*overt signals*, ver Barth 1969: 14-16) que as pessoas procuram ou exibem para marcar seu pertencimento à determinada cultura. Dessa forma, procuro analisar o uso de determinada simbologia da cultura local/nacional em produções audiovisuais como forma de, por um lado, criar uma identificação com as práticas musicais locais, e por outro lado, criar um diferencial em relação às tradicionais bandas de metal estrangeiras. Numa visão mais ampla, o grande assunto abordado aqui é o do nacionalismo em música e as fronteiras identitárias.

Falar em nacionalismo em música pode soar um tanto genérico pois, dificilmente, haverá uma cultura que não possua uma música que possa ser chamada de sua, seja lá o que isso for. E esse é justamente o grande desafio: tentar identificar quais os elementos identitários que são utilizados e reconhecidos quando falamos numa prática musical associada a determinado grupo cultural. Esse recorte ficaria ainda mais complexo se pensarmos nos grupos socioculturais que coabitam em fronteiras geopolíticas, mas não se definem por elas como, por exemplo, o povo *circum*-Roraima, um termo utilizado pela antropóloga Audrey Butt Colson[1] (*apud* Lewy, 2017) para agrupar os vários povos que vivem no entorno do Monte Roraima, localizado na tríplice fronteira entre Brasil, Venezuela e Guiana[2].

Todavia, mesmo um recorte geopolítico bem definido pode pecar no aspecto diacrônico, pois há sempre uma tendência a querer refazer todo um percurso histórico para explicar a atual situação e, esse olhar para trás pode querer nos levar longe demais. No caso do Brasil, a data oficial do descobrimento pode sempre ser utilizado como ponto de partida, ainda assim, esse marco está muito longe de meu interesse específico, que é o Heavy Metal no Brasil a partir da década de 1980.

Por isso, deve se ter em vista que o objetivo final dessa pesquisa é a análise do uso da simbologia musical e extramusical nas duas principais bandas brasileiras de Metal, o Sepultura e o Angra, para identificar como elas influenciaram a forma de produção audiovisual com elementos nacionalistas em outras bandas de Metal brasileiras que surgiram posteriormente.

Iniciarei esse artigo com uma abordagem histórica sobre a construção do nacionalismo musical brasileiro por meio do uso constante de certos padrões de ritmo, melodia e timbre, para depois abordar as características do gênero Rock em geral e do Rock no Brasil. Em seguida vou falar sobre o gênero Metal no Brasil e finalizarei com uma proposta de referenciais teóricos para a análise etnomusicológica dessa quimera que é o Metal brasileiro. A análise específica da produção musical das bandas Sepultura e Angra ficará para outro artigo.

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1   Colson, Audrey (Butt). 1985. "Routes of Knowledge: An Aspect of Regional Integration in the Circum-Roraima Area of the Guiana Highlands". Antropologica No. 63-64:139-49.

2   Logo, não se deve confundir nação com Estado pois aquela, diferente desta, não é uma entidade política.

O nacionalismo na música de concerto – O ritmo

De acordo com Richard Taruskin, "o nacionalismo é reconhecido pelos historiadores e sociólogos como um fator importante na ideologia cultural europeia no final do século XVIII, e tem sido indiscutivelmente o fator dominante na geopolítica desde o final do século XIX" (Taruskin 2017). Seu impacto na música é bastante visível na produção artística do século dezenove, tendo sido marcada pela ênfase na "literatura e tradições linguísticas, um interesse no folclore, uma grande dose de patriotismo, e uma ânsia por independência e identidade" (GROUT; PALISCA, 1996, p. 665).

> *O nacionalismo não deve ser equiparado à posse ou exibição de características nacionais singulares – ou não, de qualquer forma, até que sejam feitas certas perguntas e, pelo menos, respondidas provisoriamente. As mais importantes são, primeiro, quem faz a distinção? E segundo, para que fim? Assim como haviam nações antes do nacionalismo, a música sempre exibiu traços locais ou nacionais (muitas vezes mais evidentes para os estrangeiros do que para aqueles que os exibem). Nem o nacionalismo musical é invariavelmente uma questão de exibir ou valorizar peculiaridades estilísticas. A nacionalidade é uma condição; nacionalismo é uma atitude. (TARUSKIN, 2017)*

Por isso que, apesar de que alguns compositores do século XIX tornaram-se famosos por buscar sua inspiração no folclore local (tais como Glinka, Mussorgsky, Scriabin, Sibelius, entre outros), houve casos como o de Verdi e o de Wagner que, apesar da escolha dos temas de suas óperas terem sido um "reflexo dos seus sentimentos patrióticos, nenhum dos dois foi estritamente

nacionalista nesse aspecto" (GROUT; PALISCA, 1996, p. 665).

Como, nesse século, ainda era muito forte a influência da música de concerto ítalo-alemã nos demais países europeus, ou mesmo fora da Europa, por muito tempo houve um embate no campo da criatividade por parte dos compositores oriundos de outras culturas entre compor música nos moldes dessa tradição e ser aceito pelos seus pares, ou compor música com "peculiaridades estilísticas" de sua própria cultura e soar original. Nesse sentido, ficou famosa a seguinte citação de Mário de Andrade:

> *Se um artista brasileiro sente em si a força do gênio, que nem Beethoven e Dante sentiram, está claro que deve fazer música nacional. Porquê como gênio saberá fatalmente encontrar os elementos essenciais da nacionalidade (Rameau, Weber, Wagner, Mussorgski). Terá pois um valor social enorme. Sem perder em nada o valor artístico porquê não tem gênio por mais nacional (Rabelais, Goya, Whitman, Ocussai) que não seja do patrimônio universal. E si o artista faz parte dos 99 por cento dos artistas e reconhece que não é gênio, então é que deve mesmo de fazer arte nacional. (Andrade 2006: 14-15, ênfase do autor)*

A música de concerto produzida no Brasil também seguiu esses mesmos passos. Em determinado momento tivemos a música do período colonial (século XVIII), com compositores como Lobo de Mesquita e José Maurício Nunes Garcia, ambos com grande influência da música do Classicismo europeu de Mozart e contemporâneos (MARIZ, 2005). E, mesmo presente desde a "descoberta do Brasil", as práticas musicais dos negros e indígenas causaram pouco interesse aos colonizadores e seus descendentes até o fim do século XIX senão, talvez, pelo seu caráter "exótico". Por exemplo, apesar de Carlos

Gomes ter composto a peça "A Cayumba" para piano solo em 1856 baseada em uma "dança de negros"[3], que Bruno Kiefer considera a primeira peça de "sabor nacionalista" (Mariz 2005: 114), ele tornou-se o primeiro grande compositor brasileiro não por essa peça ou pelas modinhas que escrevia, mas por suas óperas com características indubitavelmente italianas.

Provavelmente o primeiro grande compositor "nacionalista" brasileiro tenha sido Ernesto Nazareth. Com formação praticamente autodidata, ficou famoso pelos "tangos brasileiros", nos quais popularizou a "síncope característica", expressão cunhada por Mário de Andrade para referir-se à célula rítmica da Figura 1 (Sandroni 2002: 102). Vale notar que, por muito tempo e por muitos autores, como bem observou Sandroni, essa célula rítmica, somada a do tresillo (Fig. 2) e o "ritmo de Habanera" (Fig. 3), foram utilizadas para caracterizar um conjunto de gêneros (Tango, Habanera, Maxixe, Merengue, Calipso, Samba, entre outros) que são "ligados entre si pela associação a um grupo de ideias extra-musicais, tais como 'mestiço', 'afro-americano', 'popular'" (Sandroni 2002: 104), ou o tal "sabor *criollo*" da música latino-americana (p. 110).

Figura 1 - síncope característica

Figura 2 - Tresillo

Figura 3 - Ritmo de Habanera

Essas três figuras rítmicas podem ser consideradas os primeiros elementos musicais utilizados para caracterizar uma sonoridade "brasileira". E essa relação com a tal "brasilidade" já era referenciada na chamada música popular brasileira dos séculos XVIII e XIX: Lundus e Modinhas. Como escreveu Manuel Veiga,

> *O principal gênero de música que serviria aos poemas de Castro Alves, desenvolvia-se desde o último quarto do século 18, quando, aos impulsos iniciais de Domingos Caldas Barbosa (c. 1740-1800), o Lereno Selinuntino, a "modinha brasileira" escandalizava os lisboetas da época. […] Sem pretender abordar a questão das origens, a presença da Bahia já é atestada por uma alusão num importante manuscrito de modinhas brasileiras, da Biblioteca da Ajuda, em Portugal, de c. 1790, em que se diz: "Este acompanhamento deve-se tocar pela Bahia". As síncopes internas que nele surgem, além de deslocamentos sistemáticos no fraseado, afastando-o dos acentos, em outros exemplos, parecem já indicar uma influência africana, numa música basicamente de concepção européia. (Veiga 198?)*

Apesar de ser um gênero musical considerado menor e rejeitado entre muitos dos "eruditos" brasileiros até a segunda metade do século XX, muitos compositores compuseram Modinhas, tais como o padre José Maurício Nunes Garcia, Carlos Gomes, Alberto Nepomuceno, Villa-Lobos, e Cláudio

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3   Cópia manuscrita disponível na Escola de Música da Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, com nova edição e revisão musicológica realizada por Marcelo Verzoni e publicada em 2002. Disponível em http://musicabrasilis.org.br/partituras/carlos-gomes-cayumba, acessado em 02 de dezembro de 2018.

Santoro. Todavia, é o Lundu o principal responsável pela forte presença dos ritmos sincopados de influência africana na música brasileira. De acordo com o dicionário Cravo Albin,

> lundu (landum, lundum, londu) é dança e canto de origem africana introduzido no Brasil provavelmente por escravos de Angola. […] Segundo Mozart de Araújo, é a partir de 1780 que o lundu começa a ser mencionado nos documentos históricos. Até então, era dada a denominação de batuque aos folguedos dos negros. (Albin 2017).

Enquanto a Modinha caracteriza-se por suas melodias vocais, o Lundu é caracteristicamente mais ritmado, com grande ênfase nos ritmos descritos nas Figuras 1 a 3. Em seu capítulo sobre o "Advento do nacionalismo. A música popular e suas características", Luiz Heitor assim descreveu, em 1956:

> Não são outros os recursos de que até hoje se vale um músico nordestino para tirar de sua viola primitiva o baião, ritmo para dançar constituído por uma série de sutis variantes em torno da figura

nas harmonias de tônica e de dominante. E fórmulas como as que foram acima reproduzidas tornaram-se lugares-comuns nas polcas e maxixes dos últimos anos do século, época em que, como já vimos, a música pelos editores brasileiros apresenta um sabor nacional tão distinto. (Azevedo 1956: 143)

Na Figura 4 temos um trecho da peça "O Cayumbá" de Carlos Gomes (1856) que, apesar de estar anotada a informação "balanceado", sua escrita rítmica não faz uso

dos padrões exemplificados nas Figuras 1 a 3. Já na Figura 5 é possível ver o uso dessa escrita rítmica sincopada no Lundu "O mugunzá", composto por Francisco Carvalho (188?). O mesmo podemos identificar na música "Brejeiro" de Ernesto Nazareth (Fig. 6), por ele chamada de "tango brasileiro" (1893).

É interessante comparar a escrita rítmica dessas três peças. Por um lado temos a peça de Carlos Gomes que, apesar de ser inspirada em uma "dança de negros", ainda utiliza uma escrita rítmica mais "europeia[4]". Por outro lado, temos as peças de Francisco de Carvalho e de Ernesto Nazareth, compostas mais de trinta anos depois, já com a presença dessa síncope característica, que é alcançada por meio do deslocamento de uma única nota, antecipando sua execução (Fig. 7).

Tais padrões rítmicos (e suas variações) também se tornaram elementos característicos do Choro e do Samba, gêneros musicais que começaram a ganhar destaque no início do século XX, e passaram a fazer parte constante de quase toda composição que intencionasse uma sonoridade brasileira, criando uma espécie de paisagem sonora rítmica brasileira desse período, influenciando os processos composicionais posteriores tanto de forma consciente como inconsciente.

Mas, como será mencionado posteriormente, a partir da segunda metade do século XX, outros padrões e texturas rítmicas passaram a ganhar destaque e também serem utilizados como signos de brasilidade, como o Baião, o Maracatu, e aquelas associadas aos grupos afro soteropolitanos como o Olodum e AfroReggae.

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4   É possível ver esse padrão de acompanhamento em peças como a "Italian polka" de Rachmaninov, ou um bastante semelhante na Polonaise em fá sustenido menor Op. 44 de Chopin.

Fig. 4 – Trecho da peça "O Cayumbá" de Carlos Gomes. Disponível em http://musicabrasilis.org.br/partituras/carlos-gomes-cayumba, acessado em 02 de dezembro de 2018.

Fig. 5 – Trecho do Lundu "O mugunzá" de Francisco Carvalho. Disponível em https://openmusiclibrary.org/score/8ede85e5-44ad-4880-81d1-d4d810025462, acessado em 02 de dezembro de 2018.

Fig. 6 – Trecho do tango brasileiro "Brejeiro" de Ernest
o Nazareth. Disponível em https://www.ernestonazareth150anos.com.br/Works/view/31, acessado em 02 de dezembro de 2018.
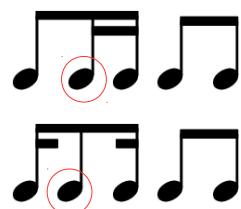
Fig. 7 – Comparação dos padrões de acompanhamento

Os modernistas, os pós-modernistas e o folclore brasileiro – A melodia e o timbre

No início de seu texto, Edilberto Fonseca lembra que o contexto do início do século XX era o de busca por modelos de representação do país como nação, e que essa identificação de

> *características e especificidades próprias, passava pela busca dessa legitimidade junto às camadas populares, reconhecendo nelas os perfeitos mediadores dentro do processo de formação dessa ideia de um Brasil "original" e "autêntico". A cultura popular era, talvez, o principal esteio de sustentação dessa visão, sendo o campo das tradições populares aquele que melhor cumpriria esse papel ideológico no projeto de modernidade. (Fonseca 2009: 2)*

Essa procura por símbolos que representem a brasilidade a partir da população negra, indígena, miscigenada, rural, ou seja, o mais afastado possível da influência ou aparência europeia, está representada no Manifesto antropófago de Oswald de Andrade quando se refere ao "contato com o país Caraíba" (Andrade 1976). Esse movimento antropofágico não negava a influência estrangeira, mas demandava que não fosse imitada, ou seja, que a criação de algo novo surgisse a partir da fusão de elementos estranhos e não simplesmente do uso do exótico.

E, se em dado momento, alguns compositores dependiam de seu esforço pessoal para coletar melodias e ritmos populares para suas obras[5], a partir do

segundo quarto do século XX, diversas ações governamentais patrocinaram amplas pesquisas de campo voltadas para o registro e preservação do folclore brasileiro[6]. Essa colaboração entre pesquisadores, compositores e governo atinge o ápice no governo Vargas, como bem observou Egg:

> *Estes compositores encontraram espaço no governo porque seu projeto de criação de uma música erudita nacional coincidia com o projeto geral que orientou o governo Vargas no período de 1930-1945, de criação de um Estado moderno, consolidando uma identidade nacional brasileira. A música de concerto servia a este projeto, coincidindo com seu viés conservador, ao favorecer valores como ordem e disciplina, e ao promover uma visão paternalista da música das classes populares. (Egg 2004: 3)*

O resultado dessas pesquisas são centenas de gravações de áudio, fotos, e publicações que descreviam e exemplificavam essas práticas culturais. Uma das principais contribuições musicais dessas pesquisas folclóricas foi a coleta e identificação de um certo modalismo nessa música popular brasileira. Ermelinda A. Paz (1994) fez um excelente trabalho de compilação de 136 melodias que foram coletadas por diversos autores[7] num período de publicações de

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5   Existe, por exemplo, todo um mito sobre a famosa "peregrinação" de Villa-Lobos pelo interior do Brasil atrás de ideias musicais para suas composições. Todavia, Mário de Andrade já reconhecia que nem todos os compositores tinham tal interesse numa pesquisa de campo

mais aprofundada: "Nosso folclore musical náo tem sido estudado como merece. Os livros que existem sobre ele são deficientes sob todos os pontos-de-vista. E a preguiça e o egoísmo impedem que o compositor vá estudar na fonte as manifestações populares. Quando muito ele se limitará a colher pelo bairro em que mora o que este lhe faz entrar pelo ouvido da janela" (Andrade 2006: 55).

