

# **JMHHP** *Journal of Music History Pedagogy*

VOLUME 14, NUMBER 1 (2024)

<https://www.ams-net.org/ojs/index.php/jmhp/>

## **Articles**

- Centering Capitalism in Musicology Pedagogy* 1-19  
**JOHN R. PIPPEN**
- Code-Meshing in the Music History Classroom:  
Connecting Repertoire, Writing, and Assessment* 20-40  
**KIMBERLY HANNON TEAL**
- 
- Special Issue: Global Music History Course Design:  
A Pedagogical Toolbox with Syllabi**  
*Guest Edited by Gavin S.K. Lee*
- Introduction by the Guest Editor:* 41-50  
*The Promise and Pitfalls of Global Music History Pedagogy*  
**GAVIN S.K. LEE**
- Towards a Global Baroque:* 51-80  
*Unbinding Time, Temporality, and the “European” Tradition*  
**MAKOTO HARRIS TAKAO**
- Five Decolonial Narratives in Global Music History* 81-118  
**GAVIN S.K. LEE**
- Music and Empire: South & Southeast Asia, c. 1750-1950* 119-161  
**KATHERINE BUTLER SCHOFIELD**
- An Undergraduate Syllabus for “Global Music History”* 162-181  
**OLIVIA BLOECHL**
- Slave Orchestras, Choirs, Bands, and Ensembles:  
A Bibliography* 182-191  
**JON SILPAYAMANANT**

# Centering Capitalism in Musicology Pedagogy

JOHN R. PIPPEN

For several years, scholars have called for centering race, gender, and colonialism in musicology pedagogy. Margaret Walker, for example, has argued that “working towards a decolonized university music history curriculum is a necessary endeavor and should be embraced by North American schools of music.”<sup>1</sup> A main issue, identified by Walker, is the complex and potentially overwhelming nature of confronting systemic injustice in core music courses.<sup>2</sup> This article suggests one possible route to clarifying our curricular agendas: centering capitalism. Placing capitalism at the core of our engagement with music history provides a useful way to connect intersecting issues of race, class, and gender while avoiding overly reductive approaches that misrepresent one form of marginalization as implicitly more important than another. This also demonstrates historical continuities between different forms of musical activity, while accounting for ruptures and changes in understandings of what music was, is, and could be.

My approach to teaching musicology explicitly foregrounds music’s roles in social, political, and power relations. It therefore unmask the ideological underpinnings of arguments for music’s alleged autonomy or intrinsic altruism. Music, as Benjamin Teitelbaum has argued, is not intrinsically good. Rather, it

1. Margaret E. Walker, “Towards a Decolonized Music History Curriculum,” *Journal of Music History Pedagogy* 10, no. 1 (2020): 5.

2. Walker, “Towards a Decolonized Music History Curriculum.” A rich literature considers numerous issues found in less critical forms of musicology pedagogy. Melanie Lowe, “Rethinking the Undergraduate Music History Sequence in the Information Age,” *Journal of Music History Pedagogy* 5, no. 2 (2015): 65–71; Michael A. Figueroa, “Decolonizing ‘Intro to World Music?’,” *Journal of Music History Pedagogy* 10, no. 1 (2020): 39–57; Travis D. Stimeling and Kayla Tokar, “Narratives of Musical Resilience and the Perpetuation of Whiteness in the Music History Classroom,” *Journal of Music History Pedagogy* 10, no. 1 (2020): 20–38; Loren Kajikawa, “The Possessive Investment in Classical Music: Legacies of White Supremacy in US Schools and Departments of Music,” in *Seeing Race Again: Countering Colorblindness across the Disciplines*, eds. Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, et al., 155–74 (Oakland, CA: UC Press, 2019); Philip Ewell, “Music Theory and the White Racial Frame,” *Music Theory Online* 26, no. 2 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.30535/mto.26.2.4.illinois> press.

is bound up in the system of ethics of its cultural context.<sup>3</sup> Centering capitalism in musicology reinvigorates the value of music studies more generally by demonstrating the performative nature of social relations, identifying capitalism as one such system of social relations, and calling attention to the ways that different people have sought to critique capitalism through music making.

With one notable exception, calls for decolonizing music history curricula have treated capitalism only peripherally.<sup>4</sup> This, despite the well-documented impact of capitalism on human societies and natural environments. There is an overwhelming amount of scholarship that identifies capitalism as a major cause of contemporary problems, including global warming, gendered and racialized forms of discrimination, the expansion of precarious labor markets through geographical transformations, and mass migration.<sup>5</sup> The failure to unequivocally acknowledge capitalism as a central issue for curricular “decolonization” signals the field’s general lack of attention to classical arguments about capitalism. Historically, capitalist critique has not been part of musicological training,<sup>6</sup> and capitalism has only recently become a major concern of musicology.<sup>7</sup>

3. On music’s alleged intrinsic altruism, see Benjamin R. Teitelbaum, “Music and the Immorality of Ethnography,” in *The Routledge Companion to Ethics and Research in Ethnomusicology*, ed. Jonathan P. J. Stock and Beverley Diamond (New York: Routledge, 2023).

4. Kirsten L. Speyer Carithers, “Music History as Labor History: Rethinking ‘Work’ in Musicology,” *Journal of Music History Pedagogy* 12, no. 1 (2022).

