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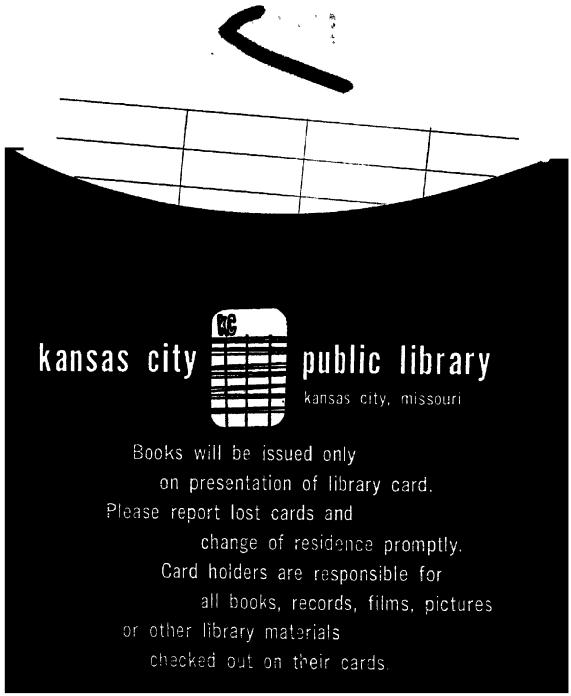
SOME SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF MUSIC

A LECTURE DELIVERED BY

JAAP KUNST



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KUNST, JAAP, 1891–

Some sociological aspects of music, a lecture delivered in the Whittall Pavilion of the Library of Congress, October 27, 1956. Washington, 1958.

iii, 25 p. 23 cm. [Louis Charles Elson memorial lecture]

At head of title: The Library of Congress. The Louis Charles Elson Memorial Fund.

Bibliography included in "Notes" (p. 21–25)

1. Music, Primitive. 2. Music and society. 3. Musical instruments, Primitive. I. Title. (Series)

ML3547.K938 780.07 58–60094

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Library of Congress

LOUIS CHARLES ELSON was born on April 17, 1848, and died on February 14, 1920. He was educated in Boston, his native city, and Germany. As a teacher at the New England Conservatory of Music, as music editor for Boston newspapers, he exerted a great influence for music in this country over a period of many years. He also served as musical correspondent for several European and South American papers, and enjoyed distinction as a lecturer to the public as well as in the classroom. As author, composer and editor, he had a career of great significance in America's musical development.

In 1945 the Library of Congress received a bequest from the late Mrs. Bertha L. Elson, widow of Louis Charles Elson, to provide lectures on music and musical literature in memory of her husband. Dr. Kunst's lecture was one of the series made possible by Mrs. Elson's generous bequest, which also supplied funds for this publication.

SOME SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF MUSIC

IF IN THE UNITED STATES or in western Europe a music lover should decide to play a certain composition or have it played for him, or if he should wish to learn to play any musical instrument that takes his fancy, nothing will stop him, provided, of course, that he is financially equal to it. Modern Westerners are inclined to take this situation for granted and many even will think that this liberty has always existed and will always exist. Now, this notion is definitely incorrect. Restrictions exist even in the western world of today. For instance, take Wagner's *Parsifal,* which was reserved for the Bayreuth theatre by his widow, as long as the law permitted it, or Strawinsky's *Ebony Concerto,* dedicated to and reserved by its author for "Woody" Herman. Or, again, think of Béla Bartók's concerto for viola which was written for the British viola virtuoso Primrose, with the restriction that only he was to perform it; or think of Allegri's *Miserere,* which was jealously guarded from the danger of being copied, to make sure that it would never be heard outside the Sistine Chapel. However, young Mozart, who had attended one performance, reproduced it by ear. About this, Leopold Mozart—the father—wrote in a letter to his wife (April 14, 1770): "Du wirst . . . oft von dem berühmten *Miserere* . . . gehört haben, welches so hoch geachtet ist, dass den *Musicis* der Capellen unter der *excommunication* verboten ist eine Stimme davon . . . zu copieren oder jemanden zu geben. Allein, wir haben es schon. Der Wolfg: hat es schon aufgeschrieben . . . Weil es eine der Geheimnisse von Rom ist, so wollen wir es night in andere Hände lassen, *ut non incurremus mediate vel immediate in censuram Ecclesiae.*" ("You have often heard of the famous Miserere . . . which is so greatly prized that the performers in

the chapel are forbidden on pain of excommunication . . . to copy it or to give it to anyone. But we have it already. Wolfgang has written it down . . . As it is one of the secrets of Rome, we do not wish to let it fall into other hands, *ut non incurremus mediate vel immediate in censuram Ecclesiae.*" Anderson tr.)

Outside of western civilization, however, the fact that certain compositions and musical instruments are exclusively meant for certain occasions, persons, or groups of persons, is quite normal. We may even assume that in primitive communities this was the usual situation. This phenomenon could have been called *musica reservata,* had it not been for the fact that this term is already used for an entirely different concept.[1] For that reason I had to content myself with a less characteristic and more longwinded title.