6   Fonseca (2009: 2) faz uma relação das principais ações governamentais nessa direção, entre as quais destaco a Missão de Pesquisas Folclóricas e o Centro de Pesquisas Folclóricas na Escola Nacional de Música.

7   Entre os quais incluem-se Mário de Andrade, Guerra-Peixe, Alceu Maynard de Araújo, Batista Siqueira, Rossini Tavares de Lima, Théo Brandão

quase um século de pesquisas folclóricas. Em sua análise das melodias compiladas, a autora reconheceu 60 melodias[8] no modo Mixolídio, 31 melodias no modo Eólio, 10 melodias no modo Frígio, 14 melodias no modo Dórico, e dois exemplos de escalas mistas ou, como a autora escreve, com a presença de um dualismo modal, sendo um exemplo do modo Lídio-Mixolídio[9].

Não é de se estranhar que melodias modais passaram a fazer parte desse imaginário nacionalista e acrescentam às figuras rítmicas já mencionadas um aspecto melódico na caracterização de uma "música brasileira". Nesse imaginário destacam-se a sonoridade dos modos Mixolídio, Dórico e o Lídio-Mixolídio. Um exemplo claro da fusão desses dois elementos é a música "Mourão" de Guerra-Peixe, na qual podemos ouvir claramente o ritmo de baião[10] no acompanhamento (Fig. 8), com uma melodia composta sobre o modo de Mi Lídio-Mixolídio[11] (Fig. 9)[12].

Aliás, esse uso de características modais na música brasileira já havia sido abordado por Mário de Andrade, quando notou que,

> *afirmar que empregamos a síncopa ou a sétima abaixada é uma puerilidade. O compositor deve conhecer quais são as nossas tendências e constarias melódicas. Aliás a sétima abaixada é uma tendência brasileira de que carece matutar mais sobre a extensão. (Andrade 2006: 35).*

Ainda nesse texto, Mário de Andrade chama a atenção para um aspecto importante, que é a questão do timbre através da instrumentação e sua forma específica, idiomática, de ser executada. A esse respeito disse: "Pois em orquestras comuns mas concebidas assim, o instrumento típico viria ajuntar o seu valor sonoro novo e a sua eficiência de caracterização. Nossos compositores ainda não imaginaram nisso bem" (Andrade 2006: 48). Vale a pena mencionar que na música "Mourão" de Guerra-Peixe, previamente citada, há a presença de uma seção percussiva com instrumentos de sonoridade e características (na forma de tocar) associadas ao imaginário nordestino, dos quais se destacam o pandeiro e o triângulo.

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entre outros.

8 A autora separa as melodias modais em completas (melodias que mostrassem a estrutura escalar completa) e incompletas (quando há a elisão do segundo ou quarto grau, mas que não comprometia a percepção de sua estrutura modal (Paz 1994: 25). Os números que estou considerando é a soma dos exemplos completos e incompletos. Desconsiderei o modo Jônio e as escalas pentatônicas.

9 Uma escala com as características tonal maior (modo Jônio), com a quarta aumentada do modo Lídio e a sétima menor do modo Mixolídio. O modo de Dó Lídio-Mixolídio teria as seguintes notas: Dó, Ré, Mi, Fá#, Sol, Lá, Sib.

10 Interessante notar a similaridade entre o padrão rítmico característico do Baião (Fig. 8) e o já citado Tresilo (Fig. 2), discutido por Sandroni (2002).

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11 Alvarenga (2000) também demonstra como a escala Lídio-Mixolídio (por ele denominada de "Modo híbrido", p. 193), tal como analisado aqui, também é um elemento importante na concepção melódica do Segundo Concerto para Violino e Orquestra de Camargo Guarnieri, composta em 1953, com influência das ideias de Mário de Andrade, "ideólogo do nacionalismo no Brasil" (p. 184).

12 É possível ver a apresentação dessa peça pela Orquestra Sinfônica Brasileira, regida por Roberto Minczuk, em https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oOpKDASqLT8. Acesso em 03 ago. 2017.

E foi exatamente nesse quesito que o Movimento Armorial se destacou. Como bem notou o pesquisador Leonardo Ventura, apesar de surgir oficialmente na década de 1970, o Movimento Armorial se encaixava dentro do discurso regionalista nascido desde a década de 1910, para a "constituição de um imaginário espacial (e sonoro) chamado Nordeste" (Ventura 2007: 30), ou como "uma forma de repensar o nordeste, uma forma de ouvi-lo, uma escuta própria para a região" (p. 14).

Um ponto que chama a atenção, nesse movimento, foi a tentativa de afastar-se, ao menos no seu início, dos timbres e instrumentos associados às práticas musicais urbanas, de tradição europeia ou, "refinados", como diria o próprio Suassuna. De acordo com Ventura, esse teria sido um dos fatores que contribuiu para discordâncias entre Ariano Suassuna e Cussy de Almeida[13]:

> *Até a entrada de Antônio Madureira para o Movimento Armorial, a convite do próprio Ariano, a música armorial, através do trabalho do Maestro Cussy de Almeida à frente da Orquestra Armorial de Câmara, confundia-se bastante com a estética nacionalista de Mário de Andrade e com a música de Heitor Villa-Lobos. Os compositores eram brasileiros e muitas vezes usavam temas tirados do cancioneiro popular, mas a roupagem que lhe era dada – a formação orquestral, o trabalho com timbres, a estética formal – era estritamente européia. Essa, entre outros motivos de ordem pessoal, foi a razão principal do desacordo entre Ariano e o maestro Cussy. Ariano prezava por uma música armorial que fosse buscar diretamente nos timbres e formas do cancioneiro popular as origens de*

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13 Dois fundadores e responsáveis pela estética e filosofia por trás da música do Movimento Armorial. Vale lembrar que esse movimento procurava englobar diversos tipos de expressões artísticas tais como literatura, música, dança, teatro, artes plásticas, entre outras.

> *uma dita autêntica música erudita nacional. Cussy, por sua vez, considerava ilógico desprezar o timbre do violino europeu em prol do som rústico da rabeca nordestina, por exemplo.* (VENTURA, 2007, p. 98)

O primeiro Quinteto Armorial fundado em 1969, por exemplo, era composto de duas flautas, um violino, uma viola, e percussão. A Orquestra Armorial, criada logo em seguida, também não contava com nenhum instrumento "popular". Como resultado dessa falta de entendimento, criou-se um novo Quinteto Armorial com a presença de "Antônio José Madureira que, além de coordenador do grupo, tocava viola-sertaneja; Edilson Eulálio, no violão; Antonio Carlos Nóbrega, na rabeca e no violino; Egildo Vieira, na flauta e pífano; e Fernando Torres Barbosa tocava marimbau" (COSTA, 2007, p. 56). A Orquestra Armorial também dá vez à Orquestra Romaçal que, se não deixa de utilizar instrumentos típicos da orquestra tradicional, agora faz uso constante de instrumentos menos tradicionais para tal grupo, valorizando não só o timbre como a forma característica de se executar tais instrumentos.

Resumindo, podemos elencar três elementos musicais essenciais na construção do nacionalismo em música desde o início do século XX: o ritmo, a melodia e o timbre. E são exatamente esses três elementos que foram identificados por Hermes Alvarenga na análise das características nacionalistas no Segundo Concerto para Violino e Orquestra de Camargo Guarnieri. Em suas palavras:

> *A adoção do nacionalismo andradiano manifesta-se na música de Camargo Guarnieri em traços marcantes e identificáveis tais como: 1) Uso de figurações rítmicas que remetem às danças brasileiras, ao complexo da síncope, reiterado tanto no*

nível da unidade de tempo, quanto na métrica e na hipermétrica. 2) Contornos melódicos que privilegiam a segunda, sua inversão em sétimas e nonas e sucessões de terças que perfilam acordes de sétima trabalhados em contraponto e como pontos de imitação, repetição e elaboração. 3) Uso de timbres evocativos da música popular e folclórica, uso de instrumentos não

sinfônicos agregados à orquestra tradicional. (ALVARENGA, 2000, p. 226)

O que pretendo demonstrar posteriormente é como esses três elementos musicais também foram utilizados por bandas de Rock e Metal para caracterizar uma ideia de brasilidade em suas músicas.

Fig. 8 - ritmo de Baião

Figura 9 - Melodia dos compassos 5 a 13 da música Mourão de Guerra-Peixe.

O que é Rock

O surgimento do Rock está relacionado ao período pós Segunda Guerra Mundial, num contexto de surgimento de novas tecnologias de reprodução, facilitando o acesso à produção midiática por novas classes sociais. Como disse Janotti Jr. (2003, p. 29), "merece ser destacada uma transformação diretamente aliada a esse novo cenário: a abertura de um mercado musical para o público juvenil, que pela primeira vez na história passa a ser reconhecido como público-alvo."

Da relação direta com o público juvenil começam a surgir diversos elementos musicais e extramusicais que passam a ser associados ao então chamado *rock'n'roll:* músicas dançantes com ritmo rápido, estrutura formal simples com refrões de fácil memorização, letras que abordavam desde o sentimento de opressão juvenil ao uso subversivo do corpo (sexo, bebidas), danças sensuais, jaquetas de couro, calça jeans, motos, entre outros.

Dessa forma, é importante entender o termo Rock como um gênero que se originou nos Estados Unidos da década de 1950 a partir de outros gêneros como o Blues e o

Rhythm'n'Blues, mas que se desenvolveu em numerosos subgêneros a partir da década de 1960, cada qual com características musicais e extramusicais próprias, alguns, inclusive, procurando distanciar-se cada vez mais, e intencionalmente, das suas origens. Logo, o que se caracteriza como Rock nos EUA da década de 1950 vai ser modificado tanto no processo diacrônico (com advento de novas tecnologias) ou sincrônico (influências locais de diferentes nacionalidades ou regionalidades).

Nesse processo de transformações, novas fronteiras estilísticas vão sendo criadas num processo dinâmico de negociação entre autores e público. Assim sendo, não é uma tarefa fácil identificar e eleger quais símbolos musicais são tão característicos que podem ser encontrados desde suas origens até o que ainda se considera Rock nos dias atuais. Arrisco aqui três elementos.

O primeiro seria a bateria, com um kit percussivo básico formado pelo bumbo, caixa e prato (condução, cymbal ou ataque). Junto a esse conjunto timbrístico há o padrão rítmico em compasso quaternário, com tempo moderado para rápido (a partir de 120 bpm), e todos os tempos bem marcados e acentuados como é possível ver na Figura 10. Há diversas variações sobre esse padrão básico, como o *shuffle*, exemplificado na Fig 11 (presente na música *Rock around the clock*), ou acréscimos e decréscimos na quantidade de notas executadas em cada peça da bateria, como é possível perceber nas Figuras 12 e 13. O importante é que todos esses quatro exemplos são percebidos por bateristas e ouvintes de Rock como variações da célula rítmica básica encontrada na maioria dos subgêneros do Rock.

O segundo elemento é o contrabaixo, que inicialmente era acústico, mas que rapidamente é substituído pelo contrabaixo elétrico a partir da década de 1950, impulsionado pela popularização e acessibilidade do *Fender Bass*. A presença constante do baixo em bandas de Rock vem acompanhado de sua forma de execução caracterizada inicialmente pelo *walking bass*, uma linha melódica do baixo com uma figura rítmica constante, geralmente a figura que representa o tempo do compasso, e que "passeia" por diversas notas (ver Figura 15); ou sua variação simplificada, que tende a ficar estacionada na fundamental de cada acorde (Figura 16).
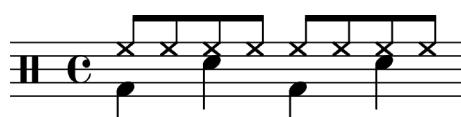
Fig. 10 – Padrão rítmico básico do Rock

Fig. 11 – Variação (Shuffle)
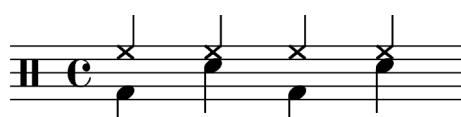
Fig. 12 – Variação com decréscimo de notas no cymbal
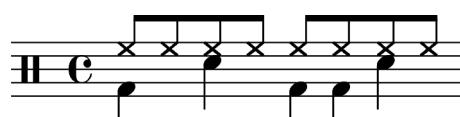
Fig. 13 – Variação com acréscimo de notas no bumbo
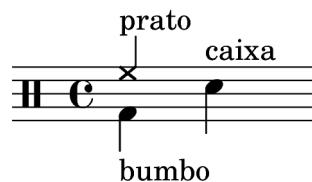
Fig. 14 – Bula para leitura da partitura de bateria

Fig. 15 – Walking Bass da música Rock around the clock (Bill Halley and his Comets)

Fig. 16 – Linha de baixo do refrão da música Rockaway Beach dos Ramones

Por fim, o terceiro elemento musical característico é a presença da guitarra elétrica que, inicialmente, tinha um som limpo, sem efeitos, somente amplificada, e que aos poucos foi substituindo em importância o piano, seja no acompanhamento ou nos solos. Contudo, a importância da guitarra no Rock tornou-se fundamental a partir do uso da distorção de seu som (ou *overdrive*) obtida, primeiramente, através da saturação do volume dos amplificadores e de autofalantes intencionalmente rasgados[14], depois, através de equipamentos eletrônicos que alteram a

onda sonora do instrumento (e.g., pedais de distorção). Outra característica importante, no que concerne a guitarra, é o uso de riffs (Ribeiro 2010: 30-37) no acompanhamento harmônico e da presença constantes de solos nas músicas.

Instrumentos como o piano e sopros (metais) em geral, mesmo estando presente no Rock das décadas de 1950 e 1960, foram perdendo importância aos poucos, permanecendo o trio guitarra, baixo e bateria, como o conjunto timbrístico essencial em sua composição, como já é possível ouvir, por exemplo, no primeiro disco dos Beatles, *Please Please Me*, de 1960.