5. On climate change and capitalism, see Peter Newell and Matthew Paterson, *Climate Capitalism: Global Warming and the Transformation of the Global Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Jonathan T. Park, “Climate Change and Capitalism,” *Consilience: The Journal of Sustainable Development*, no. 14 (2015): 189–206, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26188749>; A classic argument about race and capitalism can be found in Cedric J. Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2000). On the intertwined relationships among gender, race, and class, see Tithi Bhattacharya, ed., *Social Reproduction Theory: Remapping Class, Recentring Oppression* (London: Pluto Press, 2017); Kathi Weeks, *The Problem with Work: Feminism, Marxism, Antiwork Politics, and Postwork Imaginaries* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011); Nancy Fraser, “Behind Marx’s Hidden Abode: For an Expanded Conception of Capitalism,” *New Left Review* 86, no. 86 (2014): 55–72; On geography and capitalism, see David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1990); David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005). For discussions of migration and capitalism, see Andrea Komlosy, *Work: The Last 1,000 Years*, trans. Jacob K. Watson and Loren Balhorn (Brooklyn, NY: Verso, 2018).

6. Henry Klumpenhower, “Late Capitalism, Late Marxism and the Study of Music,” *Music Analysis* 20, no. 3 (2001): 367–405, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/854476>.

7. Timothy Taylor and Anna Morcom, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Economic Ethnomusicology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020); Marianna Ritchey, *Composing Capital: Classical Music in the Neoliberal Era* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019); Javier F. León, “Introduction: Music, Music Making, and Neoliberalism,” *Culture, Theory, and Critique* 55, no. 2 (2014): 129–37, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14735784.2014.913847>; Dagmar Abfalter and Rosa Reitsamer, eds., *Music as Labour: Inequalities and Activism in the Past and Present* (New York: Routledge, 2022); Judith Lochhead et al., “Boundaries of the New: American

In this journal, for instance, only one scholar, Kristen Carithers, has advocated for musicological pedagogies that interrogate labor relations.<sup>8</sup> Historians of capitalism, however, have long treated colonialism in the early modern era as inextricably linked with forms of extraction and exploitation that prefigured or realized capitalist forms of accumulation.<sup>9</sup> In classical Marxism, “capital accumulation” identifies methods for the acquisition of wealth. In this process capital is invested in the means of production (including labor power) with the goal of selling commodities to produce more capital. A primary method of capital accumulation is the separation of the worker from the value their labor adds to resources in the creation of commodities. Because theft of lands, resources, and people created new social relations for the generation of wealth, Karl Marx also historicized colonialism as an early source of capital accumulation.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, Marx’s work demonstrates that colonialism was deeply enmeshed with capitalism, and that racialized and gendered forms of exploitation were—and remain—bound up in the social relations required for capitalist accumulation.

I argue that music studies ought to take scholarship of capitalism seriously. After all, capitalism has directly impacted musical industries around the world, the consumption of music, the ways music functions in various workplaces, and the spread of neoliberalism in musical higher education.<sup>11</sup> In traditional sur-

Classical Music at the Turn of the Millennium,” *Twentieth-Century Music* 16, no. 3 (2019): 373–455, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1478572219000288>; Older sources have often implicitly considered capitalist relations but have not explicitly thematized capitalism itself as impacting music. See, for example, William Weber, ed., *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700–1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004).

8. Carithers, “Music History as Labor History.”

9. Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System; with a New Prologue*, 4 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); Komlosy, *Work*; Silvia Federici, *Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body and Primitive Accumulation* (New York: Autonomedia, 2004).

10. Marx’s original arguments in *The Communist Manifesto* and in *Capital* consider aspects of colonialism at length. Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx, *The Communist Manifesto: With Selections from the Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte and Capital* by Karl Marx, ed. Samuel H. Beer (London: Wiley-Blackwell, 1955); Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, vol. 1, trans. Ben Fowkes (New York: Penguin, 1990); For readers new to Marx, a very accessible modern language version of his basic arguments can be found in Hadas Thier, *A People’s Guide to Capitalism: An Introduction to Marxist Economics* (Chicago: Haymarket Press, 2020). For a modern consideration of these arguments in relation to colonialism, see Gurminder K. Bhambra and John Holmwood, *Colonialism and Modern Social Theory* (Medford, MA: Polity Press, 2021).

11. I offer here a selection of older and newer works simply to highlight the main point that capitalism is a part of musical practices. Timothy D. Taylor, *Music and Capitalism: A History of the Present* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016); Russell Sanjek, David Sanjek, and Russell Sanjek, *Pennies from Heaven: The American Popular Music Business in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1996); Jon Stratton, “Capitalism and Romantic Ideology in the Record Business,” *Popular Music* 3 (1983): 143–56, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S026114300001604>; J. Scott Goble, “Neoliberalism and Music Education: An Introduction,” *Action, Criticism, & Theory for Music Education* 20, no. 3 (2021): 1–18. John R. Pippen, “Hope,

veys of music, as Carithers has argued, issues of money, markets, incomes, and expenses figure only peripherally.<sup>12</sup> While some readers may not share Marx's critical view of capitalism, all can benefit from incorporating Marx's theories in efforts to "decolonize" music curricula.<sup>13</sup> If we really care about ending racism, sexism, and other forms of injustice in our classrooms, then we must dig more deeply into their historic causes. Central among them is capitalism.<sup>14</sup>