To systematize the various phenomena I intend to discuss, I shall file them under eleven headings:

I. Instruments or orchestras belonging to a certain caste or class;

II. Instruments or orchestras reserved for certain ceremonies or institutions;

III. Compositions belonging to certain personalities;

IV. Compositions reserved for certain ceremonies or institutions;

V. Instruments which should be played only by either males or females;

VI. Compositions which should be played only by either males or females;

VII. Compositions which should be performed only by a given individual;

VIII. Compositions which should be performed only by one given group (caste, tribe);

IX. Instruments and music which are confined to a given time or to a given season;

X. Instruments and music which are confined to a given place;

XI. Instruments which should be played only by the owner himself.

It is true, that the borderlines between the various categories, thus created, are not clearly defined and I have only done it this way for the sake of a clearer and simpler picture.

The examples I shall give you presently include some which do not fully represent the original situation. In many cases, a slackening of the tradition can be noted which increases in proportion with the levelling influence of western civilization. In this civilization, detached from nearly all magical and traditional sources, the original situation is completely lost.[2] That this is not always an improvement, that it can often be felt as a cultural loss, will be conceded by many. Others, to a greater extent *rerum novarum cupidi,* may perhaps contest this. It depends entirely on a person's mental attitude. The still existing musical restrictions in western civilization—apart from liturgic music—are usually not based on magic or tradition. As a rule, the underlying motives are economic ones. In the case of Bayreuth, quoted earlier, we may assume that motives of piety played a part, whereas the Strawinsky-Herman and Bartók-Primrose cases were based on feelings of friendship and admiration.

Of our first category, the one headed "Instruments and orchestras belonging to a certain caste or class," the kettle-drum is a typical example. The instrument is of Oriental, *i. e.,* Persian, origin and it is there—as, for that matter, in India also—usually mounted in pairs, with the difference of a fourth or a fifth between the instruments. In Arabia and Persia, as well as in Mogol Hindostan, these kettle-drums are found exclusively amongst the ruler's retinue.

The instrument came to the West through the Crusades. In this connection, Curt Sachs[3] quotes Joinville, brother in arms and historian of Louis the Holy (1214–1270), who writes about the Saracens in 1309: "La noise que il menoient de leur *nacaires* et de leurs cors sarrazinnoiz, estoit espoventable à escouter." ("The noise they made with their *nacaires* and with their Saracen horns was awful to hear.") The place can be found in the *Histoire de Saint Louis* by François Michel[4] and it shows that even at that time the French language had already formed the word *nacaire* from the Arab word for kettle-drum: *naqqara.*

In the West too, the kettle-drum long remained the instrument of the court and a royal prerogative for splendor and war, afterward becoming—through the mounted surroundings of the prince—the most favored instrument of the horsemen. The Hungarian and

German courts were famous for their kettle-drum playing during the middle of the 14th century. Only later was the instrument accepted in Western Europe. Not until the reign of Louis XIV were all cavalry companies of the *Maison du Roy,* except the musketeers, and all *Mestre de Camp* companies issued kettle-drums. In 1683 Sir James Turner says about the kettle-drum: "The Germans, Danes and Swedes permit none under a baron to have them, unless they are taken from the enemy in battle." In this connection we note that, until 1742, the kettle-drummers of the Saxon cavalry regiments did not wear uniforms, but electoral livery.

These and many other points of interest can be found in Curt Sachs' excellent *Handbuch der Musikinstrumentenkunde.*

At first, the metal straight trumpet, of Asiatic origin also, has the same social status as the kettle-drum. The two instruments belong to each other inseparably at the Arabian, Persian, and Indian courts. Apart from that, the trumpet is often a sacred instrument as well, both in the countries around the Mediterranean (the Hebrew *hasosra,* the Greek *salpinx,* the Roman *tuba*), as well as in the Far East (the Chinese *la-pa,* the Tibetan *kang,* the Indian and Hindu-Javanese *karana*).

The Crusades introduce the long and straight trumpet to the medieval West as a war and temple instrument. There, too, the trumpet remains at first the prerogative of the nobility and knighthood. Later it is adopted by the horsemen. Common people and foot-soldiers have to content themselves with horns. This was already so in ancient and medieval India, where the ordinary soldiers had to use the bent horn, the *sringa.* The social relation between trumpet and horn is expressed in the Italian proverb: *arrivare colle trombe e partire coi corni,* which means "arriving with a trumpet and leaving with horns,"—said of someone who arrives bragging and is then considerably cooled off.[5]

The high Javanese nobility too has its own ensembles, such as the gamelans *Munggang* and *Kodok ngorek* in the Central-Javanese *kratons,* the *gamelans Degung* in the *kabupatens* of the Sundanese Regents, the gamelans *sekati,* both at the courts of the four principalities as well as at the long since mediatized Cheribon Sultan's

courts. As a matter of fact we could have put these orchestras—with the exception of the gamelan *Degung*—in our group II as well, because these orchestras are at the same time reserved for special occasions. For instance, the gamelan *Munggang* is played to add lustre to the arrival of high guests; to the former Saturday tournaments; to the nightly official repasts on the last five odd days of the month of fasting; to the first official meeting of a princely couple; to the *Garebegs;* to three large religious *kraton* celebrations; to the acting in state of the ruler; and formerly, to the arrival of a letter from one of the other Javanese rulers or from the Governor General.