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14 Uma das histórias associadas à origem da distorção na guitarra remete à gravação da música Rocket 88 de Ike Turner and The Kings of Rhythm, em 1951, na qual o guitarrista Willie Kizart utilizou um amplificador cujo autofalante havia sido ligeiramente danificado no transporte (Blitz 2016)

O Rock no Brasil

São poucas as situações que podemos contar com algum evento que tenha tido tanto impacto que possa ser utilizado como um marco inicial. Esse é o caso da "chegada" do Rock no Brasil, que muitos autores associam com a exibição nas salas de cinema no Brasil dos filmes *Blackboard Jungle* e *Rock around the clock* (Ao balanço das horas[15]), lançados em 1955 e 1956, respectivamente. Logo, a gravação da música tema na voz da cantora Nora Ney, em 1955, teria sido o primeiro Rock gravado no Brasil. Curiosamente, essa primeira versão foi cantada na língua original. Mas, nesse mesmo ano, a cantora Heleninha Silveira gravou uma versão em português, inaugurando uma prática associada ao Rock dessa época, de se fazer versões das letras em inglês, e que se mantém até os dias atuais. Ou seja, uma das principais características do Rock no Brasil era ser cantado em português, seja em composições originais ou, como dito, através de versões (não traduções) de músicas famosas. De acordo com Janotti Jr.:

> *Devido à falta de controle sobre os direitos de execução e composição musical em toda a América Latina, era bastante comum driblar o pagamento sobre os direitos da gravação original com regravações dos sucesssos internacionais por artistas locais. Assim, intérpretes que não possuíam nenhuma relação imagética com os ídolos juvenis dos EUA, como Agostinho Santos e Carlos Gonzaga, acabaram gravando versões em português para sucessos como* See you later alligator *e* The great pretender. *[…] Os irmãos Celly e Tony Campello foram os primeiros ídolos jovens contratados pela*

gravadora *Odeon*. Basicamente, seus sucessos eram versões em português de canções *rock and roll* produzidas em língua inglesa. (JANOTTI JR., 2003, p. 67-68, ênfase do original)

Assim como nos EUA, o visual associado ao Rock no Brasil era essencialmente urbano, com jovens vestidos de jeans, couro, carros e motos, numa associação à rebeldia e independência. Programas de televisão como o *Jovem Guarda*, da TV Record, produzido entre 1965 e 1968, e filmes como os já citados, ajudaram a criar todo um esteriótipo visual e comportamental do público de Rock. Esses primeiros anos do rock no Brasil, que posteriormente estaria associado ao movimento da Jovem Guarda, tem duas características evidentes:

> *a primeira, que perdurará durante a década de 1960, é a utilização das versões de músicas estrangeiras como carro chefe dos cantores de rock; e a segunda é a opção por um rock and roll ingênuo e bem comportado, já alinhado com a segunda fase do rock and roll americano branco e domesticado. (SILVA, 2014, p. 40)*

Mas, enquanto o movimento da Jovem Guarda mantinha um repertório muito tradicional, com muitas baladas, e um rock'n'roll "ingênuo e bem comportado", outras bandas surgiam no final da década de 1960 e início dos anos 1970, como os Mutantes e a banda Secos e Molhados, com muita influência dos últimos discos dos Beatles e do que ficou conhecido como rock progressivo de bandas como Pink Floyd. Nesse sentido, é interessante o comentário de Bia Abramos sobre Raul Seixas

> *O pai do rock brasileiro, Raul Seixas, ao contrário de Caetano e Gil, não tinha nenhum projeto estético ou ideológico. Ele queria fazer rock'n'roll, exatamente como*

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15 É digno de menção a reportagem de Rose Saconi, no jornal Estadão, contendo facímiles de reportagens da época, mencionando a bagunça e histeria causada pelos jovens que foram assistir à estréia (SACONI, 2015).

seus ídolos Elvis Presley, Buddy Holy e Jerry Lee Lewis. Só que em vez de nascer em Memphis, Tennessee, ele nasceu em Salvador, Bahia. Assim como Jorge Ben descobriu a guitarra, Raul Seixas inventou como cantar rock em português. Não como faziam Celly Campelo e os roqueiros dos anos 50. Raul adaptou a métrica, a temática e a forma de cantar rock para o português - e isso em sua forma mais primitiva e básica. Raul, assim como os Mutantes, reivindicava sua filiação à grande fraternidade do rock. Sua relação com a música brasileira era acidental: além da língua, aqui e ali se ouvem ecos tênues de alguma brasilidade. Entretanto, sua atitude radicalmente roqueira influenciou de forma definitiva as gerações que o sucederam. (ABRAMO, 1996)

Talvez a principal banda dessa época tenha sido Os Mutantes, em cujo primeiro disco, lançado em 1968, já se ouvia uma mistura de diversos gêneros musicais contando, inclusive, com a participação de Jorge Ben Jor, na música "A minha menina", prenunciando o subgênero "samba-rock", que seria associado a esse cantor. Essa mescla musical teria sido influenciada tanto pelo contato deles com o movimento da Tropicália, quanto com o maestro e arranjador Rogério Duprat[16]. Outro exemplo

que evidencia essa combinação de gêneros é a música "Bat Macumba", com muita percussão sobre uma base de rock com muita guitarra distorcida, uma sonoridade que muito se assemelha ao que ficaria famoso como o *Latin Rock* do guitarrista Carlos Santana[17].

Contudo, gostaria também de destacar a importância do grupo Os Novos Bahianos como um dos percussores dessa mistura entre o rock e a música popular brasileira. Seu primeiro disco já misturava músicas com uma sonoridade rock (inclusive muita guitarra distorcida), com mambo ou xote. Mas, em músicas separadas. É nos discos "Acabou Chorare" de 1972 e "Novos Bahianos Futebol Clube" de 1973, que essa fusão está bem evidente, acontecendo dentro das músicas e não em músicas diferentes. O primeiro exemplo, bem contido, está na logo na música, "Brasil Pandeiro", composição de Assis Valente, um samba com frases melódicas no bandolim (em alguns momentos dobrado pela guitarra distorcida) influenciadas pelo blues e pelo rock progressivo, e em nada semelhantes aos contrapontos melódicos do samba ou do choro eternizados tanto no saxofone de Pixinguinha, quanto na "baixaria" do violão de Dino 7 Cordas. Mas é na música "Tinindo Trincando" que essa fusão está mais evidente,

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16 Duprat é um personagem muito importante não só para esse movimento da tropicália que está se prenunciando., como para o contexto da música de concerto da segunda metade do século XX no Brasil. De acordo com Cunha, "Duprat era considerado uma das figuras intelectuais mais bem articuladas estética e filosoficamente. Havia sido um dos principais organizadores do movimento, conhecido no início da década de 1960, como Movimento de Música Nova, tendo sido inclusive o redator do manifesto do grupo, publicado em 1963. O grupo reunia em sua origem, além de Rogério Duprat; Gilberto Mendes, Willy Corrêa de Oliveira, Régis Duprat, Sandino Hohagen e os anteriormente citados, Júlio Medaglia e Damiano Cozzela. Estes compartilhavam o desejo de atualização da linguagem musical erudita no Brasil, inspiravam-se a princípio, nas técnicas musicais atonais serialistas, difundidas pelas correntes europeias, na época, sobretudo representadas pelos

compositores Pierre Boulez e Karlheinz Stockhausen. Estavam de certa forma, fartos do conservadorismo da música erudita brasileira, que até então, prevalecia através de um estilo de tendências folclórico-nacionalistas." (Cunha 2013: 15)

17 Como ambos são contemporâneos, e o guitarrista Carlos Santana só ficaria famoso internacionalmente após sua participação no festival de Woodstock em 1969, não é provável que um grupo tenha influenciado o outro mas que, provavelmente, ambos tenham chegado à mesma ideia de unir o Rock com o timbre e execução típica da percussão de gêneros musicais caribenhos.

com partes de rock acompanhada por percussão característica do samba (tamborim), ou com parte de baião acompanhada com guitarra distorcida. Há também a versão do "Samba da minha terra", de Dorival Caymmi, misturando trechos de samba com trechos de rock, e instrumentos como bandolim, cavaquinho, violão, guitarra distorcida, tamborim e bateria.

Seguindo essa tendência, por toda a década de 1970 é possível encontrar bandas que façam uso dessa mistura entre o rock e elementos musicais (ritmos, timbres e alguns padrões melódicos modais) ou gêneros musicais (samba, xote, baião, etc.) que ficaram associados com algum tipo de brasilidade. Entretanto, meu objetivo aqui não é fazer uma análise detalhada de todas as bandas que misturaram rock com alguma forma de "música brasileira", nem uma cronologia precisa, mas mostrar que essa fusão estava presente desde seu início, nem que fosse simplesmente pelo uso de letras em português. Isto é, como já havia identificado Wisnik (2007, p. 56), apesar de ter sido gestada na década de 1920, essa ideia de antropofagia cultural tornou-se um elemento essencial em muitos dos movimentos culturais que ajudaram a criar os símbolos de brasilidade, "indo além dos quadros cronológicos desta exposição". Essa ideia de misturar elementos de várias culturas pode ser visto tanto como uma estratégia midiática (DANTAS, 2007), como uma tentativa de se criar uma identidade própria, ou mesmo como algo inevitável.

Metal no Brasil

Hoje já podemos dizer, sem receios, que o Heavy Metal é um gênero que surge no final

da década de 1960 e início de 1970 na Inglaterra, como uma forma de tocar Blues e Rock cada vez mais rápida, com mais distorção na guitarra, privilegiando timbres mais graves no baixo e na bateria (com um som de bumbo mais grave e mais presente na mixagem das músicas). Essa fase inicial do Heavy Metal ficou associada à sonoridade de bandas como Black Sabbath, Deep Purple e Led Zeppelin.

Contudo, no final da década de 1970, algumas bandas britânicas como Iron Maiden, Saxon e Venon passaram a incorporar ao Heavy Metal tradicional a intensidade sonora do movimento Punk, resultando em músicas mais rápidas e agressivas, e afastando-se, cada vez mais, das raízes musicais do Blues e do Rock'n'Roll, o que deu início ao que ficou conhecido como New Wave of Britsh Heavy Metal (NWOBHM).

A sonoridade dessas bandas acabou caracterizando o que se reconhece como Metal, e que foi reproduzida em detalhes por milhares de bandas em todos os cantos do planeta, fazendo com que esse gênero deixasse de pertencer a uma área geográfica. Dessa forma, compor e tocar um dos subgêneros do Metal (Heavy, Death, Doom, Thrash, etc.) significa reproduzir determinados clichês musicais e extramusicais bastante específicos que são utilizados como forma de se identificar com esse subgênero[18].

O público e as bandas do gênero Metal sempre foram muito conservadores, fazendo com que bandas que promovam mudanças e/ou acréscimos às características musicais sejam sempre vistas com desconfiança ou,

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18 Para se aprofundar nessa discussão, ver Ribeiro (2010; 2016)

em casos extremos, não sendo identificadas como pertencentes àquele gênero.

Com as bandas de Metal no início da década de 1980 no Brasil não foi diferente, sendo bastante tradicionais na forma de compor músicas, se vestirem, e na escolha dos temas das letras e imagens de discos e cartazes. Isso significava, por exemplo, adotar a língua inglesa, usar temáticas da cultura medieval europeia e os referenciais musicais característicos do gênero desenvolvido na Inglaterra, sem nenhuma referência a alguma forma de identificação brasileira.

Ou seja, as bandas brasileiras que se destacaram nessa década, entre as quais a Dorsal Atlântica, Sarcófago, Sepultura, e Viper, estavam mais interessadas em fazer uma música semelhante às bandas estrangeiras já citadas do que seguir a linha do Rock brasileiro que desde o final da década de 1960 já incorporava elementos relacionados à cultura local em sua produção audiovisual.

Obviamente que, com quase três décadas de rock cantado em português e a promoção da fusão de elementos globais e locais em artistas tão díspares como Alceu Valença e a Os Mutantes, é de se esperar que houvesse algumas bandas que optassem por cantar em português, mesmo copiando todas características musicais das bandas estrangeiras que eram referência no gênero Metal (assim como as bandas punk brasileiras). Entre essas, podemos destacar a banda paraense Stress, considerada a primeira banda de metal do nosso país (Silva 2014), a Dorsal Atlântica, a Sarcófago, e a Overdose. Mas, curiosamente, muitas das bandas que começaram cantando em português, passaram a cantar em inglês ou lançaram discos com versões em português e

inglês, como foi o caso das bandas Dorsal Atlântica e Ratos de Porão. O motivo mais óbvio para essa mudança de idioma era a tentativa de alcançar um público estrangeiro e não somente a cena local, possibilitando turnês em outros países e, através da aceitação de sua música por um público estrangeiro, alcançar a legitimação de sua produção musical. Ao mesmo tempo, a "exigência" de se cantar Metal em inglês para o público estrangeiro pode ser explicada através da comparação com outros gêneros. Imagine o exotismo de ouvirmos um tango cantado em japonês ou de um samba cantado em inglês. Se há um apelo pela sonoridade diferente, há uma certa percepção de que o "samba só é samba quando é cantado em português". Talvez essa seja a mesma sensação do público estrangeiro em relação ao Metal cantado em português, na qual o exotismo não prevalece ao tradicionalismo.

Duas das bandas que se consagraram no Brasil cantando em português e com elementos de Metal, Raimundos e Nação Zumbi, o fizeram ao, praticamente, criar um novo subgênero, de forma que a sonoridade e métrica da língua portuguesa se tornaram características essenciais a tais subgêneros, sem que tivessem outras bandas para serem comparadas. Ambas as bandas lançaram seus primeiros discos no início da década de 1990 que, de acordo com Dantas (2007: 146), foi a década cuja "principal estratégia midiática dos grupos de rock brasileiro" era a mistura de gêneros.

No caso dos Raimundos, a combinação do Hardcore com ritmos, gêneros e elementos característicos da cultura nordestina, resultou no que se convencionou chamar de forrocore, um subgênero relacionado diretamente com essa banda e que se

caracteriza por essa mistura específica já presente em seu primeiro disco de 1994. Dessa forma, não criava-se o que Cardoso Filho (2006, p. 65) chamou de "'embotoamento' dos signos distintivos, gerando confusão nos consumidores [de Heavy Metal]". Ou seja, quem ouve a banda Raimundos o faz pela mistura que eles promovem, sem procurar um tradicionalismo típico do Metal.

O mesmo pode-se dizer em relação à banda Nação Zumbi[19], com a diferença que, se o forrocore dos Raimundos praticamente não produziu descendentes, a banda Nação Zumbi fazia parte de um movimento maior, a cena Mangue, posteriormente popularizada como Mangue Beat, e que envolvia diversas bandas do estado de Pernambuco (Lima: 2007). Há ainda de se enfatizar que essa cena mangue era mais influenciada pelo rock psicodélico do que pelo Metal propriamente dito. Existia uma certa independência entre a cena metal e a cena mangue e, "apesar de várias bandas ligadas ao movimento mangue terem integrantes que participaram também de bandas da cena metal, as redes de relações e os ambientes frequentados por integrantes das duas cenas raramente coincidiam." (Bezerra 2011: 5). Por exemplo, as tentativas iniciais da banda Mundo Livre S/A de mesclar rock com cavaquinho e tamborim, no final da década de 1980, não foram bem assimiladas na cena local. O ponto de confluência passa a ser o festival Abril Pro Rock, que a partir de 1993 passa a

reunir bandas de ambas as cenas, mesmo que em noites separadas. Todavia, a influência desse movimento no Metal brasileiro é inegável, a começar pela banda *Soulfy*, criada pelo antigo guitarrista e vocalista da banda Sepultura, Max Cavallera, e que contava com o guitarrista Lúcio Maia (assim como a seção de percussão) da banda Nação Zumbi na gravação do seu primeiro disco.

Para Idelber Avelar, essa cena mangue, ao realizar a mistura

> *sem precedentes do internacional com o que era entendido como regional, sem passar pela mediação da música canonizada como nacional no Sudeste, mudou os paradigmas de canonização na canção popular. O manguebeat é o mais próximo que a música brasileira popular recente chegou de um grande gesto inaugural ou de um momento de ruptura com a tradição. Seu movimento inclui tanto a revisão e a recuperação da tradição como a ruptura, esta última encarnada na crítica ao pensamento dominante sobre música pernambucana e nordestina emblematizado na perspectiva tradicional-preservadora de um populista como Ariano Suassuna. (AVELAR, 2011, p. 32)*

Contudo, como já dito antes, as mudanças e acréscimos aos padrões tradicionais do Metal são vistos com desconfiança e, como no caso dessas duas bandas citadas, a Nação Zumbi e os Raimundos, não são considerados como Metal pelo público desse gênero.