In this article, I outline my experiences centering capitalism in a non-major senior-level seminar on the music history of Chicago. Titled "Chicago's Music: Crossroads of History, Race, and Culture," this course centers capitalism in its synthesis of perspectives from the arts, humanities, social sciences, and history to apprehend how music in Chicago has both affirmed and critiqued the city's social systems. To organize these various perspectives, I engage Chicago's musical histories through theories of capitalist accumulation, specifically Marx's theory of "primitive accumulation."<sup>15</sup> Primitive accumulation historicizes the ways that colonizers and aristocrats first seized lands and resources from peasants and then re-organized those lands and their former inhabitants toward the social relations of capitalist accumulation. Primitive accumulation places processes of dispossession, the creation of proletarians dependent upon the owners of capital, and the relentless drive for economic gains at the heart of major historical changes. To better connect primitive accumulation with racial and gendered discrimination, I draw on recent scholarly developments of Marx's original argument to demonstrate how processes of colonization and dispos-

Labour, and Privilege in American New Music," in *Music as Labour: Inequalities and Activism in the Past and Present*, ed. Dagmar Abfalter and Rosa Reitsamer (New York: Routledge, 2022), 81–96; Jeremy Wade Morris, "Artists as Entrepreneurs, Fans as Workers," *Popular Music and Society* 37, no. 3 (2014): 273–90, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03007766.2013.778534>; Regula Bucrkhardt Qureshi, ed., *Music and Marx: Ideas, Practice, Politics* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2002); David Blake, "Musicological Omnivory in the Neoliberal University," *Journal of Musicology* 34, no. 3 (2017): 319–53; Eriksson Maria et al., *Spotify Teardown: Inside the Black Box of Streaming Music* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2019). Katherine M. Sadler, "A Critical Assessment of Entrepreneurship in Music Higher Education," *Action, Criticism, and Theory for Music Education* 20, no. 3 (2021): 132–55; Marek Korczynski, Michael Pickering, and Emma Robertson, eds., *Rhythms of Labour: Music at Work in Britain* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Marek Korczynski, *Songs of the Factory: Pop Music, Culture, and Resistance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014).

12. Carithers, "Music History as Labor History."

13. For a similar argument about the sociology of music education, see Vincent C. Bates, "Capital, Class, Status, and Social Reproduction in Music Education: A Critical Review," *Action, Criticism, and Theory for Music Education* 22, no. 1 (2023): 54–82, <https://doi.org/10.22176/act22.1.54>.

14. For a fuller elaboration on the argument that capitalism causes intersecting forms of oppression, see Federici, *Caliban and the Witch*; Vanessa Wills, "What Could It Mean to Say, 'Capitalism Causes Sexism and Racism?'" *Philosophical Topics* 46, no. 2 (2018): 229–46; Bhattacharya, *Social Reproduction Theory*.

15. Marx, *Capital*, 1.

session have historically required difference making and thus complemented racist and sexist constructions.<sup>16</sup> Beverly Skeggs's construction of the "accumulative self" synthesizes Marx's theories with Bourdieu's three forms of capital and Michel Foucault's notion of discourse.<sup>17</sup> Within capitalist societies, Skeggs argues, dominant epistemologies treat forms of knowledge, habits, skills, and social relations as forms of capital (economic, cultural, social). The individual achieves social advancement by acquiring these forms of capital and deploying them advantageously. In "Chicago's Music," then, accumulation accounts for the theft of land, the exploitation of workers, and the formation of bourgeois identity, the latter of which, in turn, promoted specific kinds of musical production and consumption while demonizing others (such as Native American music).

In the first part of this article, I outline my theoretical approach, explaining how I first introduce Marx's primitive accumulation and then connect it to perspectives on music and sound. In the following section, I present examples of the "accumulative self" from Chicago's musical histories and reflect on how these examples lay the groundwork for broader critical inquiry. Finally, I suggest ways these ideas could be incorporated into music history courses that focus on other locations, time periods, or case studies. In sum, my aim is to demonstrate the pedagogical potential of naming and critiquing issues of power, exploitation, and resilience in music within an *explicitly acknowledged* capitalist hegemony.

### Primitive Accumulation in Chicago

My course begins with basic features of Chicago's history and requires students to give early presentations about musical activities in the city. I encourage them to choose specific instrument makers, ensembles, individuals, or the musical practices of ethnic groups connected to the city. Several intersecting outcomes emerge from these presentations. First, students gain immediate contact with the breadth and depth of the city's musical histories. Second, they start to see ways that people have used music to form identity, build a community, and earn a living. This fact—the requirement to sell one's labor power in order to earn money to live—is shown through course readings to be a change in the social relations for people living in the area now called Chicago. Using assorted

16. See especially work from feminist Marxists such as Bhattacharya, *Social Reproduction Theory*.

17. Beverley Skeggs, *Class, Self, Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972).

secondary source readings, I teach this change through the lens of primitive accumulation.<sup>18</sup>