The gamelan *Kodok ngorek* is played on the occasion of the first official meeting of a princely couple. It is also played on the ruler's birthday; at the circumcision of a young prince; when during a *Garebeg* the *gunungans,* the sacred heaps of food, are brought in; during the highlights of a *wayang wong* performance; and in the olden days when, for popular entertainment, tigers were released in an arena after which they were speared when trying to escape, or during a fight between a tiger and a kerbau.[6]

Finally, the gamelan *sekati* is heard only during the *sekaten*-week, *i. e.,* the week in which the Javanese people commemorate the birth and death of the Prophet Mohammed, and on a few rare occasions, such as the 40th anniversary of the rule of His Princely Highness Paku Buwana X.[7]

The high esteem in which these age-old orchestras are held is apparent from the titles preceding their names: *Kangjeng Kjahi,* Venerable Sir. When any of these gamelans are to be played, they are assembled at a special traditional spot. (They could, therefore, have been discussed also in our group X.)

In Bali, which is still Hindu, the gamelans *Selunding,* which are found in a limited number in some villages of the *Bali-aga,* the original Balinese are performing a similar function.[8] These orchestras play only on special occasions, such as certain religious ceremonies, a visit of the Governor General, the breaking out of a contagious disease, and certain calamities at the hand of Fate. Such magic powers are attributed to these orchestras that they must never go through a door or gate. They have to be lifted over the walls

surrounding all Balinese home properties. He who has touched a corpse and who consequently is considered *sebel,* impure, is barred from contact with the gamelan *Selunding* for the period of one month and seven days. The players—at least in the *Bali-aga* village of Bungaja—form a venerable corps of old men, who are pledged to remain with the gamelan until the *tabuh,* the playing mallet, falls from their powerless hands. A stranger or an uninitiated person is not permitted to touch the *Selunding.* Even the orchestra's guardians would think twice before sounding the instruments at unauthorized times. Dr. Korn [9] writes that one of the *Selunding* orchestras is particularly holy and is said to have descended directly from heaven.

Professor C. Hooykaas pointed out to me recently that the subrulers of the Malayan peninsula were not allowed to possess the complete Malaka orchestra, but that they had to see to it that their ensemble had at least one instrument less than that of their overlord.

D. H. Meyer's investigations have once again confirmed that in the Indonesian cultural world, the large wooden slit drums could only be possessed by certain chiefs and that only males were permitted to play them.[10]

It is not the Euro-Asiatic civilizations alone which furnish examples of special instruments reserved for specific social groups. This phenomenon is found also in Africa.

An extensive drum ensemble is a rigidly maintained prerogative of the chief of the (Wa)Tu(t)si, a Hamitic pastoral people in East Africa.[11] It is played in ever-changing rhythms on all state occasions. At the accession of a new ruler the drums are carried to the place in hammocks as if they were royal personages. They are the *Kalinga,* the most holy of them all; the *Chim'umugizi,* or he who makes the possessor of the throne rule; the *Mpats'ibihugu,* or he who is protecting the country; the *Ichy'umwe,* or the drum of the country of which the ruler is the uncontested master; the *Butare,* or strong as a rock; the *Gisaba rwanda,* or he who can be heard all over the country; the *Singkang'imilyanga,* or he who does not fill the subjects with fear, etc. Other drums remind the people of the daily routine: the *Ndamutsa* is sounded at 8 o'clock in the morning when the

ruler is showing himself to the court and his subjects, in other words, during the event which in Versailles, at the time of Louis XIV, was called "le grand lever." The *Nchabagome* announces the sentencing of great criminals. The largest of all is the *Gihumurizu* or *Nyampundu* and it represents public rejoicing when the ruler graciously moves amongst his people. One drum is specially used for the tattoo. Another one, again, is used to announce that the ruler has retired. Still others mark the beginning of a war, the triumphant return from a war, the making of the "sacre du printemps." The drums are so closely connected with the life of the ruler, that the language contains expressions such as "during the peaceful drum of King" so and so; "a drum of peace and prosperity"; in which the word "drum" has replaced the word "government." In other expressions the word "drum" is used as the equivalent of the word kingdom, or even of the king himself.[12] (In our western world we could point to the same usage, as when we speak of "the Holy See," meaning the Pope or the Vatican as a theological or political power.) The excellent recordings made by the Denis Roosevelt expedition and, recently, by Hugh T. Tracey, convey a fair idea of the mighty sound of these drums.[13]

The position of the *tabl al-kabir,* the great drum, at the 14th century court of the Mughal Il-Khans in Bagdad, can be compared with the position of these royal Watutsi drums. It was the personal emblem of the Il-Khan and was always destroyed at his death. These monster drums, almost the height of a man, were sometimes carried on a chariot.[14]