> Nesse contexto [década de 1980], e espremido entre os medalhões da MPB e o novo pop rock, representado por bandas como Legião Urbana, Plebe Rude, Ultraje a Rigor, Lulu Santos, etc, é que surge o Heavy Metal brasileiro, tentando se auto afirmar com muito barulho e negando tudo aquilo que era brasileiro como nos declara Andreas Kisser: "Todos nós éramos radicais. Escutávamos heavy metal e Black metal e

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19   É interessante o testemunho de Idelber Avelar sobre seu primeiro contato com essa banda, num show em Nova Yorque, em 1995: "A primeira coisa que me chamava a atenção era a mescla de coisas que nunca haviam sido justapostas antes. Isso não era e não é, para mim, um valor em si mas, naquele caso, com certeza funcionava: a mistura era insólita e contagiante, polissêmica e ao mesmo tempo concisa." (Avelar 2011: 26)

achávamos uma merda tudo o que havia no Brasil. Não gostávamos de samba, não gostávamos de rock brasileiro, não gostávamos de porra nenhuma. Era absolutamente normal que fossemos uma turma separada[20]." (Silva 2014: 95).

Não se está contestando que houvessem usos esporádicos de alguns elementos musicais ou extramusicais locais por bandas de Metal brasileiras. Um exemplo claro é o disco "Brasil", da banda Ratos de Porão, lançado em 1988. Nesse disco, além do próprio uso da língua portuguesa, como já comentado, e do uso de temas nas letras que refletiam o cotidiano político e social brasileiro, há a citação do tema de abertura da ópera "O Guarani" de Carlos Gomes na música "Amazônia nunca mais"; há a citação do tema da seleção brasileira na Copa do Mundo de 1970 no início da música "Retrocesso". Há ainda a capa do disco, desenhada pelo cartunista underground Marcatti, que mostra em primeiro plano um campo de futebol, um homem com roupas velhas, sujas e rasgadas, dentes quebrados, e com uma bola de futebol na mão, e em segundo plano imagens que refletem a crítica político-social contida nas letras (Fig. 17).

Todavia, o uso desses elementos citados tinham mais a intenção de criticar e negar sua relação com o que a sociedade brasileira representava (corrupção nas esferas política, religiosa e policial, destruição da natureza, violência urbana, ditadura militar, recessão econômica, inflação, falso moralismo) do que incorporá-los como sinais evidentes de demarcação identitária, apesar de acabar por ter esse efeito.

É importante deixar claro que, os elementos musicais citados no caso do disco "Brasil" foram utilizados somente como citação e não como parte do processo composicional original. Estou utilizando o termo citação em acordo com o verbete *quotation* do Dicionário New Grove, que a define como "a incorporação de um segmento de música existente em outra peça, semelhante à citação no discurso ou na literatura. [...] Como uma sinédoque na literatura, a citação pode representar a totalidade da obra a partir da qual é extraída e, portanto, seu compositor, seu gênero, seu período histórico, sua região de origem ou a tradição musical a partir da qual ela vem" (Burkholder 2014).

Fig. 17 – Capa do disco "Brasil" da banda Ratos de Porão. Fonte: http://hardandheavy.com.br/ptbr/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/28b4g42.jpg

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20 Essa citação de Andreas Kisser foi retirada do seguinte livro: Alexandre, Ricardo. 2002. *Dias de Luta*: o rock e o Brasil dos anos 80. São Paulo: DBA Artes Gráficas, p. 347.

Assim sendo, o argumento desse texto é que foi somente a partir do ano de 1993 que o Metal brasileiro passa a incorporar de forma mais constante, em seu processo de composição musical, a fusão de elementos musicais do Metal com sonoridades relacionadas à música brasileira. É nesse ano que é lançado o disco "Chaos A.D." da banda Sepultura e o disco "Angel's Cry" da banda Angra, as duas bandas brasileiras de Metal de maior sucesso midiático tanto no Brasil como no exterior. Portanto, é importante entender qual a importância dessas bandas para o Metal no Brasil.

Sobre a escolha das bandas Sepultura e Angra

Para a totalidade do público que ouve Metal, perguntar o porquê as bandas Sepultura e Angra são as mais conhecidas e influentes seria desnecessário. É certo que bandas contemporâneas da formação do Sepultura, como Dorsal Atlântica e Sarcófago, foram as primeiras a ter algum destaque nacional e internacional. Mas, nenhuma das duas mantiveram esse sucesso por muito tempo. De forma semelhante, a banda Raimundos, contemporânea da banda Angra, alcançou muito público local, mas não obteve reconhecimento como banda de Metal, uma vez que sua principal influência é o hardcore. Todavia, para quem não faz parte dessa cena, alguma dúvida ainda pode persistir. Para dirimi-la, em 2017 fiz o levantamento de algumas informações e alguns dados a respeito dessas duas bandas. Em relação à banda Sepultura:

1. *De acordo com a empresa Nielsen, que monitora a venda de música internacionalmente, até 2010, somente no Reino Unido, a banda Sepultura já havia vendido mais de um milhão de discos[21].*
2. *No site da Billboard[22], há a informação de que "Roots", o disco mais vendido deles, alcançou o número 27 de sua lista, e lá permanecendo durante 10 semanas. O disco "Chaos A.D." também alcançou a posição de número 32, permanecendo na lista por sete semenas. Outros três discos do Sepultura também fizeram parte da lista da billboard, mas sem alcançar posições tão altas.*
3. *Numa enquete feita com músicos de Metal e membros da indústria musical de vários países por um prestigiado site da área, Metalsucks, dentre as vinte e cinco bandas citadas, a banda Sepultura alcançou o décimo terceiro lugar, com 41 votos e 444 pontos[23].*
4. *Outra enquete realizada pelo site de notícias R7[24] entre seus leitores, sobre qual seria a melhor banda de Heavy Metal no mundo, das nove listadas, o Sepultura estava em quinto lugar, abaixo de bandas como Iron Maiden e Metallica, mas acima de bandas como Megadeth e Judas Priest.*
5. *Deezer, o site de compartilhamento de músicas online, disponibilizou uma lista com as treze bandas de rock brasileiras mais ouvidas no exterior, tendo a banda Sepultura em primeiro lugar[25].*
6. *Nesse mesmo site, a banda Sepultura aparece com 363.299 fãs. Pode não ser muito se comparado aos 3.170.522 de fãs da banda Metallica, mas é muito próximo de uma das duplas de maior sucesso da música sertaneja, Bruno e Marrone, que contam com 626.056 fãs.*
7. *No aplicativo Spotify, em agosto de 2017, o Sepultura possuía 354.203 seguidores e 548.571 ouvintes mensais. Nesse mesmo aplicativo, a dupla Bruno e Marrone possuía 1.161.472 ouvintes mensais e 334.230 seguidores.*
8. *Foram analisadas todas as capas de uma das mais importantes revistas do gênero Metal no Brasil, a Roadie Crew,*

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21 https://www.ukmix.org/forums/viewtopic.php?t=72243.
22 http://www.billboard.com/artist/278656/sepultura/chart.
23 http://www.metalsucks.net/2014/11/14/25-best-metal-bands-time-real-1-black-sabbath/
24 http://entretenimento.r7.com/musica/enquetes/qual-a-melhor-banda-de-heavy-metal-.html
25 http://www.deezer.com/br/playlist/1303076657

disponibilizadas em seu site[26]. Até a edição de número 214, a banda Sepultura ficou em quarto lugar, com seis capas, só perdendo para o Iron Maiden com nove capas, o Angra, com oito capas e o Dream Theater também com oito capas.

9. *Por fim, a lista de recordistas de vendas de discos no Brasil da Wikipedia[27], baseada na antiga Associação Brasileira dos Produtores de Discos e atual Pro-Musica Brasil, consta a banda sepultura em décimo quarto lugar, com vinte milhões de discos vendidos até o presente, ao lado de artistas como Daniela Mercury e Zezé di Camargo & Luciano.*

Pelos números mostrados dá para entender porquê o Sepultura é a banda brasileira mais conhecida no exterior, mesmo entre pessoas que não ouvem Metal, tornando-se a banda brasileira mais influente para o público e bandas de Metal brasileiras. No caso da banda Angra, os números são bem menos expressivos, mas ainda assim estão bem acima de outras bandas nacionais de Metal tais como o Almah, Krisium, Hangar, Dr. Sin, Shaman ou Korzus.

1. *No site do Deezer, a banda Angra aparece com 71.402 fãs. Parece pouco perto do Sepultura, mas está bem à frente de outras bandas de Metal nacionais como Krisium (24.931), Almah (11.594) ou Shaman (6.805).*

2. *No aplicativo Spotify, o Angra possui 100.297 seguidores (seg.) e 146.937 ouvintes mensais (ouv.), e as demais bandas: Krisium (21.215 seg., 15.314 ouv.), Almah (13.655 seg., 12.609 oou.), e Shaman (21.433 seg., 30.516 ouv.).*

3. *Como já citado anteriormente, em relação às capas da Revista Roadie Crew, até a*

edição de número 214, o Angra foi a banda brasileira com o maior número de capas (8 no total), só perdendo para a banda Iron Maiden e à frente do Sepultura.

4. *Em contato por e-mail com a produtora Toplink[28], responsável pelo agenciamento e mediação da banda Angra, fui informado que a banda já vendeu um total de cerca de 3 milhões de discos até o momento.*

Números semelhantes serão encontrados em outras redes sociais, tais como o Facebook e o Youtube, com a banda Sepultura liderando com muita folga em número de seguidores e curtidas, seguido pela banda Angra, que só perde para as bandas brasileiras Matanza e Raimundos, mas que não se encaixam no gênero Metal especificamente.

Referenciais teóricos para a análise etnomusicológica

A análise etnomusicológica que proponho irá se apoiar, de forma mais genérica, nos estudos sobre identidade cultural, ou como a música pode contribuir para a construção simbólica da identidade (Stokes 1994; Turino 2008, Rice 2017); e mais especificamente, na identificação dos *overt signals* (Barth 1969) que são criados e/ou apropriados para fazer essa identificação através de elementos musicais ou extramusicais. Ao assumirmos a cultura como uma teia de símbolos cujos significados precisam ser interpretados (Geertz 1989), pensar "música como cultura" seria, portanto, pensá-la como um conjunto de símbolos cujos significados são compartilhados (Hall 1997: 1), abrindo a possibilidade de uma experiência musical compartilhada, que ocorrerá "quando o indivíduo aprende quais são esses elementos e passa a identificá-los como significativos e

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26 http://www.roadiecrew.com/edicoes.php. Para esse propósito, foram analisadas as fotos principais, ou seja, os artistas em destaque. As vezes em que aparece somente o nome da banda, ou uma foto bem pequena, não foi levado em consideração. Quando eram duas bandas dividindo a capa ao meio e foi feita uma entrada para cada banda.

27 https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lista_de_recordistas_de_vendas_de_discos_no_Brasil

28 http://www.toplinkmusic.com

basilares para a avaliação de uma experiência musical" (Ribeiro 2010: 61).

Todavia, é preciso eleger um sistema de identificação, classificação, e organização desses diversos elementos musicais e extramusicais para que possa ser utilizado numa perspectiva comparativa. Em seguida abordarei algumas possibilidades se apliquem ao estudo proposto.

Em 2001 apresentei uma comunicação (não publicada) no primeiro encontro nacional da Associação Brasileira de Etnomusicologia (I ENABET), na qual eu fazia uma crítica à onda crescente de compositores e grupos de música popular do estado de Sergipe, que se autodenominavam pesquisadores pelo simples fato de irem até um determinado povoado, gravar e fotografar as apresentações dos grupos tradicionais, e utilizar o resultado dessa "pesquisa" em suas próprias composições. Essa análise foi realizada a partir da audição de uma dezena de discos gravados por artistas locais, e a participação em diversos shows desses artistas, e resultou na identificação de algumas práticas utilizadas para se associarem à cultura popular tradicional ou, como gostam de chamar, ao folclore sergipano, tais como:

1. *Uso de células rítmicas originalmente tocadas por instrumentos de percussão, sendo utilizadas em outros instrumentos de percussão (que não os originais);*
2. *Uso de células rítmicas originalmente tocadas por instrumentos de percussão, sendo utilizadas em instrumentos harmônicos ou melódicos;*
3. *Uso de padrões melódicos originalmente modais ou não pertencentes ao sistema tonal ocidental (geralmente pela não presença de um instrumento harmônico ou melódico) modificados para adaptar-se a uma harmonia tonal;*
4. *Uso de clichês melódicos populares tais como repentes, emboladas e trava língua;*

5. *Uso de citações literais de trechos de música executada por grupos "folclóricos":*
   1. *Por meio de uma "gravação de campo" utilizada como citação dentro de composição original, ou como introdução à música desse compositor;*
   2. *Quando o artista canta ou executa instrumentalmente trechos de músicas originárias dos grupos tradicionais;*
6. *Uso de indumentária associada aos grupos tradicionais:*
   1. *Comprada ao próprio grupo, o que se reverteria numa maior "fidelidade à tradição";*
   2. *Feita em costureiras contratadas, com as respectivas modificações estético-visuais necessárias;*
7. *Uso de instrumentos musicais associados aos grupos tradicionais:*
   1. *Comprados ao próprio grupo, o que também se reverteria numa maior "fidelidade à tradição";*
   2. *Feito por luthiers contratados, ou até mesmo marceneiros sem nenhum conhecimento musical, com as respectivas modificações estético-sonoras necessárias;*

O interessante de revisitar essa lista é identificar que algumas práticas estão em sintonia com o que foi discutido no início desse capítulo como marcadores identitários: uso de padrões rítmicos, padrões melódicos, e timbres específicos. Mas, duas novas práticas se associaram, que é o uso de citação e o uso de elementos extramusicais (vestimentas, simbologia, etc.).

Todavia, essa lista apresenta dois problemas principais: 1) não apresenta grupos mais genéricos de classificação; 2) Não leva em consideração elementos imagéticos e/ou comportamentais, fundamentais para a entender o gênero Metal também como um gênero midiático[29].

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29 "O gênero musical é definido então por elementos textuais, sociológicos e ideológicos, sendo uma espiral que vai dos aspectos ligados ao campo da

Em uma pesquisa posterior (Ribeiro 2010), utilizei as regras de gênero (Fabbri 1981) na análise das fronteiras estilísticas de grupos de Metal numa cena rock underground. Essas regras de gênero sugerem a organização, agrupamento e análise de um gênero musical[30] em cinco esferas: 1) regras semióticas; 2) regras de comportamento; 3) regras sociais e ideológicas; 4) regras econômicas e jurídicas; 5) regras formais e técnicas. A grande vantagem dessa taxonomia é a "criação de gavetas analíticas, dentro das quais as diferentes informações coletadas na pesquisa de campo, e na análise do material (música, vídeo, fotos, entrevistas), relacionadas aos diferentes estilos, são organizadas de uma mesma forma, para uma posterior comparação" (Ribeiro 2010: 46). Todavia, apesar de ter sido uma ferramenta importante para a análise comparativa daquele contexto específico (fronteiras estilísticas numa cena rock underground), acredito que são muitas categorias analíticas para o objetivo dessa pesquisa. Por isso reduzirei as categorias para as duas esferas que me importam nesse momento: 1) Elementos extramusicais (regras semióticas); 2) Elementos musicais (regras formais e técnicas), que também resumem o conteúdo da lista anterior.

> **Elementos extramusicais** *Serão analisados o conteúdo das letras e a iconografia utilizada em imagens e roupas.*

> **Elementos musicais** *Serão analisadas as questões relacionadas ao conteúdo*

sonoro, tais como o ritmo, contornos e intervalos melódicos, timbre e citações.