Primitive accumulation has been theorized in two general ways: first, as providing a pre-history of capitalism; and second, as describing ongoing processes of capital accumulation. The nuances of this debate are beyond the scope of this article, but in “Chicago’s Music” I treat primitive accumulation not simply as part of a pre-capitalist epoch, but as an ongoing process at the center of capitalist societies. It is also, as I show below, integral to how dominant social groups in the city sought to use music.<sup>19</sup> Primitive accumulation is Marx’s answer to the question of how people were able to accumulate wealth prior to the globalization of the capitalist system.<sup>20</sup> Marx’s argument outlines the ways that English peasants were transformed into proletarian workers. He points directly to British land enclosures. Long held in common, land was a source of subsistence farming and hunting for many peasants until, beginning in the sixteenth century, much of it was seized by the aristocracy, dispossessing the peasantry of their access to sources of livelihood. Members of this dispossessed group were compelled to work their land for the new “owners” or else be branded, in some cases with hot irons, as beggars. Policing emerges as a theme in Marx’s writing and provides a means to interrogate what Judith Butler has called the “state monopoly of violence,”<sup>21</sup> an important concept for understanding Chicago’s historic and continued enforcement of segregation and the enduring threat of police violence. From this basic theoretical foundation, students learn that the rise of capitalist relations required the exercise of state power to compel individuals to sell their labor power to earn money to live. This power takes the form of violent force, legal maneuvering, and the ceaseless search for new geographic sites for the development of new forms of industry.

Marx’s theory provides a sweeping and rigorous account of capitalism, and his work is well supported by more modern extensions of his arguments.<sup>22</sup> To

18. Major theorists have dealt with extensions of the idea to contexts beyond those initially explored by Marx. The topic remains a major area of debate in the present. See David Harvey, “The ‘New’ Imperialism: Accumulation by Dispossession,” *Socialist Register* 40 (2004): 63–87; Federici, *Caliban and the Witch*; Jim Glassman, “Primitive Accumulation, Accumulation by Dispossession, Accumulation by ‘Extra-Economic’ Means,” *Progress in Human Geography* 30, no. 5 (2006): 608–25, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132506070172>.

19. As Matt Stahl has shown, recent changes in the recording businesses continue to be shaped by capitalists’ attempts to overcome legal barriers intended to protect music workers. See Matt Stahl, “Primitive Accumulation, the Social Common, and the Contractual Lockdown of Recording Artists at the Threshold of Digitalization,” *Ephemera: Theory and Politics in Organization* 10, no. 3/4 (2010): 337–55.

20. See Chapter 26 in Marx, *Capital*, 1.

21. Judith Butler, *The Force of Nonviolence: An Ethico-Political Bind* (Brooklyn, NY: Verso, 2020).

22. For example, Vanessa Willis unpacks the ways that Marx and Engels critiqued gendered social relations under capitalism, but her argument necessarily synthesizes passages from

better integrate his ideas with the course's overlapping learning objectives, I assign selections from Sylvia Federici's *Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body and Primitive Accumulation*, which places race, class, and gender in the context of capitalist development.<sup>23</sup> Federici's introduction is especially useful in accounting for the ways that the proletariat, formed by social relations of primitive accumulation, was shaped by racialized and gendered divisions of labor. Women were, over time, increasingly relegated to the home to "support" the male proletariat.

Primitive accumulation provides a critical frame for interrogating the history of Chicago. The city's founding was premised on the dispossession of Native Americans from the lands around Lake Michigan. The area was regularly visited by the Miami, Illinois, Winnebagoes, Menominee, and Potawatomi.<sup>24</sup> From 1795 to 1833, the US government used treaties and violent force to remove most of these people from the marshy lands that now make up Chicago. This expropriation is core to Marx's argument; an area once held loosely in common was seized, its former inhabitants expelled, and the land reconfigured to facilitate capitalist accumulation—in Chicago's case as a hub for the transportation of goods. This devastated Native American forms of cultural expression, including what we would call music. Primitive accumulation implicitly critiques popular historical treatments of the city, which can omit historical facts about Native Americans and their impact. While many popular histories describe Native Americans as somehow "in the past" or absent from Chicago, the city remained home to small groups of Native Americans in the nineteenth century and was regularly visited by touring performers and dignitaries.

In "Chicago's Music," I assign two readings about the city's early history: a chapter from Rosalyn LaPier and David Beck's *City Indian: Native American Activism in Chicago 1893-1934* (2015) and chapters from Irving Cutler's *Chicago: Metropolis of the Mid-Continent* (2006).<sup>25</sup> The latter describes Native Americans as dangerous and violent tribes threatening white settlers in the early eighteenth century then dedicates about 250 words to their presence in the city in the twentieth century. Beck and LaPier, in contrast, posit that the 1812 Fort Dearborn "Massacre" was a defining myth that shaped how dominant settler groups have imagined the city's identity, as evidenced in part by the

*The Communist Manifesto* and *The German Ideology*. Wills, "What Could It Mean;" Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The German Ideology: Including Theses on Feuerbach and Introduction to the Critique of Political Economy* (Amherst, N.Y: Prometheus Books, 1998); Engels and Marx, *The Communist Manifesto*.

23. Federici, *Caliban and the Witch*.

24. Rosalyn R. LaPier and David R. M. Beck, *City Indian: Native American Activism in Chicago, 1893-1934* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2015).

25. Irving Cutler, *Chicago: Metropolis of the Mid-Continent*, 4th ed. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2006), <http://www.loc.gov/catdir/toc/ecip062/2005031343.html>.