According to Father Marcel Pauwels,[15] in Ruanda forged iron bells are made, to be worn as a mark of distinction by men who have killed an enemy or a lion; by women who have borne at least ten children; by cows which have given birth to a record number of calves, and by first-rate hunting dogs.[16]

As for adjacent Uganda, Dr. Wachsmann [17] says: "This *entaala* or *entamiivu* (*i. e.* an orchestra consisting of a 12-key xylophone and five drums) was the Kabaka's (the King's) privileged orchestra, which only a few important heads of clans and tribal chiefs were allowed to possess. . . . at the present time the Queen Mother

and one other official of the court are known to keep an *entamiivu* complete with xylophone." [18]

After reading the first Dutch edition of this treatise, Dr. Hans Hickmann (Cairo) wrote to me: "I have noticed that the sociological ties in music, so eminently characteristic and so clearly existing, seem to be unknown of Ancient Egypt, presumably, because these things are completely buried in the Egyptian literature. This is to be regretted because it concerns here a historically demonstrable first proof in history, which also has the advantage of being recorded in writing. In this connection I think of the magico-religious use of the trumpet [19] which even in the modern state is considered a manly and royal instrument and which is manufactured in pairs. Further I refer to the ceremonial and magical instruments, each one of which has been dedicated to a deity, and also to the double function of each kind of instrument, namely as a religious ceremonial object, and as a sound-producing apparatus. In many cases this is quite striking. Finally I mention the custom of the ceremonial breaking of music instruments and the interment of lutes, lyres, harps and even clappers (a couple of clappers were found in a small sarcophagus, where they had been enshrined ceremonially), of bells and other sound devices, carefully wrapped in linen, like mummies." [20]

During the discussion of the sacred and "Herrenschicht" orchestras, we have, as you will have noted, moved from our first group to the group of the "instruments or orchestras, reserved for certain ceremonies or institutions."

New Guinea provides us with examples of a purely magico-religious nature, such as the "holy" flutes and the bull-roarers (*skabiek, sosom*). These instruments are or were played by men only and they served to imitate the voices of spirits, the former on the north coast, the latter at various places in the interior. The women of the tribe had to exercise care not to set eyes on the source of the sound whenever they heard it. Besides, they were supposed to provide an ample supply of good food (mainly sago cakes, preferably seasoned with succulent palm grubs), because the ghost was always hungry. It is almost needless to say that the spirit would choose the men's house as its place of residence. The food, hurriedly taken to

the spirit's abode, was invariably found eaten to the last bit the following morning. In earlier times a woman who had seen such a musical instrument, or who had entertained doubts as to the spiritual appetite, would have been killed without mercy.[21] This knowledge undoubtedly strengthened her religious fervor.

It is no different with the *kende,* the oblong iron bells, sounded with a stick and belonging to the Kissi who live northeast of Sierra Leone and Liberia. They are initiation instruments, carefully guarded from the eyes of women. And of the men themselves, only a few specially chosen dignitaries, the *s'koa kengda,* are allowed to sound the *kende* during the initiation ceremonies at specified moments.[22]

Amongst the Kissi, too, the bullroarers, in these rites, play exactly the same part as the *sosom* amongst some Papuan tribes. About this, André Schaeffner says: "The men tell the women that this is a terrible thing, the Thing *toma.* The buzzing sound they can hear is the roar of a large ferocious animal, which has fallen down from heaven and which is now devouring their children in the sacred forest. If one of them sets eyes on the bullroarer, or if she meets a man carrying one, or if she simply finds out what produces this sound, she runs the risk of being killed." [23]

Edwin D. Neff discovered recently that amongst the Camayuras, a South American Indian tribe in the territory around the source of the Xingu, the flute stands in the same relation to the women. Only the men blow these very long flutes, which serve to promote the catching of fish. A woman setting eyes on one of these flutes is subject to group assault.[24]

The Chinese "scraping tiger," the *yu* or *ki'a,* is an instrument with an exclusively ritual function.[25] (Being inseparably bound to one definite spot, just as the gamelans *Hunggang, Kodok ngorek,* and *Sekati* in Java, it could also have been mentioned in our category X.)

. . . . . .

It is again the Javanese principalities which give us examples of our third category: "compositions belonging to certain personalities." The gamelan composition *Hundur-hundur kadjongan* was only

played in the Solonese Kraton when, during a festivity, the ruler moved in state to another part of the palace and during the dance of the *chantang balung,* those officials whose task it was to find attractive and gracious wives for His Princely Highness.

Moreover, each of the four Central Javanese rulers had his private composition. For instance, the *ladrangan Srikaton* was the one belonging to Susuhunan Paku Buwana X. The *ketawang Baranggan-jur* belong to Sultan Hamangku Buwana VIII. The *ketawang Puspawarna* to His Highness Nangku Nagara VII. Nowadays these compositions are sometimes played in other places as well and they have nearly lost their "princely signature tune" quality.