Para a análise dos elementos musicais, irei valer-me da análise semiótica de Phillip Tagg (2004; 2012) para a identificação das unidades mínimas de significação sonora, os musemas. O modelo para análise semiótica foi resumido por Martha Ulhôa (1999) da seguinte forma:

> *Identifica-se na obra analisada (OA) as unidades mínimas de significação sonora (musemas). Dentro de uma prática cultural específica esses musemas são associados a significados paramusicais por anafonia sonora, cinética ou tátil, formando um campo de associações paramusicais (CAPm1). Ao mesmo tempo estes itens do código musical (ICM) são semelhantes a outros itens em outras músicas, compondo o material de comparação entre objetos (MceO), por sua vez também relacionadas a significados paramusicais (CAPm2). O significado do evento sonoro (OA) se encontra na correspondência hermenêutica por meio de comparação entre itens do código musical (ICM) do evento sonoro (OA) com outros eventos sonoros semelhantes (MCeO) e seus respectivos campos de associações paramusicais (CAPm1 e CAPm2). […] para analisar qualquer musema (como motivos, riffs, timbres, gestos, texturas, cadências, levadas, seqüências de acordes, etc.) [Tagg] compara-o com "referentes" semelhantes em outras músicas ou com campos paramusicais, desde que tenham sido lembrados por qualquer ouvinte (incluindo músicos profissionais) que entenda aquele código.*

O interessante do conceito de musema é que ele pode englobar desde um simples toque num triângulo (timbre), como um ritmo associado ao baião, ou uma progressão harmônica modal. Cada um desses exemplos podem fazer ressoar[31] nos ouvintes que

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produção às estratégias de leitura inscritas nos produtos midiáticos." (Janotti Jr. 2006: 8)

30 Para o autor, gênero musical é "um conjunto de eventos musicais (reais ou possíveis) cujo curso é governado por um conjunto definido de regras socialmente aceitas" (FABBRI, 1998, p. 1).

31 Reily (2002, p. 131-132) identifica como *ritual ressonances* o processo no qual qualquer ato ou

possuam a competência (Stefani 2007) necessária para ler tais associações. O que importa não é somente a intenção do compositor em tornar óbvio ou visível tais musemas, mas como o público os percebe como sinais de pertencimento.

Conclusão

Esse artigo procurou mostrar que, apesar do rock produzido no Brasil desde a década de 1960 já conter diversos elementos que caracterizam uma mescla entre a música estrangeira com a cultura local (língua, ritmos, melodias, timbres, etc.), esse não é o caso no Metal brasileiro, pelo menos até a década de 1990. Foi somente a partir dessa década que as duas principais bandas brasileiras do gênero, o Sepultura e o Angra, começaram a utilizar a simbologia da cultura local/nacional em produções audiovisuais como forma de, por um lado, criar uma identificação com as práticas musicais locais, e por outro lado, criar um diferencial em relação às tradicionais bandas de metal estrangeiras.

Em outro texto, que será publicado como segunda parte da pesquisa, analisarei toda a discografia e filmografia (vídeos de shows e videoclipes oficiais) dessas duas bandas, em detalhe, para mostrar quais os elementos musicais e extramusicais foram utilizados como forma de criar essa identificação cultural. É importante salientar que essa análise já foi feita em parte por outros

pesquisadores[32], mas nenhum deles se propôs a análise de toda a produção musical de forma a identificar se houve um uso contínuo e consistente de certos signos específicos como marcadores identitários ao longo dessas mais de três décadas de atuação das bandas mencionadas.

Por fim, na terceira parte (publicação), procurarei demonstrar como esses símbolos foram, posteriormente, reproduzidos em outras bandas de Metal nacionais, como forma de mostrar o uso consciente desses marcadores já legitimados pelas bandas mais influentes do Metal brasileiro. Como escreveu Blacking,

> *Music can express social attitudes and cognitive processes, but it is useful and effective only when it is heard by the prepared and receptive ears of people who have shared, or can share in some way, the cultural and individual experiences of its creators. Music, therefore, confirms what is already present in society and culture, and it adds nothing new except patterns of sound. (Blacking 1973: 54)*

Dessa forma, parto do pressuposto de que a utilização desses símbolos é consciente, não como uma forma de retornar às raízes[33], mas à possibilidade de diferenciar-se das demais bandas internacionais. O grande desafio dessas bandas está no equilíbrio de fazer uma música com características do Metal e incorporar elementos locais sem desagradar o público tradicional de Metal, que tende a ser bem mais conservador e apegado às tradições do que diversos outros gêneros musicais.

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produto é associado a uma determinada significação simbólica. Em seu estudo da Folia de Reis, a autora chegou à conclusão de que, através de numerosas formas expressivas, e de diversos estímulos sensoriais, os participantes tornavam-se predispostos a ler associações em diversos motivos (menor unidade de significação simbólica dentro de um contexto ritual), relacionando-os a outras redes de significação.

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32 Ver Avelar (2001, 2004, 2005, 2011); Barcinsky (1999); Jardim Júnior (2011); Kahn-Harris (2000), Kenneally (1996); Ribeiro (2002), entre outros.

33 Referência ao disco Roots da banda Sepultura.

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O Brasil feliz de novo: uma análise retórica do jingle do Partido dos Trabalhadores

Guilherme Leonardo Araújo

Resumo: O presente artigo apresentou uma análise retórica do jingle O Brasil feliz de novo. O objetivo da análise foi identificar como a canção foi construída para persuadir os eleitores a votarem no candidato do PT. A metodologia utilizada foi análise retórica elaborada por Leach (2010). Buscou-se identificar a construção da sua narrativa da letra do jingle em paralelo com os principais fatos que influenciaram o cenário político da campanha eleitoral de 2018. Concluiu-se que o principal elemento persuasivo presente na letra do jingle foi a emoção, gerada principalmente pelo grande número de metáforas presentes no jingle.

Palavras-chave: Canção. Persuasão. Comunicação. Jingle.

Brazil happy again: a rhetorical analysis of the jingle of the Workers' Party

Abstract: The present article presented a rhetorical analysis of the jingle The happy Brazil again. The purpose of the analysis was to identify how the song was constructed to persuade voters to vote for the PT candidate. The methodology used was rhetorical analysis elaborated by Leach (2010). It was sought to identify the construction of its jingle letter narrative in parallel with the main facts that influenced the political scenario of the 2018 electoral campaign. It was concluded that the main persuasive element present in the letter of the jingle was the emotion, generated mainly by the a large number of metaphors present in the jingle.

Keywords: Song. Persuasion. Communication. Jingle.

Brasil feliz de nuevo: un análisis retórico del jingle del Partido de los Trabajadores

Resumen: El presente artículo presentó un análisis retórico del jingle Brasil feliz de nuevo. El objetivo del análisis fue identificar cómo la canción fue construida para persuadir a los votantes a votar en el candidato del PT. La metodología utilizada fue análisis retórico elaborada por Leach (2010). Se buscó identificar la construcción de su narrativa de la letra del jingle en paralelo con los principales hechos que influenciaron el escenario político de la campaña electoral de 2018. Se concluyó que el principal elemento persuasivo presente en la letra del jingle fue la emoción, generada principalmente por el " gran número de metáforas presentes en el jingle.

Palabras-clave: Song. Persuasión. Comunicación. Jingle.

Introdução

Em 2018, as eleições presidenciais no Brasil foram disputadas por 13 candidatos. Cada campanha eleitoral utilizou diversas ferramentas de marketing para divulgar os nomes e as ideias dos candidatos para os eleitores. Os usuários da internet compartilharam inúmeras fotos, desenhos, textos, vídeos, músicas, entre outros materiais. Estes materiais foram elaborados, principalmente, pelas campanhas de cada partido, para propagar e divulgar seus candidatos. Um destes materiais foi o jingle eleitoral, uma canção criada com a finalidade de persuadir os eleitores, reforçando a decisão de alguns e buscando fazer outros mudarem de ideia. O presente artigo apresenta uma análise retórica do jingle *O Brasil feliz de novo*, que foi utilizado pelo Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT), no lançamento da campanha eleitoral para presidente, no ano de 2018. Durante a campanha, o jingle teve que ser modificado, tanto em sua letra, como em seu conteúdo sonoro, por questões jurídicas vindas do cenário político em questão. Apesar de sutis, estas mudanças mudaram o sentido da comunicação proposta pelo jingle. Através da análise retórica, buscou-se identificar os elementos persuasivos, para compreender como, e o quê, a campanha eleitoral do PT buscou comunicar para os eleitores brasileiros através da canção, dentro do contexto político no qual o país vivia.

A campanha eleitoral do PT para presidente da república no ano de 2018 foi marcada por mudanças, tanto no que se refere a troca do candidato, quanto em relação às estratégias de comunicação da campanha. O partido iniciou a campanha lançando o nome de Luís Inácio Lula da Silva como candidato à presidência. O ex-presidente Lula estava preso na sede da polícia federal em Curitiba, condenado em segunda instância por corrupção e lavagem de dinheiro. A legalidade da candidatura de Lula foi alvo de intensa disputa judicial, já que, na análise de alguns juristas, a interpretação da lei no seu caso não ficava muito clara: "o artigo que impedirá ou não a candidatura do ex-presidente Lula é marcado, claramente, por um vácuo, que enseja interpretações dúbias, que só poderá ser preenchido com o bom senso, com a análise do contexto" (Leite 2018). A decisão sobre o caso de Lula ficaria a critério da análise do Superior Tribunal Federal (STF). Mesmo havendo essa incerteza com relação à legalidade da candidatura de Lula, o PT teria insistido na sua candidatura por acreditar na inocência do ex-presidente, conforme postou em seu site: "O PT vai manter sua defesa intransigente a Lula, por acreditar em sua absoluta inocência. (…) Hoje, mais do que nunca, nos solidarizamos com Lula, e com seus filhos e netos." (PT 2017). Para a então presidente do PT, a senadora Gleisi Hoffmann, o registro da candidatura de Lula seria um ato de resistência, tendo afirmado: "Nós aceitamos o desafio do presidente Lula de não deixar o povo brasileiro e o Brasil sem uma alternativa de sua luta" (Oliveira 2018).

A candidatura de Lula foi registrada pelo PT no Tribunal Superior Eleitoral no dia 15 de agosto. No início da campanha, pelo fato de Lula estar impedido de comparecer aos debates, Fernando Haddad era o representante da campanha. Mesmo com o comitê de direitos humanos da Organização das Nações Unidas tendo se manifestado a favor da candidatura de Lula, não demorou

para que o ex-presidente tivesse sua candidatura impugnada definitivamente pelo STF, que baseou sua decisão com base na lei da ficha limpa, que considera inelegíveis os candidatos condenados em segunda instância.

No dia 11 de setembro o PT anunciou o nome do então vice-candidato, Fernando Haddad, como sendo o novo candidato à presidência pela legenda. A chapa teria como candidata à vice-presidência a deputada gaúcha Manuela d'Ávila. Nesse levantamento de fatos que envolveram a candidatura do PT, percebeu-se que o início da campanha eleitoral de 2018 foi bastante conturbada para o partido. Mesmo preso, o nome de Lula aparecia como líder nas intenções de voto, com vitória praticamente certa, segundo os principais institutos de pesquisa. As mesmas pesquisas mostravam, entretanto, que no caso de substituição pelo nome de Haddad, a vitória do candidato do PT não ocorreria. Mais detalhes sobre a trama das eleições presidenciais de 2018 foram apresentados junto com a análise retórica dos jingles: *O Brasil feliz de novo*, que marcou o lançamento da candidatura do ex-presidente Lula e das modificações realizadas para cumprir a determinação do TSE de barrar a sua candidatura.

Metodologia

O jingle é um tipo de canção utilizada pela publicidade com a intenção de persuadir para escolha de um produto ou de uma ideia. Os jingles eleitorais são canções produzidas com a finalidade de fazer com que o nome de um candidato seja lembrado, na tentativa de persuadir os eleitores a votarem neste. Utilizado como estratégia de comunicação

fundamental para uma campanha política, o jingle eleitoral contém "o posicionamento do candidato e é uma boa maneira de levar o nome do candidato aos lugares mais distantes" (Panke 2015). A análise dos jingles e suas estratégias persuasivas, junto a apresentação do contexto político, poderá nos fornecer um retrato do ocorrido no período.

Contextualizada e problematizada como prática musical, a música, mais especificamente, a canção, proporciona um retrato em que se pode analisar diversos fatores sobre os embates políticos da sociedade brasileira, conforme escreve Napolitano:

> *Ponto de encontro de etnias, religiões, ideologias, classes sociais, experiências diversas, ora complementares, ora conflitantes a música no Brasil foi mais do que um veículo neutro de ideias. Ela forneceu os meios, as linguagens, os circuitos pelos quais os vários brasis se comunicaram. Nem sempre esta comunicação foi simétrica e igual entre os diversos agentes sociais e históricos envolvidos, na medida em que a música também incorporou os dramas e conflitos da nossa formação histórica mais profunda e do nosso acelerado processo de modernização capitalista. Por todos estes elementos, a música, popular ou erudita, constitui um grande conjunto de documentos históricos para se conhecer não apenas a história da música brasileira, mas a própria história do Brasil, em seus diversos aspectos. (Napolitano 2005: 110)*

A canção comunica através de palavras e sons que produzem significado. No caso da canção popular, muitas vezes a intenção do compositor é falar sobre amores, afetos, questões espirituais, situações do cotidiano, política, entre outros. A canção se utiliza de recursos retóricos para produzir sentido e

persuadir o ouvinte sobre determinada ideia, ou para gerar uma ação.

A canção sempre é marcada por uma carga ideológica em sua produção, utilizando mais do que palavras para produzir significados. Nas mãos do compositor a poesia, o texto, ganha vida através da melodia cantada. Somado a isso temos os instrumentos musicais produzindo sons, ritmo, melodia, harmonia, e enfim, criando assim a canção que se expressará através das vozes e da interpretação de cantora (s) e/ou cantor (es). A canção popular ganha força comunicativa ao provocar uma mudança, ao gerar algum afeto em um determinado indivíduo e poderá ser considerada um processo social quando sua influência atingir um determinado grupo social. Segundo Treece (2000: 128),

> A canção popular é claramente muito mais do que um texto ou uma mensagem ideológica […] ela também é performance de sons organizados, incluindo aí a linguagem vocalizada. O poder significante e comunicativo desses sons só é percebido como um processo social à medida que o ato performático é capaz de articular e engajar uma comunidade de músicos e ouvintes numa forma de comunicação social.

A canção comunica através de palavras e sons que se unem criando significados. No caso da canção popular a intenção de comunicação do compositor pode ser das mais diversas: amores, afetos, questões espirituais, situações do cotidiano, política, entre outros. A canção se utiliza de recursos retóricos para produzir um sentido e persuadir o ouvinte sobre determinada ideia, ou até mesmo para gerar uma ação. Considera-se a persuasão como um tipo específico de comunicação que tem a finalidade de levar alguém a aceitar uma

ideia ou realizar uma ação utilizando para isso recursos emocionais ou simbólicos. Para Marcondes, a comunicação ocorre quando existe uma afecção que altera a função cerebral e o acoplamento das memórias, em outras palavras, a comunicação altera a organização cerebral, provocando uma mudança.

> Nossa tese, portanto, é a de que a comunicação é uma afecção que desestabiliza a função cerebral de acoplamento a uma memória anterior, que seria tranquilizante. Ela cria memória." (Marcondes 2014: 167).

Esse conceito de comunicação se aproxima à persuasão que o jingle eleitoral visa criar, já que este também pretende, ou reforçar a preferência do eleitor, ou fazê-lo mudar de ideia e votar no candidato sugerido pelo jingle. De acordo com Marcondes, apesar de muitos considerarem que na sociedade atual há um excesso de comunicação, a comunicação ocorre somente em raras ocasiões, sendo que, na maioria das vezes, ocorre somente uma simples troca de informações.

A comunicação persuasiva é o principal campo da publicidade. A persuasão tem como principal objetivo convencer alguém a tomar uma decisão. Basicamente, "quem persuade leva o outro à aceitação de uma dada ideia" (Citelli 2002). A partir de estudos teóricos sobre estímulos e teorias da semiótica, Brown argumentou que a "música funciona principalmente como um potencializador associativo de comunicação, e muito frequentemente isto ocorre a serviço da persuasão[1]" (Brown 2006: 20). Por um potencializador associativo de comunicação compreendeu-se que a música reforça as

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1   Traduziu-se.

associações de memória que ativam e ajudam a produzir o significado da comunicação e, muitas vezes, a reforçar e manter essas associações. O mesmo autor também argumentou que o estudo da persuasão gerada pela música não está preocupado apenas em compreender como a música gera mudança de atitudes, mas também, em como essas atitudes são mantidas e reforçadas (Brown 2006). Essa afirmação também será válida para a análise da persuasão das canções no presente trabalho. O reforço e manutenção das escolhas parece ser uma das principais funções do uso político da canção. O ouvinte deve estar receptivo para que a canção exerça sua força persuasiva.