Chicago flag (one of the stars represents Fort Dearborn) and by a statue commemorating the event. As Beck and LaPier argue, “By the end of the nineteenth century, American Indians would be viewed as both insiders and outsiders to the city—as people who had once lived in the area, and as new migrants to the city.”<sup>26</sup> This dual positioning reproduced a “noble savage” construction. Central to the “noble savage” were (and are) descriptions of Native American forms of sonic expression as “noisy” or “demonic.” At the same time, Native Americans in Chicago were often described in romantic terms as pre-civilized “nobles” unfamiliar with modern technologies. Within the first week of class, my course places sound within a specific racialized form of capital accumulation. Through this analysis, I aim to sensitize students to the ways that histories of Chicago’s musics can circulate the values of dominant groups.

Understanding primitive accumulation as an ongoing process helps students recognize both the nineteenth-century dispossession of Native groups and their reintegration into the city in the twentieth century. From several course readings, including James LeGrand’s *Indian Metropolis: Native Americans in Chicago 1945-75*, students learn how in 1953 the Federal government eliminated support for formerly protected Native American land.<sup>27</sup> As a result, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) began a relocation program that encouraged many people on reservations to move to major cities, including Chicago. The BIA rationalized this as integrating Native Americans into a “modern” capitalist work society and into white culture. However, many Native Americans found little support from the BIA, and encountered poor housing conditions, segregation, and low-status jobs. Marx’s theory usefully provides students a way to first recognize *why* the Federal Government would desire such integration and then to link eighteenth- and nineteenth-century processes of colonization to twentieth-century patterns of migration—a clear example of people dispossessed, characterized as an underclass prone to violence, and a government attempting to “civilize” them through compulsory reintroduction into an urban capitalist work society.

Because Chicago is home to several initiatives that seek to educate the public about the area’s historical and current Native American residents,<sup>28</sup> the students in “Chicago’s Music” also study Native American cultural activities from the nineteenth century through the present—an opportunity that allows them to experience firsthand the centrality of music to people’s negotiations of change. Focusing on the city’s American Indian Center and its annual powwow,

26. LaPier and Beck, *City Indian*, 15.

27. James B. LaGrand, *Indian Metropolis: Native Americans in Chicago, 1945-75* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002).

28. See Northwestern’s interactive exhibition online at <https://www.northwestern.edu/native-american-and-indigenous-peoples/>.

students learn how Native Americans, dispossessed of land, had to rearticulate identity and community in the modern city. Indeed, the songs and dances of powwows remain crucial for thousands of Chicago's residents.<sup>29</sup>

Students regularly incorporate primitive accumulation into their presentations on the city's musical histories. This often includes studying the people who worked the granaries, canals, shipyards, and railroads of Chicago. These jobs were staffed by formerly rural farmers from the United States, from Europe, and eventually from Asia and Central America. Chicago grew rapidly from a small trading post in the late eighteenth century to a sprawling metropolis of over 1.5 million in 1900.<sup>30</sup> Most of these people performed relatively low-status "unskilled" labor. In terms of the class structures of capitalism, they became the proletariat of the city. The history of Chicago is thus a study in primitive accumulation. Through processes involving the violent dispossession of land, a transition from agrarian to industrial capitalistic relations, the formation of a proletariat, and a radical transformation of natural landscapes whose effects persist to the current day, what is now Chicago was transformed from a marshy trading area into a major hub for the manufacture and distribution of commodities.

For the people of Chicago, music was necessary for surviving radical geographic and cultural changes. As newcomers settled in the city, many people staged elaborate celebrations, parades, and exhibitions meant to build a sense of community. These endeavors were complex activities that often aspired to contradictory goals. European immigrant groups frequently negotiated for dual identities—for example, being German *and* American. Parades and holiday celebrations were designed by middle-class organizers to support the United States. However, many working-class immigrants preferred to emphasize the traditions of their homelands to the effect of diminishing emphasis on United States history. Musical repertoire, such as European-language renditions of US patriotic songs, figured in the complicated presentation of immigrant identity. To introduce students to how nineteenth-century European migrants expressed complicated notions of loyalty for two homelands at the same time, I assign an article by Ellen Litwicki. This article considers holiday celebrations such as the Fourth of July. She writes:

On these occasions ethnicity and assimilation not only coexisted, they were interdependent and even mutually reinforcing. They constituted the intertwined products of the traditions and history of immigrants' homelands and their responses and adaptation to life in the United States. Ethnic celebrations

29. John-Carlos Perea, *Intertribal Native American Music in the United States: Experiencing Music, Expressing Culture, Global Music Series* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013); Nora Lloyd et al., *Chicago's 50 Years of Powwows* (Chicago: Arcadia, 2004).

30. Cutler, *Chicago: Metropolis of the Mid-Continent*.

of American holidays stood at the intersection of ethnic and American cultures, and thus can illuminate the dialectical relationship between ethnicity and assimilation.<sup>31</sup>

The contradictory performances of middle- and working-class immigrants usefully illustrate how music was at the heart of articulations of identity. Communal musical performances, both necessary and contested, reveal how people in the city negotiated between their practical experiences and their shared ideals to construct a sense of themselves and others. In their presentations, students historicize musical venues around the city, such as churches, community centers, concert venues, parks, and other spaces where immigrants gathered to build a life for themselves.