Central Java also gives us a good example of our fourth category: "compositions reserved for certain ceremonies or institutions." It is the gamelan composition *Beḍaya ketawang* which is played exclusively to accompany the dance of the *beḍaya's,* one of the two specifically princely dancing groups (the other one being the group of the *serimpi's*). An atmosphere of venerability surrounds both the *beḍaya* dances—in any case this one—as well as the accompanying music. The dancers are supposed to be priestesses or envoys of the pre-Hindu Goddess of the South Sea (i. e. the Indian Ocean), *Ratu Kidul.* During the dance it is believed that she is present in the Kraton. About 1920, the *nyaga's* (musicians) and the Kraton inmates had still such a respect for the dance and the composition *Beḍaya ketawang* that rehearsals took place only on *Anggara kasih, i. e.* the Thursday coinciding with the Pasar-day *Kliwon,* which is once every 35 days. Furthermore, the dancers had to be absolutely pure and were dressed like brides. The humming of the holy melody was strictly forbidden (no one would have dreamt of doing it anyway), and if it were necessary to write the melody down, it was seen to it that at least one error was made. To produce a complete perfect notation would have been felt as evil presumptuousness in the face of higher powers.

A western counterpart of such an attitude towards a certain melody—although not so rigidly maintained—is, or at least was in 1913, embodied in the old Island of Terschelling song *Wat hoor ik hier in 't midden van de nacht.*[26] This song, which is a para-

phrase of a passage of the *Song of Songs* (Chapter 3, Verse 1–4), illustrates the coming of Jesus to the Soul-Virgin, in a free translation of an 11th-century *carmen* by the famous cardinal-bishop of Ostia, Petrus Damianus. The present Terschelling people merely see it as a nightly visit of a lover to his girl. However, the relation with the *carmen* mentioned seems certain on account of the content, the identical use of words and the peculiar rhyming scheme which, in both instances, show the same departure from the norm. Now, this song—and this also seems to testify to its spiritual origin—until recently was only sung at the conclusion of the large Terschelling festive summer wagon drive (which, originally a heathen midsummer festival, later turned into the Christian St. John's procession) and was timed so that the final strophe, which mentions the heavenly court, occurred at the moment the wagons were making their final run around the church.

The restriction that certain instruments "should be played only by either males or females"—our fifth group—is found all over the world. Take the flute, for instance: among most peoples, past and present, playing the flute—almost any kind of flute—is regarded as a masculine prerogative, and, as we have stated above, sometimes prejudice has gone so far in this direction as to forbid a woman even to look at this instrument on pain of death. Yet, on the other hand, for some inscrutable reason that rather rare variety, the central-hole flute, may be played, or at least is played, only by women. I noted this myself among the Ngadanese and Nagess of midwestern Flores,[27] and Van der Tuuk records the same custom among the Toba-Batak.[28] The same applies to the use of the panpipes in some regions, as, for instance, among the Nacao Indians in Venezuela and the Tinguians in North Luzon (Philippines).[29]

On the island of Nias, off the West coast of Sumatra, the *doli-doli,* a primitive xylophone, is only used when the rice is ripening and the fields are guarded (our group IX), and then by women only.[30]

The above mentioned Batak tribe also makes a distinction between the kind of mouth-harp played by girls and that reserved for the use of the young men: among the ornaments suspended from

the instrument meant for the men there is always a miniature bamboo spring clapper which is never found on the girls' harps.

Among the Bunum tribe on the island of Formosa, the musical bow is solely for the use of the male, the mouth-harp usually for the female. The flutes restricted to male use are played only on occasion of triumphal head-hunting, not for amusement.[31]

Regarding the flutes of the Venda of Northern Transvaal, Kirby states: They "are made in a special area, which is protected by special sacred ceremonies and taboos, by a specialist maker, and their sale is a monopoly. They are constructed in sets, and are always placed in charge of a selected individual. . . . The players are always males." [32]

The Central African *marimba* (*m'bila, timbila, balafon*) is a typically male instrument; the same may be said of the wooden slitdrum of Indonesian culture.[33]

In Surinam, women, the principal singers, never play drums. They believe that if they break the taboo their breasts will grow to the ground.[34]

On Manam Island (New Guinea) girls are called upon to sound a single death beat, but do not use drums at any other time.[34]

Among the Kissi, already mentioned, the *soo,* a rattle made from a gourd, is a woman's instrument in that it is made as well as played by women only, and furthermore is used, except sporadically in very special cases, exclusively for accompanying women's dances; [35] the Baganda (British East Africa) have castanets made of a particular kind of seeds which only girls are allowed to play,[36] while the Big Namba (Malekula, New Hebrides) consider the musical bow definitely a woman's instrument.[37]

To what extent this assignment of use of a given kind of instrument to one sex or the other is connected with the sex-suggestion inherent in some instruments, I do not know. Sometimes such a connection seems quite evident, as in the case of the flute, which is commonly regarded as a phallic symbol and to which naturally (one is reminded of certain equivocal expressions in many Western languages) male characteristics are ascribed, even though feminine.

But in other cases no such connection exists—or perhaps we should say exists any longer.