A comunicação, seja ela da canção ou não, necessita que haja uma abertura e uma participação ativa por parte do receptor/ouvinte. Em sua proposta sobre a nova teoria da comunicação, Marcondes argumentou que, para esta ser efetiva, é necessária a intenção, ou ainda a decisão, do receptor, tendo afirmado: "No caso da música, por exemplo, ela não introduz sentimentos em mim, mas eu é que me introduzo, misturo-me a ela." (Marcondes 2014: 165). Nesse mesmo sentido, na área dos estudos dos efeitos da música sobre a mente, Levitin afirmou: "Quando ouço a música de um grande compositor, sinto que em certo sentido me uno a ele ou permito que uma parte dele entre em mim" (Levitin 2010: 273). A persuasão é um tipo específico de comunicação que tem a finalidade de levar alguém a aceitar uma ideia ou realizar uma ação utilizando para isso recursos emocionais ou simbólicos.

A análise do jingle *O Brasil feliz de novo* baseou-se nos passos propostos por Leach (2011) para a realização de análise retórica.

Para o autor, a palavra retórica pode ser compreendida de três formas: 1) Como o ato de persuadir; 2) Como a análise dos atos de persuasão; 3) Como uma cosmovisão sobre o poder persuasivo do discurso. Segundo Leach, a análise retórica tende a não ser passível de codificação, já que cada análise é diferente, assim como cada texto é diferente. As seguintes orientações gerais foram propostas pelo autor como sendo um ponto de partida para a elaboração de uma análise retórica:

> 1) Estabelecer a situação retórica do discurso a ser analisado; 2) Identificar os tipos de discurso persuasivo empregando a teoria da estase; 3) Aplicar os cinco cânones retóricos; 4) Revisar e aprimorar a análise, empregando as orientações reflexivas. (LEACH, 2011, p.298)

Esses quatro passos foram levados em consideração para a elaboração das análises dos dois jingles apresentadas a seguir. Essa ordem em que os critérios foram apresentados não foi seguida a risca, já que se trata de uma sugestão a ser seguida e não uma regra. Vale ressaltar que o jingle utilizou diversas metáforas, que deram a ele uma grande força persuasiva. Minha proposta foi apresentar as prováveis interpretações a partir do contexto político analisado, porém não esgotá-las, já que as possibilidades interpretativas são muitas.

Análise

O contexto político apresentado na introdução deste artigo influenciou diretamente a composição destes jingles. A situação retórica proposta pela canção foi uma resposta, uma solução à situação pela qual o país estava passando. Leach (2011:

299) afirmou que a retórica responde a uma exigência, ou seja, a uma situação que não é a que deveria ser. O momento político e econômico que o país atravessava pedia uma solução conveniente, que foi apresentada pelo jingle como sendo um retorno aos tempos em que Lula era presidente, o que pode ser verificado no título do jingle: *O Brasil feliz de novo*. Nesse título fica implícito que o Brasil teria sido feliz. Já na segunda versão do jingle, a proposta foi a de insistir na ideia de Lula ser presidente, mesmo ante a decisão contrária do STF. A solução seria transferir a autoridade de Lula para Haddad, afirmando que: Haddad é Lula.

O Brasil feliz de novo foi apresentado no lançamento da candidatura do PT, quando Lula foi apresentado como candidato. O mote principal da letra desse jingle clama por uma volta aos tempos em que Lula foi presidente do Brasil. A partir da impugnação da candidatura de Lula, *O Brasil feliz de novo* sofreu algumas alterações em sua letra. Já no título pode-se notar a situação persuasiva do jingle. O título promete um Brasil que vai voltar a ser feliz. A segunda versão do jingle tem o objetivo de mostrar que Lula, sendo apresentado e aceito como sendo a solução para o país, está representado por Haddad e, mais do que isso, votar em Haddad seria igual a votar em Lula.

O áudio do jingle começa com as notas lá e mi tocadas simultaneamente com som de piano, o que caracteriza um intervalo de quarta justa, seguidas pela nota si[2]. Esse curto prelúdio cria um clima de suspense, de incerteza, que remete à situação que o Brasil vivia em 2018: crise financeira e política, com

uma sensação de descrédito por parte da população em relação a classe política. Não é proposta desse artigo analisar o vídeo vinculado a canção, mas, apenas para corroborar com essa afirmação, o vídeo oficial do jingle começa com uma imagem de uma porta sendo fechada, seguida da imagem de um par de chuteiras penduradas, seguidas de um anúncio em que se lê: "passo ponto" sendo colado em uma parede. Em uma análise superficial dessa sequência de imagens pode-se afirmar que as mesmas foram dispostas para gerar no eleitor a sensação de um país em crise.

Na sequência deste prelúdio entram simultaneamente uma sanfona fazendo longas notas, um violão dedilhado e uma voz masculina começando a cantar a letra da canção. Esses três instrumentos caracterizam um regionalismo do interior do Brasil. A seguir é apresentada a letra jingle, com os trechos que foram retirados da primeira versão do jingle sublinhados e os trechos que substituíram na nova versão, colocados ao lado, entre parênteses. Para fins de análise, a letra foi dividida em quatro estrofes e um refrão que se repete, com alterações, quatro vezes:

> *O Brasil Feliz de Novo*
>
> *Meu querido Brasil,*
> *o que fizeram com você?*
> *Tô sofrendo tanto,*
> *por te ver assim.*
>
> *E por todo o canto o choro é o lamento,*
> *de um coração que grita em sofrimento.*
> *Essa tristeza, meu povo,*
> *vai ter fim.*
>
> *Olha lá!*
> *Aquela estrela que tentaram apagar.*
> *Não se apaga, não se rende.*
> *É o brilho dos olhos da gente.*
> *Olha ela lá!*

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2   O vídeo desse jingle está disponível no canal de Youtube do Partido dos Trabalhadores em https://youtu.be/FawNXIwp1UM, acessado em 10 de dezembro de 2018.

Olha lá!
Uma ideia ninguém pode aprisionar.
Um sonho cada vez mais livre.
Acesa a esperança vive.
<u>*Olha Lula lá!*</u> *(olha ela lá!)*

Chama! Chama que o povo quer!
Chama! Chama que <u>o homem dá jeito!</u> (o treze dá jeito!)
Chama que é bom, <u>é Lula nos braços do povo!</u> (Lula é Haddad é o povo!)
Lula, livre!

Chama! Chama que o povo quer!
Chama! Chama que <u>o homem dá jeito!</u> (o treze dá jeito!)
É o Brasil feliz de novo!
* "Os poderosos podem matar uma duas ou três rosas, mas jamais conseguirão deter a chegada da primavera."
Chama Lula lá!

Chama! Chama que o povo quer!
Chama! Chama que <u>o homem dá jeito!</u> (o treze dá jeito!)
Chama que é bom, <u>é Lula nos braços do povo!</u> (Lula é Haddad, é o povo!)
Lula, livre!

Chama! Chama que o povo quer!
Chama! Chama que ~~o homem dá jeito~~ (o treze dá jeito)
É o Brasil feliz de novo

(PT – PARTIDO DOS TRABALHADORES, 2018)

A letra inicia com um lamento pela situação atual brasileira *Meu querido Brasil, o que fizeram com você?*. A temática dessa primeira estrofe é o lamento pela situação em que o país se encontrava. O principal elemento persuasivo nessa estrofe é o sentimento de tristeza e também a cumplicidade do cantor pela situação em que se encontra o país. O verso *o que fizeram com você?* faz referência à narrativa do golpe, assumida pelo PT. Cabe aqui ressaltar que havia, basicamente, duas narrativas disputando essa questão. A primeira delas, mais ligada aos movimentos e partidos de direita, o PT é colocado como o

partido responsável por implementar um sistema de propinas no Brasil e, portanto, o processo de impeachment foi legítimo. Na outra narrativa, assumida pelo PT, o processo de impeachment teria sido um golpe para "tirar o PT do poder". Esse verso é, portanto, muito representativo. Ele cria a imagem de um país devastado pelo "golpe" que, na narrativa assumida pelo partido, seria não somente contra o PT, mas também, contra a democracia. Por esse motivo, o eu lírico afirma na sequência: *tô sofrendo tanto / por te ver assim*.

A segunda estrofe continua utilizando o sentimento para persuadir o eleitor: *e por todo canto o choro é um lamento / de um coração que grita em sofrimento*. Nesse segundo verso há uma metonímia. Não é a pessoa que grita em sofrimento, quem grita é o coração. Essa transferência do sujeito que grita possui um forte apelo para a emoção, caracterizando um elemento persuasivo. Os dois últimos versos veem anunciar, em tom profético, que o problema será solucionado: *essa tristeza, meu povo / vai ter fim*. A força retórica aqui está no *phatos*, no sentimento. A tristeza que poderá chegar ao fim com a solução que será apresentada na sequência da letra. A palavra *fim* encerra simbolicamente esse momento de tristeza em que o país vive. A harmonia nesse trecho leva para a sensação de término da canção e demarca o fim da primeira parte do jingle. Nessa segunda estrofe não há a repetição da melodia e nem da harmonia da primeira estrofe da letra. Essas duas primeiras estrofes são idênticas nas duas versões do jingle. Não haveria motivos para alterá-la, já que nenhuma delas apresenta o nome dos candidatos.

Após o término da primeira parte da canção, a entrada da terceira estrofe da letra inicia

com a batida de um instrumento musical percussivo, uma zabumba, que marca a entrada do ritmo forró no arranjo do jingle. Em seguida, além da zabumba, também entram no arranjo um contrabaixo, um triângulo e uma bateria. A sanfona continua, mas agora fazendo uma melodia alegre que interage com o canto. Nessa segunda parte da canção o clima é totalmente diferente: otimista, com esperança, representada pela aparição do candidato do PT. Os versos anunciam: *Olha lá / aquela estrela que tentaram apagar*. Mais uma vez nesse verso ocorre uma transferência de significado. A *estrela* remete ao símbolo principal do PT. O verso remete a narrativa do golpe, assumida pelo PT, que tentou acabar com o partido, excluí-lo da política, ou seja, apagar a estrela. A letra do jingle segue afirmando que a *estrela* segue viva. Para o eu lírico da canção, a *estrela* seria a graça de viver, o encanto em ver o mundo, representado na metáfora: *é o brilho nos olhos*. Até esta parte da letra o eu lírico apareceu sempre na primeira pessoa do singular. O uso da expressão *nos olhos da gente*, no lugar de "nos meus olhos", que seria a forma na primeira pessoa do singular, dá a entender que essa afirmação é válida tanto para ele, quanto para aquele que o ouve. Outra possibilidade é a palavra *gente* assumir o sentido de povo, multidão, população. Com essa dupla possibilidade interpretativa a expressão ganha ainda mais força persuasiva. A estrofe encerra com o verso: *olha ela lá,* remetendo novamente à estrela do PT.

A incidência do pronome a gente no final da estrofe, funcionou como um convite feito pelo eu lírico para que mais pessoas para se juntassem a ele no canto, o que se confirma nos próximos versos, *olha lá / uma ideia ninguém pode aprisionar*, que são cantados agora em uníssono, por um coro de vozes

femininas e masculinas. O canto, que até então era solitário, soma-se a um coro de vozes, representando muitas pessoas se convencendo pela argumentação do eu lírico e se dando conta de onde estaria o *brilho dos olhos* que havia sido perdido. Nesse verso também há a citação de uma frase dita por Lula na data de sua prisão: "Eu não sou mais um ser humano, eu sou uma ideia misturada com as ideias de vocês". Ao relacionar esse trecho com a fala do ex presidente, nota-se que o jingle assume que a prisão não seria apenas do ex-presidente Lula, mas dos ideais de todos seus apoiadores. No universo proposto pela canção, aprisionar Lula torna-se aprisionar os ideais do povo brasileiro. Na sequência dos versos, o canto volta a ser da voz masculina respondendo ao coro: *um sonho cada vez mais livre / acesa a esperança vive*. Nesse verso, o *sonho* seria a liberdade do ex-presidente e também poderia ser a esperança de um Brasil mais livre. A palavra *acesa* também tem força persuasiva no sentido de ser uma flexão do verbo acender. Colaborando para retórica do jingle remete ao fato de convencer o ouvinte de que a chama da esperança de ter um Brasil feliz ainda estava acesa.

O último verso da quarta estrofe da primeira versão do jingle *O Brasil feliz de novo* termina com o cantor e o coro de vozes cantando *olha Lula lá*. Esse verso é um pedido para que a população brasileira, para quem a composição do jingle é direcionado, "olhe" para o ex-presidente Lula que, para o eu lírico da canção, representa a esperança e a chance de fazer o *Brasil feliz de novo*. É apenas nessa estrofe que aparece a primeira mudança realizada na segunda versão do jingle. O verso *olha Lula lá* foi trocado pela expressão que já havia sido utilizada na terceira estrofe da letra da canção: *olha ela lá*. Uma mudança sutil, que diminuiu a incidência do nome de

Lula, ainda que não tenha retirado totalmente, da narrativa da canção.

Em seguida entra o principal apelo da canção, representado pela palavra *chama*, que é repetida diversas vezes na letra. A utilização dessa palavra tem grande apelo retórico, já que a palavra possui mais de um sentido. Por se tratar de uma canção feita propositalmente para convencer e reforçar uma ideia, essa palavra certamente foi escolhida com a intenção de causar esse múltiplo sentido. Em um deles, a palavra remente a conjugação da terceira pessoa do singular do verbo chamar, ou seja, uma ordem exigindo que o povo brasileiro chame, através do voto, o ex-presidente para voltar a presidir a nação: *chama, chama que o povo quer*. Outro sentido da palavra *chama* remete ao sentido literal da palavra: uma luz incandescente, resultado de um processo de combustão, como a chama de uma vela, a chama de uma tocha. A metáfora da *chama* como luz está relacionada ao símbolo do PT, a estrela. Dessa forma, é possível afirmar que a *chama* na canção também à estrela do PT. Um terceiro sentido da palavra é o de representar um sentimento intenso, uma forte paixão, Nesse sentido novamente esse sentimento intenso seria tanto pelo PT, um partido que historicamente representa movimentos sociais e a luta pelos direitos dos mais pobres no Brasil, quanto pela figura do ex-presidente Lula, que ficou conhecido por programas sociais que beneficiaram a população mais pobre, como o Bolsa Família e as cotas universitárias para população de baixa renda, por exemplo.

Também nas eleições de 2018, outro jingle de um candidato a presidência também utilizou a palavra *chama*. O jingle "Chama o Meirelles" da campanha do candidato Henrique Meirelles do Movimento

Democrático Brasileiro (MDB) também utilizou repetidamente a palavra *chama*, como, por exemplo, no trecho: "quando tem fogo, você chama o bombeiro / quando tem dor, você chama o doutor / mas quando você quer a esperança de volta, chama o Meirelles, que ela bate à sua porta / chama, chama, chama o Meirelles"[3]. O mote do jingle da campanha do candidato do MDB também explorou a ideia de que em um passado recente o Brasil estava numa boa situação econômica. O marketing da candidatura de Meirelles baseou-se na ideia de que, independentemente da ideologia, quando você precisa de ajuda na área de economia, você "chama o Meirelles". Tanto Lula quanto Meirelles foram protagonistas no governo do Brasil, em um período em que a economia do país estava controlada, o desemprego estava baixo e havia a sensação de crescimento e estabilidade econômica por grande parte da população. Ambos foram reconhecidos por boa parte da nação como sendo competentes nesse sentido. Não por acaso, os jingles de ambos os candidatos utilizaram a palavra *chama*, remetendo a ideia de chamar de volta os tempos que o país tinha esperança e que a economia estava equilibrada, e mais do que isso, remetendo a ideia de chamar um "salvador da pátria" para tirar o país da crise.