### **From Primitive Accumulation to the Accumulation of Identity**

Building on the analysis of race and capital accumulation outlined above, I incorporate theories of self-construction within capitalist societies. One major theoretical frame comes from Beverly Skeggs's model of a middle-class self that must accumulate resources (including skills, knowledge, habits, and social relations).<sup>32</sup> Class, race, and gender are formed, she argues, by portraying one group as properly mobile and another group as somehow limited. The students in "Chicago's Music" read excerpts from Skeggs's work in class and then apply her arguments to representations of race in early Chicago radio.

I also assign research by media scholar Derek Vaillant that shows how Chicago radio programs between 1921 and 1935 commonly emphasized the breadth of ethnic identities available to white-identifying migrants while, in contrast, portraying African Americans through a much narrower range of identities.<sup>33</sup> Immigrants of European ancestry could enjoy a variety of programming, including church services, live broadcasts of dance-bands, and group singing. African Americans, however, were confined by the collection of stereotypes depicted in minstrelsy. Vaillant analyzes these contrasting constructions to argue that "early Chicago radio produced a hegemonic racial formation—a sound of whiteness—relying on the presence and absence of African

31. Ellen M. Litwicky, "Our Hearts Burn with Ardent Love for Two Countries': Ethnicity and Assimilation at Chicago Holiday Celebrations, 1876–1918," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 19, no. 3 (2000): 3–34, at 6, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27502578>.

32. Skeggs, *Class, Self, Culture*.

33. Derek W. Vaillant, "Sounds of Whiteness: Local Radio, Racial Formation, and Public Culture in Chicago, 1921–1935," *American Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (2002): 25–66, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30042215>. See also Derek Vaillant, *Sounds of Reform: Progressivism and Music in Chicago, 1873–1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

Americans and music and cultural forms of expression to sustain itself.”<sup>34</sup> This sound of whiteness reproduced European identities in line with Europeans’ own self-constructions, while using minstrelsy to implicitly define that whiteness through its “other.”<sup>35</sup> African Americans in the city ran only one show, WSBC’s weekly “Negro Hour,” which offered an alternative to minstrelsy on the radio in Chicago.

In course writing assignments, students apply Skeggs’s concept of mobility and fixity to account for the ways that whiteness is constructed through the devaluing of Blackness. From this frame, students see racialization as a process shaped by the accumulation of specific stereotypes and the application of those stereotypes to specific groups. Accumulation, then, is not just an economic process but also a sonic-social process that extends into the realm of mediated identity formation.

Skeggs’s theories of social class also inform my approach to teaching classical music history. Here, the accumulation of knowledge and habits can be understood as the acquisition of symbolic forms of capital. “Chicago’s Music” focuses specifically on the creation of the Chicago Auditorium Building in 1885. Initiated by Ferdinand Peck, the Chicago Auditorium was built with the goal of elevating the city’s musical profile.<sup>36</sup> The building was designed by Denkmair Adler and Luis Sullivan to encourage, Peck hoped, the proper appreciation of the highest class of music, namely European concert music and opera. From 1891 to 1904, the auditorium was home to the Chicago Orchestra (renamed the Chicago Symphony Orchestra in 1913), founded by Theodore Thomas. Like Richard Wagner’s vision for Bayreuth, the massive performance space (able to seat over four thousand patrons) was designed to emphasize focused musical listening. To that end, it limited box seating and used a state-of-the-art stage construction to expedite scene changes, both of which were intended to suppress impromptu socializing by patrons.

While in some ways designed according to “democratic principles,” as Mark Clague has called them, the building and its music in fact reproduced the divisions of capitalist society. Clague argues: “Rather than a social revolution (and

34. Vaillant, “Sounds of Whiteness,” 31.

35. For a more extended treatment of minstrelsy, see David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*, Revised ed. (New York: Verso, 2007); Jenifer L. Barclay, “Disability, Race, and Gender on the Stage in Antebellum America,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Disability History*, eds. Michael Rembis, Catherine Kudlick, and Kim E. Nielsen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 251–68. For a consideration of minstrelsy and musicological discourse, see Matthew D. Morrison, “Race, Blacksound, and the (Re) Making of Musicological Discourse,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 72, no. 3 (2019): 781–823, <https://doi.org/10.1525/jams.2019.72.3.781>.

36. Mark Clague, “The Industrial Evolution of the Arts: Chicago’s Auditorium Building (1889–) as Cultural Machine,” *The Opera Quarterly* 22, no. 3-4 (2006): 477–511, <https://doi.org/10.1093/oq/kbn007>.

the certain disruption of the base of power held by Chicago's industrial barons), Peck's strategy built upon the status quo by creating space for a broader segment of Chicago's public. [. . .] Thus, the Auditorium was intended to help resolve class tension without eliminating class difference, in effect serving to justify and perpetuate class hierarchy while ameliorating certain features."<sup>37</sup> The space of the Chicago Auditorium thus contributes to the accumulation of the proper habits of a self who adheres to the class politics of a capitalist society.