In Indonesia and elsewhere the drum is felt to be feminine. In those regions this instrument belongs to a group of concepts including darkness, an empty cavity, moisture, the maternal womb, the moon—ideas obviously related to the subconscious in true Freudian fashion. Yet for all that, the *beating* of the drum is not confined to one sex only. On the islands of Java and Bali the instrument is played by men exclusively, but in Timor and West Flores I saw it oftener, though not always, being played by women. It is quite possible that the cultural phase still manifesting itself on the Lesser Sunda Islands—and perhaps the same may be said of Borneo, where the Dyak priestesses often beat a narrow, high, one-headed drum (*ketobung belian*)—is an older one which clings more closely to the original view of things. The fact, as stated by Marius Schneider,[38] that drums were originally used to produce rain, accords with the above in that it is suggestive of one of the components of the group of concepts already mentioned, namely moisture.[39]

Our sixth category, "compositions which should be played only by either males or females," takes us again to the tropics.

In his analyses, Hübner [40] shows that the women of Lamuschmus in northern New Ireland, sing songs totally different from those sung by the males. These women's songs are examples of pentatonic singing, performed with "sehr zarter Tongebung" (*i. e.*, with a very soft tone), "ein etwas ans Wimmern gemahnender Gesang" (*i. e.*, reminiscent of whimpering), which according to this author is characteristic of the so called "Walzenbeilkultur" (a neolithic culture found also in New Guinea). In other women's songs he was struck by the "dunkelweiche Abdominalklang" (*i. e.*, the dark and tender abdominal sound). On the other hand, the male songs from Lamuschmus "stellen ein von starken motorischen Energien erfülltes, naturalistisches Geschehen dar, in den die Kräfte auf exponierten Hochton zusammengeballt werden um sich in 'strain'-artigen Abfall, zuweilen mit geradezu ausbruchshafter Gewalt, zu entladen" (*i. e.*, represent a naturalistic phenomenon filled with strong forces, in which the energy is concentrated on a high-pitched exposed tone that dis-

charges itself in a 'strained' descent, often explosively dynamic), in other words, it concerns the same manner of singing I found amongst the Papuans in the Van Rees Mountains and which also characterizes the songs of some Australian tribes. Von Hornbostel called this melodic type "Treppenmelodik" [41] and I have named it "tiled" melodies." [42] Represented by Werner Danckert, the "Kulturkreis" ethnologists see these melodies as a characteristic expression of the totemistic cultures. Other examples can be found in the Congo area. They are magic songs, sung exclusively by women for the purpose of ensuring a favorable hunt for the males. A priceless example of this kind of singing is on a record published by the Paris "Boîte à Musique" (No. Part 5471/110).

. . . . . .

Of our seventh category: "compositions which should be performed only by one given individual," the literature shows some typical examples.

Amongst certain Eskimo tribes each man has his own song which is to be performed only by himself, this restriction being the strongest form of copyright one can imagine. Estreicher, in his treatise *La musique des Esquimaux-Caribous,*[43] says on the authority of Eskimo expert Jean Gabus: "si le compositeur d'un chant est considéré comme son unique possesseur, c'est parce que le chant est 'le porteur de son âme,' " (if the maker of a song is considered the sole possessor of that song, it is because it is "the carrier of his soul"). And he adds: "cette explication indique clairement que les Esquimaux-Caribous voient dans une mélodie l'expression individuelle de la personalité de son compositeur" (this explanation shows clearly that the Caribou Eskimos see in a melody the individual expression of the composer's personality). This is also the reason why such a melody disappears when the singer-owner dies. The song is never taken over by another unless it is of special benefit to family or tribe as a magic song. In that case the song is inherited by the next of kin.[44]

In the island of Biak, in Geelvink Bay, North New Guinea, a kind of copyright—at least for the tribe elders—is also recognized for certain songs.[45] And about the South African Basuto we read: "Each chief his his own tribal song or 'mukorotlo.' " [46]

About the *ecoc* (*echoich*) which is a conical end-blown flute of the Lango, a Bantu tribe, Driberg says: "Every man has his own whistle motif . . . which may be memorized by a few words, a catch or phrase of a private song . . . The motif may not be played by anyone else, and an infringement of this rule will certainly cause a violent quarrel, and may even lead to bloodshed. Nor is this surprising when it is remembered that a man blows his whistle motif in war and hunting to signify that he has obtained a kill, and that it is his method of revealing his presence or identity from a distance . . ." [47]

The right to an individual melody is also known amongst the North American Indians. Thus Apel's *Harvard Dictionary of Music* says: "The property idea regarding songs is common to many tribes and the individual owner of a song was often known to sell it to another member of the tribe. It could then be sung only by the purchaser." [48]

Helen H. Roberts, in her most recent publication on the songs of the Nootka Indians of western Vancouver Island, mentions examples of this kind: "Many songs," she says, "including practically all gambling songs . . . may be used by anyone, but many others, including all wealth-display songs, are the exclusive property of different chiefly families. As such, they come under the general class of intangible possessions or *topa-ti* which, along with tangible property . . . constitute the touchstones of social status . . . The song itself is a *topa-ti;* a dance may be a *topa-ti* or the two taken together; even an entire ceremonial, embracing four days of ceremonial practices, may be the *topa-ti* of a certain family." [49]