Na análise da letra do jingle *O Brasil Feliz de novo*, a ideia de chamar um "salvador da pátria" fica implícita no verso *Chama! Chama que o povo quer*. O verso também remete ao significado da palavra chama como luz, ou ainda como o sentimento de paixão, que viria acabar com a tristeza cujo fim foi prenunciado em versos anteriores. Como foi salientado nas análises feitas até agora, a

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3   Disponível em https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xdOgsPvB3D8, acessado em 10 de dezembro de 2018.

ideia de invocar uma luz para combater o choro, a tristeza e o sofrimento. Diversas metáforas relacionadas a luz aparecem na letra do jingle: estrela, apagar, brilho, acesa e chama. Essa necessidade de luz, implícita na letra, dá a entender que se está vivendo no escuro, nas sombras. Para a esquerda brasileira, a partir de 2013, quando as manifestações de rua que estavam pedindo "passe livre", subitamente inflaram e foram engolidas por movimentos da "nova direita" brasileira, houve a percepção de estar-se vivendo em "tempos sombrios" (Soares 2017). O verso que deixa claro que Lula seria a solução, metaforicamente, a *chama*, apresentada pelo PT como a solução para a situação sombria do país: *Chama que o homem dá jeito*. Neste caso, *o homem* seria o presidente Lula, como é confirmado no próximo verso: *Chama que é bom, é Lula nos braços do povo*. Na segunda versão do jingle, o verso *Chama que o homem dá jeito* foi mudado para *Chama que o **treze** dá jeito*. Já o verso *é Lula nos braços do povo* foi mudado para **Lula é Haddad, é o povo**. As duas versões são muito representativas. A prisão de Lula foi um acontecimento que mobilizou o país, com manifestações a favor e contra. Houve uma intensa cobertura da mídia desde a determinação da prisão expedida pelo então juiz Sério Moro, até o momento da prisão. No momento em que Lula se entregou, tendo saído a pé da sede do Sindicato dos metalúrgicos do ABC paulista, diversas pessoas estavam reunidas fazendo manifestações de apoio ao ex-presidente. Vem daí a imagem retratada no verso: *é Lula nos braços do povo*. E na segunda versão do jingle, a nova estratégia fica clara: vincular a imagem de Lula, como sendo a resistência ao golpe, que não seria apenas no PT, mas também no candidato Haddad e no povo. Esse verso remete à falas do ex-presidente,

nas quais afirmava que: "existem milhões de Lula". A estrofe termina com um coro de vozes em uníssono bradando o mote utilizado pelo PT para pedir a libertação do ex-presidente: *Lula livre!*.

Depois de apresentar toda a argumentação do jingle, na sequência de ambas versões entra um áudio com a voz ex-presidente Lula gravada em um dos seus discursos: *Os poderosos podem matar uma duas ou três rosas, mas jamais conseguirão deter a chegada da primavera*. Aqui o próprio ex-presidente aparece falando uma mensagem de esperança, de resistência ao golpe, novamente utilizando um tom profético. Outra característica que auxilia na persuasão da frase é o fato de ser uma frase falada, em contraste com o restante da canção, que é cantada. A frase metafórica e poética, tem força persuasiva, apelando mais uma vez para a emoção.

Após a frase entra novamente o refrão: *Chama! Chama que o povo quer!*, completo, reafirmando o mote principal do jingle. Em seguida, volta a repetição dos dois primeiros versos do refrão, porém dessa vez encerrando o jingle com o verso: *é o Brasil feliz de novo* e finalizando com uma melodia. A retórica da canção leva para o final, em que se afirma o título do jingle, que foi o slogan utilizado pela campanha do PT em 2018.

Além do exposto até agora, a letra do jingle apresenta uma característica muito marcante, a repetição fonema "la lá": *Ol**ha lá** / Olha e**la lá** / Olha Lu**la lá** / Chama Lu**la lá***. Essa repetição é uma citação, certamente intencional, dado que se tratou de uma canção produzida para causar persuasão, do notório jingle da campanha do ex-presidente em 1989 (Noblat 2010):

Passa o tempo e tanta gente a trabalhar.
De repente essa clareza pra notar,
Quem sempre foi sincero e confiar.
Sem medo de ser feliz,
Quero ver chegar.

Lula lá! Brilha uma estrela.
Lula lá! Cresce a esperança.
Lula lá! O Brasil criança.
Na alegria de se abraçar.

Lula lá! Com sinceridade.
Lula lá! Com toda certeza.
Pra você, meu primeiro voto.
Pra fazer brilhar nossa estrela.

Lula lá, é a gente junto.
Lula lá, valeu a espera.
Pra você, meu primeiro voto.
Pra fazer brilhar nossa estrela.

No jingle de 1989, há diversas outras características que também estiveram presentes no jingle de 2018. A possibilidade da eleição de Lula também é colocada como sendo a esperança da classe trabalhadora: *cresce a esperança*. A metáfora do brilho da estrela também é percebido: *pra fazer brilhar nossa estrela*.

A disposição do conteúdo da canção também tem em si características que ajudam a compor a retórica do jingle. Leach (2011: 303) afirmou que a própria disposição da apresentação dos conteúdos também pode ser um recurso retórico. No jingle a disposição apresenta uma sequência narrativa, uma linha do tempo que começa triste, encontra a solução, toma a ação para que o futuro mude e termina voltando a ser feliz. No presente, o eu lírico estava sofrendo pelo que lhe teria acontecido. Essa narrativa abre a canção no verso: *tô sofrendo tanto*. Na sequência surge uma esperança, na terceira e quarta estrofes, que começam com *Olha lá* e terminam com a apresentação da esperança: *Olha Lula lá*. Em seguida vem a solução,

chamar e libertar Lula: *Chama*! Em seguida, a voz de Lula aparece para falar de maneira poética que a esperança está viva. No final, ordena novamente que o eleitor convoque Lula para tornar o país feliz novamente: *É o Brasil feliz de novo*. Essa ordem produz efeito retórico, na medida que pode ser compreendida como uma história sendo contada com começo, meio e fim.

O arranjo instrumental, a harmonia e a melodia de *O Brasil feliz de novo* mantiveram-se inalterados na versão modificada do jingle.. Isso é significativo, pois o discurso que o PT assumiu no começo da campanha de Haddad foi o de que Haddad é Lula, ou seja, mesmo o candidato sendo Haddad, no fundo, seria Lula que governaria, no caso de vitória. A campanha do PT utilizou de máscaras com o rosto do ex-presidente, que foram utilizadas por diversas pessoas, inclusive por Haddad, reforçando a proposta da segunda versão do jingle.

Entre as duas versões dos jingles houve uma alteração de um som de fundo, que contribuiu para a construção da persuasão. No áudio da primeira versão do jingle do PT, pode-se ouvir ao fundo, em diversos momentos, principalmente quando a letra fala do ex-presidente, sons do grito de pessoas, como se ouve em shows e comícios, com palmas e fogos de artifício. Possivelmente esse áudio foi gravado em comícios do ex-presidente, já que ao final do áudio do jingle pode-se ouvir os gritos de diversas vozes repetindo o nome de Lula. Na segunda versão esses sons incidentais foram retirados. Uma leitura desse fato é que a multidão estava clamando pelo ex-presidente Lula, mas não por Haddad. Correta ou não, essa interpretação acabou sendo fortalecida pelo fato de que os votos do ex-presidente, que estava em primeiro

lugar nas pesquisas de intenção de votos antes da eleição, não foram totalmente transferidos para Haddad, que perdeu a disputa no segundo turno para o então candidato Jair Messias Bolsonaro.

O jingle apresenta características de uma retórica deliberativa, já que é voltada para a construção de um cenário futuro e para que as pessoas tomem uma ação no futuro. Essa característica da persuasão frequentemente "é encontrada na arena política" (Leach 2011: 301). A argumentação apresenta a eleição dos candidatos do PT como sendo o melhor rumo, a melhor solução possível para o país voltar a ser feliz, persuadindo os eleitores para a decisão que construiria o melhor país no futuro. O próprio título do jingle já possui em si uma força retórica. *O Brasil feliz de novo* também apresenta traços de retórica epidêitica, que se caracteriza por estar "centrada em temas contemporâneos e na avaliação de se determinado indivíduo ou acontecimento merecem louvor" (Leach 2011: 301). Implícito na letra do jingle está a consideração de que o ex-presidente Lula foi vítima de perseguição, sendo, na realidade, inocente das suas acusações, devendo ser colocado em liberdade, o que pôde ser verificado em diversos trechos analisados, mas simbolicamente representado no brado: *Lula livre!* Outro forte elemento retórico que foi verificado nessa frase é a exigência da liberdade de Lula, um dos principais temas do jingle. Chamar o Lula é um verso retórico, que apresenta tanto a ideia de eleger Lula, quanto a ideia de libertar Lula.

Conclusão

O jingle *O Brasil feliz de novo* buscou fazer com que os eleitores brasileiros voltassem a ter esperança em dias melhores. A letra dessa canção está carregada de elementos retóricos que colaboraram para a força persuasiva da mesma. Com uma ampla utilização de linguagem metafórica, o principal apelo persuasivo deste jingle foi a emoção. Tal e qual ocorre nos demais conteúdos vinculados no Horário Gratuito de Propaganda Eleitoral, conforme afirmou Panke (2011: 13): "Os candidatos investem em fatores emocionais – relacionam fatos a si mesmos de forma aleatória, não necessariamente lógica". As mudanças de uma versão do jingle para a outra, revelam a estratégia inicial do PT na campanha: convencer o eleitorado de que o voto em Haddad seria o mesmo que votar em Lula, afinal de contas, a campanha tentou convencer aos eleitores de que Haddad era Lula.

A visão do cenário político do início da campanha de 2018 obtida através da análise retórica do jingle: *O Brasil Feliz de Novo,* e de sua versão modificada, mostrou-se muito rica. Os jingles, assim como canções de protesto, podem revelar muito a respeito do período em que foram compostos. A partir da análise constatou-se que o jingle político reflete o contexto político da eleição. O contexto de produção da canção é fundamental para se compreender seu conteúdo e sua força persuasiva, principalmente devido à utilização de muitas metáforas e metonímias, que dão força persuasiva ao mesmo, como foi verificado na análise. Estudar a canção, o jingle, a partir da análise do seu contexto político, e estudar o contexto político, a partir da análise da canção, no caso do jingle, é uma via de mão dupla, que ajuda a compreender a complexidade das relações políticas brasileiras, as disputas de poder dentro do

cenário eleitoral e qual como cada candidato se posiciona frente a esse cenário.

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Espaço urbano, lugar da música, espaço humano

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Resumo: Este texto discute o lugar da música em espaços públicos urbanos: em como estes podem servir à música, e em como a música pode servir aos espaços públicos urbanos. Historicamente esta relação situa-se desde as praças medievais, desenvolvendo-se ao longo do século XIX em coretos e locais para execução musical. Além disso, relaciona-se ainda com as tipologias estéticas de jardins públicos e privados, desde o jardim francês, o inglês, até o dito jardim orgânico desenvolvido por Roberto Burle Marx. Atualmente, diversas linguagens têm permeado a ocupação de espaços urbanos, a exemplo de Burle Marx, que integrou uma linguagem visual aos seus projetos. Contudo, alguns desafios permanecem na ocupação de espaços urbanos articulados à música. Discutimos como estas ocupações urbanas determinantes para a cultura da cidade, tem sido usadas, desusadas e mesmo abusadas ao longo do tempo e qual a sua relevância hoje no contexto brasileiro.

Palavras-chave: Música. Urbanismo. Espaços públicos. Cidadania.

Urban space, place of music, human space

Abstract: This paper discusses the place of music in urban spaces: how urban spaces can serve music, and how music can serve urban spaces. Historically, this relationship has been established since the medieval squares developing throughout the 19th century in coretos and places for musical performances. In addition, it is also related to the aesthetic typologies of public and private gardens, from the French, English, to the said organic garden developed by Roberto Burle Marx. Nowadays, several languages have permeated the occupation of urban spaces, like Burle Marx himself, who integrated a visual language to his projects. However, some challenges remain in the occupation of urban spaces articulated to music.

Keywords: Music. Urbanism. Public spaces. Citizenship.

Espacio urbano, lugar de la música, espacio humano

Resumen: Este texto discute el lugar de la música en espacios públicos urbanos: en cómo estos pueden servir a la música, y en cómo la música puede servir a los espacios públicos urbanos. Históricamente esta relación se sitúa desde las plazas medievales, desarrollándose a lo largo del siglo XIX en corchos y locales para ejecución musical. Además, se relaciona con las tipologías estéticas de jardines públicos y privados, desde el jardín francés, el inglés, hasta el dicho jardín orgánico desarrollado por Roberto Burle Marx. Actualmente, diversos lenguajes han permeado la ocupación de espacios urbanos, a ejemplo de Burle Marx, que integró un lenguaje visual a sus proyectos. Sin embargo, algunos desafíos permanecen en la ocupación de espacios urbanos articulados a la música. Discutimos cómo estas ocupaciones urbanas determinantes para la cultura de la ciudad, han sido usadas, desusadas e incluso abusadas a lo largo del tiempo y cuál es su relevancia hoy en el contexto brasileño.

Palabras-clave: Música. Urbanismo. Public spaces. La ciudadanía.

Introdução

A arte é uma das melhores formas de estabelecer relações entre as pessoas e as cidades onde vivem, explorando o universo de convívio e construindo uma nova forma de explorar o espaço, seja este público ou privado. Entendendo o termo urbanismo como "conjunto das questões relativas à arte de edificar uma cidade,"1 ou como "ação de projetar e ordenar cidades," destacamos que ao agir sobre o espaço urbano estamos intervindo sobre as formas pelas quais as pessoas interagem com o seu meio, estabelecendo relações em dimensões diversas sejam estas positivas ou negativas. Segundo Lossau (2009),

> Com a globalização, agravou-se a crise estrutural pública. Para melhorar a competitividade urbana, as políticas de desenvolvimento local visam a uma melhoria da qualidade de vida das cidades. Nesse contexto, o potencial intrínseco às práticas artísticas é cada vez mais lembrado como estratégia. (Lossau 2009:37)

Portanto, o potencial das práticas artísticas são lembrados como estratégia pela sua capacidade de "fortalecer a identidade e o reconhecimento das particularidades das cidades" (Lossau idem). Contudo, estudando duas cidades escocesas, Lossau propôs evidenciar "o potencial das práticas artísticas e os efeitos que as obras de arte podem provocar (ou não) no espaço público das cidades" (Lossau 2009:37). Lossau parte do ponto de vista que a

> 'Cultura' se tornou um fato imagético e, com isso, também, um fato econômico, que não se pode desprezar, e que se expressa de forma contundente em novos mercados

profissionais, em um novo campo de trabalho da 'economia da cultura.' (Plano de Desenvolvimento Cultural de Saarbrücken 2006:1).

Assim, o incremento da qualidade de vida urbana perpassa a oferta de eventos mas também da presença da arte nos espaços públicos, apesar dos próprios artistas (e mesmo investidores) não terem um engajamento social como propósito criativo. Lossau conclui que a despeito desta diferença da percepção entre a racionalidade das estratégias de políticas públicas de planejamento e desenvolvimento urbano, e a percepção difusa tanto de artistas como de investidores – os quais "não parecem preocupados com a incomensurabilidade das perspectivas abertas com esse tipo de produção" (Lossau 2006:52) – a presença da arte em espaços públicos urbanos goza ainda de grande prestígio, fazendo com que só tendam a crescer e não diminuir. Portanto, ao propormos ações para tais espaços nos deparamos com o desafio de articular conteúdos pedagógicos e formativos que possam (mas que não necessariamente tenham que) transcender o valor artístico intrínseco exposto. Afinal, arte tem ou não funcionalidade?