Skeggs's theory of the accumulative self helps students in "Chicago's Music" understand how class relations shape the most intimate aspects of life, including the construction of the self and its musical habits. The following excerpt from her work provides a productive starting point for class discussion:

The self is part of a system of inscription, exchange, perspective and value-attribution. It is a product of and is shaped by the dominant symbolic that contains and leaks the energies of accumulation, loss and practice through affectivity, dispositions and characteristics. It is always historically and spatially located, especially via national spaces. Yet only some people can accumulate the required cultural capital to become a self, only some people can acquire the right dispositions to become the selves that can be reflexive, and only some selves are seen as capable of acquiring the knowledge for self-monitoring and self-responsibility.<sup>38</sup>

While classical music in Chicago never truly achieved the kind of mass popularity sought by Thomas or Peck, it was certainly part of the "dominant symbolic" order of the late nineteenth century city. This dominant symbolic included the set of personal behaviors and values deemed "proper" and the methods of acquisition for learning these behaviors and values. Accumulation of the value of this dominant order required both knowledge of the (new) canon and acquisition of proper listening habits and musical skills to consume this canon in the correct way. Disciplined listening was, as several scholars have shown, an important tactic among the middle and upper classes to portray oneself as properly civilized.<sup>39</sup> The etiquette of classical music, its performance aesthetic of a restrained and skillful body, and the hierarchy of the genius composer and subservient performers were all connected to classed discourses of the body. Accumulating the proper perspective on such music and demonstrating one's

37. Clague, "The Industrial Evolution of the Arts," 483.

38. Skeggs, *Class, Self, Culture*, 19–20.

39. James Deaville, "The Well-Mannered Auditorzones of Attention and the Imposition of Silence in the Salon of the Nineteenth Century," in *The Oxford Handbook of Music Listening in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, eds. Christian Thorau and Hansjakob Ziemer, 56–76 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018); Christina Bashford, "Concert Listening the British Way?: Program Notes and Victorian Culture," in *The Oxford Handbook of Music Listening in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. Christian Thorau and Hansjakob Ziemer, 187–206 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

body as correctly disciplined, then, was to perform social class in keeping with the capitalist status quo. In this way, musical consumption reproduced class strata in a capitalist society and rationalized inequality as part of a natural order. Understanding how musical practices participate in class politics helps students extend the idea of accumulation toward a fuller theorization of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century self-construction through music.

These values also informed constructions of race in Chicago, especially among members of African American neighborhoods. During the Great Migration, for instance, members of Chicago's Black communities attempted to use the dominant symbolic as a way to show themselves as proper according to the ideal of this capitalist society. Though Thomas emphasized the white composers of the newly institutionalized classical canon in performances by the Chicago Orchestra, Black middle-class groups used classical music to present themselves as knowledgeable of the highest art music. The way music was covered in the *Chicago Defender*, the city's first Black newspaper, provides a compelling example of this phenomenon.<sup>40</sup> Widely circulated throughout the United States, the *Defender* was a major voice in calls for early twentieth-century uplift. It positioned education, self-improvement, and service to community as ways to fight racism and improve African Americans' social standing. As Lawrence Schenbeck notes, "uplift" deeply informed how the *Defender's* writers covered musical events in the city:

Whereas, for [*Defender* founder Robert] Abbott, popular music drew its significance from its economic utility and broad appeal, classical music was important because it facilitated "uplift"—was linked to moral improvement and racial "evolution"—and because it conferred social status. In fact, the latter was often cited as proof of the former: racial uplift ideology promoted class distinctions among Blacks as a sign of race progress. For the Black aristocracy, the demonstrated existence of a "better class" of African Americans could be used to refute racist views of them as biologically inferior and unassimilable.<sup>41</sup>

Here, although clearly bound up with the stakes of racial oppression, the disciplined nature of classical music functioned largely in accordance with the goals of Peck or Thomas. By promoting classical music performers and events, the newspaper could show African Americans as active in "proper" appreciation for the dominant symbolic.

Discussions of classical music were further inflected with gendered divisions of labor. Women did much of the work required to produce classical music in the city's Black communities, such as organizing and hosting social clubs,

40. Lawrence Schenbeck, "Music, Gender, and 'Uplift' in the 'Chicago Defender,' 1927-1937," *Musical Quarterly* 81, no. 3 (1997): 344-70, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/742322>.

41. Schenbeck, "Music, Gender, and 'Uplift,'" 350.

recitals, and receptions for visiting performers, among them Marian Anderson. The editors of the *Chicago Defender* regularly identified these women with classical music, as their construction of the ideal feminine was connected to art music, a non-commercial sphere, and activities like hosting. In “Chicago’s Music,” I return to theories of primitive accumulation to further sharpen students’ understandings of how gender, class, and music interact. Federici’s argument serves to reposition primitive accumulation as bound up within intimate social relations, including the gendered organization of the middle-class home. The weaving together of discourses about domesticity with discourses of classical music, along with the public celebration of those practices in the *Defender*, reinforced the bourgeois norms of capitalist society.<sup>42</sup>

While the examples discussed above show some of the ways that people in Chicago’s capitalist society used classical music to reinforce the dominant status quo, there are also many examples of classical music in the city that critique or nuance such utility. In “Chicago’s Music,” a 1927 performance of Mendelssohn’s *Elijah* by left-wing Jewish singing societies provides a counterexample to the alignment of classical music with pro-capitalist groups. As Michael Ochs’s research has shown, this performance revised the libretto of the popular oratorio to show that the struggles of Jewish people result not from their own failings but from the exploitation of outsiders, as evident in the significant alteration of “Take all the prophets of Baal”:<sup>43</sup>

*Original English*

Take all the prophets of Baal,  
And let not one of them escape you.  
Bring them down to Kishon’s brook;  
And there let them be slain...  
Is not His word like a fire?  
And like a hammer that breaketh the rock  
into pieces?