In a recent publication [50] another well-known American ethnomusicologist, Miss Frances Densmore, says: "It is difficult for a white person to understand the feeling of the Indian toward his individual song, probably received in a 'dream'. In another tribe an old Indian recorded a song, then bowed his head in apparent grief. The interpreter said: 'Niskigwun says he thinks he will not live long because he has given you his song.' "

Our 8th category—"compositions which should be performed only by one given group" or tribe—takes us to Australia. Regarding

the central tribes (Aranda and others) it is known that they sometimes confer a so-called "corroboree," *i. e.*, a ritual song and dance festival, upon a friendly tribe as a token of goodwill and friendliness. The corroboree thus transferred, plus the songs belonging to it, will never again be performed by the donor tribe, but exclusively by the receiving tribe.[51] It happens too that a corroboree is learned from another tribe against payment of, for instance, blankets or other goods.[52] In this fashion melodies sometimes travel for hundreds of miles, their passing-on subject to payment each time. The result is that often songs are sung of which the words have no significance at all to the performers. In those cases the songs have come from a different language-region.

We find the same situation in New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, and the islands in the Torres Straits. Father Schmidt,[53] Myers,[54] Schmidt-Ernsthausen,[55] Guppy,[56] and Seligmann[57] refer to this.[58] Father André Dupeyrat, in a commentary on Papuan songs he recorded in East New Guinea, also mentions a song of the Kittoro-type which the tribe of the Roro (a coastal tribe opposite Yule Island) had bought from the Rigo tribe, 130 miles to the east, because they wanted to sing this song themselves.

However, it is not amongst the primitive races only that we find this phenomenon of certain musical forms and compositions being confined to specific social groups. According to Robert Lach[59] Japan's entire musical heritage is (was?) divided into four categories. The old classical hieratic music, which originated in China, belongs exclusively to the *Gagaku,* the highest social level consisting of courtiers and nobility. The repertoire of the second social level, the *Genin,* has a less artful kind of music which is always profane. The third class, the *Inakabushi,* is the group of blind musicians, of whom the most prominent, the Kengio subcast, are permitted to wear white trousers. This group, too, confines itself to popular music, but of a kind different from that of the *Genin.* And finally there is a fourth cast, the *Geishas,* servants of the light Muse, interpreters of streetsongs and hit-tunes. Each of the four social groups mentioned has its own set of scales.

. . . . . .

Of our 9th category: "instruments and music which are confined to a given time or to a given season," the examples are legion. For instance, the Central Javanese *patets,* melodic registers, each of which belongs to its specific time during the night of a *wayang* performance.[60] Another example is supplied by the registers used in the incantations of the ancient Aryan *soma* ritual, from which the *patet* division has possibly originated. From the Rig-Veda I quote: "in the morning ceremony one should employ a breast-tone like the roar of the tiger; at noon, a guttural tone like the monotonous quacking of the cha-krawana (a bird species); at night, the tone should ascend to the head so that it will sound like the voices of a peacock, goose and cuckoo."[61] The phenomenon is found also amongst the Indian *ragas,* melodic patterns, carefully selected for certain periods of day and year, to which they are characteristic.[62]

In the Ngada district in West Flores, according to Father Arndt,[63] the playing of the *foi dea,* the double flute, is permitted only during the ripening of the rice. The first playing of the year is always accompanied by a certain ritual. The village elders take their flutes to the *loka tua,* the sacred place where the palm wine is kept. They take a mouthful of this wine and then pronounce a prayer of gratitude. Then they proceed to the *vitu sipi* (the grinding stone), another holy place, formerly the place where the little rice-knives were sharpened. They seat themselves on the holy stone and start to play. After that they return to the village where they happily tell the people that the flute playing season has begun again and that everybody may now play to his heart's content.

In olden times in Zululand the *umtshingo* (kind of flute) was not to be played until the time of the *umkosi,* or annual festival of the Zulu king. This was held about Christmas time, and the entire Zulu people, including every one of rank and the entire army, assembled in court dress at the Royal Kraal. During this festival the king himself was "charmed" by the doctors, special songs were sung in praise of ancestors, new laws were proclaimed, and the people were formally given permission to partake of the new season's crops. The holding of the *umkosi* was the signal for all of the shepherds to make and play the *umtshingo* and also the *igemfe,* another wind

instrument made from reed. The whole countryside would be filled with joyful piping, which would last until the following February; thereafter the pipes would be silent until the next *umkosi.*[64]

Naturally, the ritual harvest songs, playing such an important part in the lives of some North American Indian tribes, are confined to a definite season.

Our 10th group, "instruments and music which are confined to a given place," does not have to be examined separately, because as a rule it coincides with the 2nd and the 4th group, comprising, respectively, instruments and compositions reserved for special ceremonies and institutions. These are usually confined also to a permanent place (temple, palace, sacred menhouse, etc.).