Lossau constata tal fator quando afirma que,

> Se as obras de arte no espaço público rompem com esse modo específico de avaliação, colocando em xeque as intencionalidades do planejamento urbano e a existência de uma sociedade e de um público homogêneos, então o "verdadeiro" potencial deste tipo de produção artística não está no terreno da "identidade", mas no terreno da diferença, onde se deve buscar de modo consciente toda a variedade implícita nos processos de apropriação e

interpretação destas obras nos espaços públicos urbanos. (Lossau 2006:52-52)

Embora Lossau considere, sob uma perspectiva sociológica de Bourdieu (1987), que o "capital cultural deve ser transformado em capital político e econômico, de modo a valorizar as cidades, numa espécie de guerra interurbana por oportunidades" (Lossau idem: 39), propomos aqui focar sobre o potencial de práticas artísticas como fator de preservação e memória, articulando marginalmente o seu potencial econômico uma vez que consideramos que, na realidade cultural brasileira, a transformação do capital cultural em nível econômico mais amplo exige um maior reconhecimento do seu valor como cultura. Neste sentido, lembramos que frequentemente, no Brasil, o seu capital cultural é valorizado economicamente como potencial turístico – muitas vezes mais alegórico e estereotipado – do que propriamente como legado histórico-cultural abrangente, tornando mais visível aspectos populares e folclóricos da tradição oral do que elaborações mais complexas da cultura letrada.

Por este motivo, o foco sobre a preservação e memória de bens culturais (ou capital cultural) brasileiros torna-se etapa fundamental para a construção de uma nova visão que possibilite, posterior e eventualmente, o aproveitamento de eventual potencial econômico, inclusive colaborando em dimensões criativas da economia, como veremos em diversos casos no exterior.

Como parte do capital cultural brasileiro, a música, dentre as formas de arte que estabelecem relações entre as pessoas e as cidades, situa-se em condição privilegiada por não possuir fronteiras/muros, unindo

opostos, sendo catalisador de identidades e processos de subjetivação.2

Desde seus primórdios, a ênfase sobre a exploração do som, da sonoridade e a extração destes pelas musas, outorgou conotação distinta para a música como linguagem antecessora à linguagem verbal, da qual esta decorre. Para Schopenhauer (200:166), "a música, portanto, de modo algum é semelhante às outras artes, ou seja, cópia de ideias, mas cópia da vontade mesma, cuja objetividade também são as ideias." Portanto, Schopenhauer postula a música como uma linguagem universal anterior a toda outra linguagem, plástica ou verbal.

Neste sentido, entre as artes, a música possui capilaridade social e econômica, e valor significativo como elemento agregador da população que a tem como referência cultural comum entre as mais diversas camadas sociais, hoje intensificado pelos processos de globalização. Sua articulação em espaços urbanos permitiriam, nesta perspectiva, uma articulação direta entre valores patrimoniais e legados culturais, como linguagem não-mediada capaz de articular camadas sociais diversas, sendo proeminente numa boa ocupação de espaços urbanos públicos.

Espaços públicos urbanos: o que são e o que não

Em termos urbanísticos, os espaços urbanos podem ser caracterizados como privados ou públicos. Os espaços privados são de propriedade de pessoas ou empresas (casas, lojas comerciais, escolas particulares, shopping centers, etc.), e os responsáveis

pela sua manutenção e preservação locais são os seus respectivos proprietários.

Já o espaço público são de propriedade e domínio da administração pública, e os responsáveis pela sua manutenção é o município, estado ou União. Distinguem-se ainda dois tipos de espaços públicos: espaços públicos livres (em que é pleno o direito de ir e vir), definidos por circulação (ruas e avenidas) espaços de lazer e conservação (praças, praias e parques); e os espaços públicos com restrição ao acesso e à circulação, nestes a presença é controlada e restrita a determinadas pessoas, como os edifícios públicos (Prefeituras, Fóruns, residências oficiais de governantes), instituições de ensino, hospitais, entre outros.3

Portanto, abordaremos os espaços públicos livres por possuírem a maior capilaridade social, acessibilidade e abrangência.

Mas, afinal o que são bons espaços públicos?

Jan Gehl, Lars Gemzøe, Sia Karnaes e Britt Ekland4 condensaram seus princípios em 12 pontos que permitem diagnosticar se um lugar se classifica ou não como um bom espaço público:

1. Proteção contra o tráfego

2. Segurança nos espaços públicos

3. Proteção contra experiências sensoriais desagradáveis

4. Espaços para caminhar

5. Espaços de permanência

6. Ter onde se sentar

7. Possibilidade de observar

8. Oportunidade de conversar

9. Locais para se exercitar

10. Escala humana

11. Possibilidade de aproveitar o clima

12. Boa experiência sensorial

Dentre estes pontos, destacamos cinco que mais diretamente se articulariam com a arte e, em especial, com a música: 3. Proteção contra experiências sensoriais desagradáveis; 5. Espaços de permanência; 9. Locais para se exercitar; 10. Escala humana; e, 12. Boa experiência sensorial.

Em relação ao "item 3. proteção contra experiências sensoriais desagradáveis," entende-se a necessidade de proteção com áreas verdes que amenizem altas temperaturas, poluição e barulho. Como referência, o silêncio pode ser parâmetro basal tanto musical como arquitetônico. Segundo Silva (2011),

> *Para trabalhar com o som em arquitetura é necessário agir de modo a não deixar entrar o ruído. Assim, conquista-se o silêncio. Depois, pode se atuar de modo a preservá-lo o máximo possível – selecionando formas e materiais que "apaguem" os sons resultantes do uso do espaço – ou, pelo contrário, ampliá-los com vista a obter um determinado efeito – isto tendo em conta que, em arquitetura, o som se situa sempre na frágil linha entre o silêncio e o ruído. (Silva 2011:43-44)*

Na arquitetura, o silêncio é ainda referido por Holl em Questions of perception: phenomenology of architecture (Holl et ali. 2007, apud Silva 2011:44) como aquele que,

> *(...) apresenta o drama da construção silenciada em matéria e espaço; arquitetura é a arte do silêncio petrificado. Depois que a agitação da construção cessou e a gritaria dos trabalhadores feneceu, o edifício torna-se um museu de silêncio em espera, paciente.5*

Essa percepção do silenciar para depois ouvir/escutar é conceito também desenvolvido na música como condição prévia para uma escuta ativa e alerta aos sons aos quais somos expostos. Schafer (1986) propõe uma "limpeza de ouvidos" que permita tornarmo-nos conscientes dos sons ocorrendo à nossa volta, constituindo as diversas paisagens sonoras às quais somos expostos. Tanto o processo de limpeza como o conceito de paisagem sonora tornou-se estratégia pedagógica na educação e práticas musicais, auxiliando a percepção do nosso entorno/ambiente.

Em relação ao "item 5. espaços de permanência" remete ao "interesse no utilizador para permanecer em determinado local. Este interesse poderá ser despertado se o local em questão for provido de espaços ou elementos com valor contemplativo." No caso da música, por sua temporalidade e dissipação, a sua escuta exige um estado meditativo que se inicia, como víamos em Schafer, no silêncio. Assim, estes espaços devem prover locais tanto para a interação como para o isolamento, ou seja, locais com som e sem o mesmo.

O "item 9. locais para atividades físicas" embora preveja a prática esportiva pelos utilizadores, este critério prevê também espaços para entretenimento e atividades espontâneas, adequando-se inteiramente às artes e à música. Interessa-nos ainda observar que tais atividades promovem a utilização em momentos múltiplos e aleatórios, propiciando aquilo que Jacobs (1967) denominou como "vigilância natural,"[6] promovendo a participação continuada da comunidade induzindo mais segurança e significado ao lugar.

O "item 10. escala humana," configura a boa relação do usuário com os espaços e o entorno. Para Gehl remete ainda à "vida entre os edifícios," permitindo um campo de visão sem obstáculos, um deslocamento seguro em uma velocidade real (i.e., a 5 km/h, em comparação com os 60 km/h dos veículos), e ainda lugares em que as pessoas não se sintam diminuídas.

Em relação ao "item 12. boa experiência sensorial," agrega questões como fornecimento de mobiliário urbano, materiais de construção e acabamentos adequados, assim como espaços verdes e acesso à água de modo a garantir uma boa experiência sensorial.

A ênfase sobre a sensorialidade (itens 3, 5 e 12) e a percepção do espaço (itens 9 e 10) remete a questões cognitivas sobre as relações do ser humano com o contexto geoespacial, também acedidas no conceito de topoceptividade dos lugares (Kohlsdorf 1996). Focada sobre aspectos morfológicos do espaço (níveis de percepção, imaginação e análise),[7] a topoceptividade incide sobre a noção de localização dos indivíduos, em termos de orientação e identificação. Em termos dos níveis de apreensão do espaço, a arte pode contribuir para a ampliação da percepção e imagem mental, trazendo níveis diferenciados de apreensão do espaço. Assim, a topoceptividade pode ser reforçada pela presença da arte no espaço público, a qual contribui para fortalecer a identidade e o reconhecimento das particularidades urbanas.

Portanto, os caracteres objetivos (calçadas, redes de infraestrutura, iluminação) e subjetivos (uso cotidiano, feitos históricos, lendas urbanas, e o próprio vai-e-vem dos populares) dos espaços urbanos públicos

propiciam a interação do indivíduo e o lugar, onde encontramos os vazios da cidade, com expressões políticas e vontades próprias. A polis assume assim seu papel dinâmico permitindo ao indivíduo perceber e significar o seu lugar.

Estes conceitos introdutórios são necessários para se pensar os espaços públicos e sua articulação com a arte e a música, numa integração positiva das pessoas com o urbanismo, onde os cidadãos poderiam ter uma conexão estimulada por uma vizinhança rica em ofertas de cultura, lugares e serviços públicos. Neste sentido, um desenho urbano deve garantir a boa qualidade arquitetônica e urbanística dos espaços e sua concepção como dispositivo eficiente para o intercâmbio social e cultural aberto.

Para Giulio Carlo Argan (1998:224) as artes fazem urbanismo porque "faz urbanismo o escultor, faz urbanismo o pintor, faz urbanismo até mesmo quem compõe uma página tipográfica." Este conceito entende a arte e o urbanismo cooperando em ações estéticas e "contribuindo para a transformação qualitativa do urbano alterando seus objetos, sua capacidade, qualificações, num trabalho que provoca e, ao mesmo tempo, exige a compreensão de seus códigos e a interpretação de suas múltiplas significações" (Pallamin 2000:17).

Já J. Teixeira Coelho Netto, explorando a arquitetura como linguagem em A construção do sentido na arquitetura (1979), destaca dicotomias para o conceito de espaço definidas em sete eixos (pgs. 29-94): interior x exterior; privado x comum; construído x não-construído; artificial x natural; amplo x restrito; vertical x horizontal; geométrico x não-geométrico. Esses remetem às possibilidades construtivas -

lineares ou não-lineares - permitindo a criação de surpresas: dimensões topoceptivas numa antropogeografia da paisagem urbana vivenciada.

Para Coelho Netto, estas dinâmicas se traduzem numa temporalização do espaço ao "propor um espaço que se modifica pela possibilidade de vive-lo realmente, de percorrê-lo. Quando Zevi fala desta questão, ele sublinha o valor do aspecto dinâmico e estático dos espaços." (Teixeira Coelho 1979:80). Portanto, partindo do conceito de espaço, Teixeira Coelho estabelece possibilidades de ocupação pelas pessoas tornando o local significativo e a presença da arte proporciona uma dimensão reflexiva e estética a esta ocupação.

Lebensraum ou lebensträume

No entanto, a ocupação territorial humana pode ser identificada pelo conceito alemão de espaço vital, ou lebensraum,8 termo utilizado no âmbito da geografia política que expressa a necessidade de expansão para a sobrevivência de um povo. Embora concebido durante o século XIX e utilizado como lema para o Septemberprogramm da Alemanha Imperial durante a I Guerra Mundial, ganhou força nas ocupações nazistas durante a II Grande Guerra. De qualquer forma, o ímpeto ocupacional – seja apoiado sobre a simples sobrevivência até a ocupação colonial imperialista – rege povos desde os seus primórdios não-nômades, exigindo uma ocupação territorial para a sua sobrevivência mas também para o acúmulo de riquezas.

Vemos assim o desenvolvimento de grandes impérios (Egípcio, Inca, Romano, Austro-Húngaro, Espanhol, Português, etc) como

forma de ocupação trazendo, neste processo, uma crescente urbanização de espaços sejam estes públicos ou privados. No espaço lusófono, o Sebastianismo, que representou ideal messiânico salvacionista, definiu as formas das relações humanas no Brasil – o suposto lócus do V Império Português – gerando inúmeras contradições, especialmente no que diz respeito à ocupação geográfica, na utilização e preservação de espaços públicos. Estes, sem maior identidade republicana, tornam-se vazios tanto pela omissão quanto pela falta de tecido social cidadão, de espaços que concorram para uma convivência pública e não somente privada.

O público e o privado no Brasil não só se confundem como, poderíamos arriscar, são invisíveis ou mesmo inexistentes. E, porque?

No exterior somos confrontados com realidades muito distintas. O que poderia, aliás, ser considerado um chavão, na realidade passa a ser uma confrontação um tanto entristecida. Por exemplo, um passeio nas margens do Sena, quase imperceptivelmente mostra que ao longo dos seus 13.2 km (entre a Porta de Saint Cloud ao Boulevard Périphérique do 12o distrito) há edificações históricas mas que não ocupam as margens próximas do Sena. Estas são ocupadas por praias fluviais, calçadas, parques e praças: espaços públicos de ampla circulação, tornando cada segmento destas margens de alguma forma característico e interessante para a população que o utiliza. O Lebensraum francês, pelo menos aquele do período pós-bonapartista, aparentemente não cede aos imperativos pecuniários que a especulação imobiliária aux bords de la Seine poderia produzir.

Ocupação qualificada: o lugar da música

Historicamente, a música ocupou espaços em épocas diversas, entre os quais mencionamos desde o coro do teatro grego, passando pelos espaços litúrgicos moçárabes e posteriores até chegarmos ao renascimento quando encontramos a música em espaços profanos em cortes aristocráticas espacialmente as accademias italianas. Somente a partir do século XVII é que podemos encontrar a oferta da música em espaços para acesso público, mesmo que pagos, não gratuitos.

Os primeiros concertos públicos pagos documentados ocorrem primeiro na Inglaterra, em concertos oferecidos em 1672 pelo violinista John Banister em sua casa em Whitefriars, seguido em 1678 por Thomas Britton, um vendedor de carvão, que estabeleceu num sótão concertos semanais em Clerkenwell, com uma assinatura de 10 shillings por ano.

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Obteve o Premier Prix na Classe de Flauta no Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique de Paris, e graduação nas Classes de História da Música e Análise naquele conservatório (1985), Mestrado em Música na Juilliard School of Music (1987), doutorado em Música também na Juilliard School of Music (1992), com estudos de pós-doutorado na Universidade Nova de Lisboa. Atualmente é professora da Universidade de Brasília, com experiência na área de Artes/Música, e ênfase em Musicologia e Performing Practices, atuando principalmente nos seguintes temas: música instrumental, difusão do classicismo musical, bibliotecas digitais, repertórios e fontes internacionais para a música Ibero-Americana, tradição e inovação na Música Brasileira Popular. É Coordenadora do Comitê RILM-Brasil e membro do Comitê RISM-Brasil e Presidente da IAML-Brasil-Seção brasileira da Associação Internacional de Bibliotecas de Música, Arquivos e Centros de Documentação Musical (IAML/AIBM). Preside a Associação Brasileira de Musicologia (ABMUS). É membro da Commission Mixte do RISM (Frankfurt) como representante da IAML/AIBM internacional.

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