Of the 11th category, "instruments which should be played only by the owner himself," ethnologist John Niles provides a characteristic example. He found that the flutes belonging to the men of the Kumaon tribe in the highlands of Eastern New Guinea are only to be played by the owner or possibly by a very close relative. These flutes are supposed to represent a kind of family guardian spirit. It happens occasionally that another man, not belonging to the family, plays the flute. However, this is done to punish the owner for an offense. The playing of the flute by another person is felt as an intrusion upon the property which has the effect of exacting punishment.

Among the Koryaks of Siberia, according to Mrs. Drinker, every woman has her own drum and her own individual drumbeat.

A 12th category could be added to the preceding eleven groups, music characterized by the fact that its being reserved for special persons, places and occasions is not because of the special right to these songs, or because of the special nature of the place or the moment of performance, but because of the nature of the melodies and texts themselves. I am referring to the group of magic songs and formulas so prominent in cultural history. In fact, if sufficient data were at our disposal, we would presumably find that many if not all restrictions as regards performance and use, characterizing the phenomena examined, have sprung from the conviction that the way of singing or the tone of the instrument had a powerful magical

influence, beneficial to the person or group claiming exclusive right. On this subject, interesting as it is, I cannot now go into any further detail. However, if this should cause any disappointment amongst my readers, I may refer to a work by Jules Combarieu, *La Musique et la Magie*. Although the book was published in 1909, it is still of value.[65]

To conclude—I have made it clear, I hope, that it is *not* these remarkable sociological restrictions and reservations that form an exception; on the contrary, it is modern Western musical art and its relative freedom from regulation and privacy that may be said to be exceptional.

NOTES

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   See also:
   Crevel, Marcus van, *Adrianus Petit Coclico,* The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1940; p. 393ff.
2. As was pointed out to me from various directions, the ties, as referred to here, have not been so completely destroyed in European culture as I thought. Alex de Jong, an organist of the Old Catholic Church, drew my attention to various examples of restricted music in the Roman–, Old–, Free–, and Greek–Catholic liturgies. For instance the "Gloria"—a mass hymn—is sung only at ordinary and festive services. It is not to be sung on days of mourning, *i. e.,* during Advent, Lent, and during the obsequies. When, in a sung service, the Bishop gives his blessing, he will do this to a melody sung by him only. During the Silent Week, the organ is not to be played at all.

   The former director of the Music Department of the Belgian National Institute for Radio Broadcasting, Paul Collaer, told me this: "In Neerfeste, near Brussels, we have recorded shepherds' voices. An 80-year-old man still knew cries for the rounding up of sheep and cattle. However, he did not much like our recording these cries. A 40-year-old man told us that he, too, knew these cries, but he refused to sing them for us as they were the old man's property. Said he: 'If I were to sing them, all his cows and sheep would join mine'—old magic."
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4. Joinville, Jean de, *Memoires de Jean, Sire de Joinville, ou Histoire de Très-Chrétien Roi, Saint Louis,* (ed. Francisque Michel), Paris, Didot, 1858; p. 47.
5. Sachs, *op. cit.,* pp. 276ff.
   See on this subject also:
   Lach, Robert, "Zur Geschichte der musikalischen Zunftwesens", in *"Sitzungs-Berichte der Akademie der Wissenschaft in Wien"* (Phil.-hist. Klasse, No. 199, Bd. 3, 1923; pp. 31ff), where many more particulars are to be found concerning the special position of kettle-drummers and trumpeters, namely among the ancient Hebrews, in Rome, and in the German Middle Ages. I refer further to:
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7. *ibid.,* p. 265ff.
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11. Devrocy, Egide *and* van der Linden, R., *Le lac Kivu,* Brussels, van Campenhout, 1939; fig. 7.
12. Boone, Olga, *Les tambours du Congo belge et du Ruanda-Urungi,* Tervuren, Annales du musée du Congo belge, 1951; p. 74–75.
13. Denis Roosevelt expedition, recordings 7, 8 and 9, issued by the Institut des Parcs nationaux du Congo belge, Brussels; and Decca L. F. 1120 (Music of Africa, Nos. 3 and 4).
14. Grove, *op. cit.;* Vol. 4, p. 529a.
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16. Trowell, Margaret *and* Wachsmann, K. P., *Tribal Crafts of Uganda,* London, New York, Oxford University Press, 1953; pp. 326–327.
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See also the same author's "Die kultische Verwendung der altägyptischen Trompete", in *Die Welt des Orients* for 1950, (Vol. V, pp. 351–355).
20. Hickmann, Hans *Cymbales et crotales dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Service des antiquités de l'Égypte), Cairo, L'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, 1949.
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23. *ibid.,* pp. 74ff.
24. Neff, Edwin D., "The Vanishing Tribes of Brazil", in *Natural History,* (Vol. LX, No. 2, 1951; p. 77.)

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See also:
Courant, Maurice, "Chine et Corée", in Lavignac, Albert, (ed.) *Encyclopédie de la musique,* Paris, Delagrave, 1913; Part I, Vol. 1, p. 147.
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