*Translation from Yiddish [libretto]*

Root out the traitors!  
And not one of them shall remain!  
Wipe their structures from the earth!  
Let not one trace of them remain! ...  
Is not the people’s rage like fire?!  
So like a hammer that smashes the  
boulder?!<sup>44</sup>

Ochs notes that “while the biblical Elijah asks merely to have the Baalites slain, the Yiddish Elijah wants their very structures wiped from the earth and no trace of the traitors themselves left behind,” a substantial amplification of the

42. For a different elaboration of the gendering of bourgeois norms through music, see Mark Katz, *Capturing Sound: How Technology Has Changed Music*, rev. ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

43. Michael Ochs, “Welcoming Elijah in 1927 Chicago: Mendelssohn in Yiddish Socialist Clothing,” *American Music* 29, no. 1 (2011): 85–110, <https://doi.org/10.5406/americanmusic.29.1.0085>, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5406/americanmusic.29.1.0085>.

44. Ochs, “Welcoming Elijah in 1927 Chicago,” 97.

animosity expressed in the original text.<sup>45</sup> Students are often surprised by this example, as it complicates their understandings of classical music as a cultural practice. Where the examples about Peck and Thomas show classical music as part of the dominant symbolic, the example of the Jewish societies show how people can appropriate classical repertoire and change its meanings as part of social critique.

A second counterexample of the contested nature of musical meaning comes via recent scholarship on Florence Price.<sup>46</sup> Price's professional life tells a story of amazing accomplishments—the performance of her Symphony in E Minor by the Chicago Symphony Orchestra in 1933 is but one among many. But despite such high-profile successes, Price struggled to expand her career beyond the African American social networks oriented toward promoting art music. To imagine a more expansive and inclusive version of what classical music could be, students in “Chicago's Music” read Samantha Ege's essay on Price's music, including the *Fantasia Negre* no. 1 in E Minor for solo piano (1929) which casts gospel songs in a virtuosic piano style. This work, Ege argues, “aligns [Price's] approach with an Afro-modernist aesthetic” and places Price in a large Black arts movement in Chicago that rivaled the much more widely known Harlem Renaissance.<sup>47</sup> To address such counterexamples, I again turn to Skeggs's theory of the accumulative self and, in particular, to her concept of “leakage.” As Skeggs argues, “it is the ability of energy to leak beyond its inscribed containment that makes a class struggle. The refusal to accept inscription and be bound by its value is a significant act in challenging the dominant symbolic order.”<sup>48</sup> Students in “Chicago's Music” find “leakage” to be especially helpful in understanding how classical music can contain so many seemingly contradictory perspectives on race, labor, and capitalism.<sup>49</sup>

45. Ochs, “Welcoming Elijah in 1927 Chicago,” 97.

46. Samantha Ege, “Chicago, the ‘City We Love to Call Home!’: Intersectionality, Narrativity, and Locale in the Music of Florence Beatrice Price and Theodora Sturkow Ryder,” *American Music* 39, no. 1 (2021): 1–40, <https://doi.org/10.5406/americanmusic.39.1.0001>, <https://doi.org/10.5406/americanmusic.39.1.0001>.

47. Ege, “Chicago, the ‘City We Love to Call Home!’” 23.

48. Skeggs, *Class, Self, Culture*, 13.

49. “Chicago's Music” has other opportunities for demonstrating resilience among African American communities. Histories of the Art Ensemble of Chicago and the Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians (AACM) show how African American artists created new communities in direct opposition to commercialized and radicalized barriers. See George Lewis, *A Power Stronger Than Itself: The AACM and American Experimental Music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008). For an analysis of how music history textbooks have treated minstrelsy, see Joseph Byrd, “Whitewashing Blackface Minstrelsy in American College Textbooks,” *Popular Music and Society* 32, no. 1 (2009): 77–86. Stimeling and Tokar develop the idea of resilience in music history pedagogy in Stimeling and Tokar, “Narratives of Musical Resilience and the Perpetuation of Whiteness in the Music History Classroom.”



I also employ both Marx's and Skeggs's theories when teaching the history of Chicago blues and the city's attempts to rebrand itself as the "Home of the Blues." As a movement of people from economically ruinous conditions in the agricultural South to cities in the North where they were often able to find industrial work, the Great Migration itself serves as a useful case of primitive accumulation. Shifting to case studies about music, students read Amy Absher's scholarship about the Great Migration and the multiple forms of music—including but not limited to jazz, blues, and gospel—that African Americans performed in the city.<sup>50</sup> These examples demonstrate Skeggs's processes of inscription as necessary to the formation of the dominant symbolic that frames music of African Americans as somehow lesser than music of white Americans. We then employ Chicago's long history of segregated musical communities<sup>51</sup> as a frame to interrogate the racialized commodification of the blues. Historical blues studies demonstrate that, while popular, the genre was considered a low-status music for much of the twentieth century.<sup>52</sup> Indeed, for much of the 1920s and 1930s, the *Chicago Defender* separated the blues from the narrative of racial uplift in part for fear of reinforcing harmful stereotypes, focusing instead almost exclusively on gospel, church music, and classical music.<sup>53</sup> In class we read excerpts from Jeff Tilton's study of "race records" (i.e., blues records), which were often marketed with racist myths about Black men and women.<sup>54</sup> "Chicago's Music" outlines how, though the *Defender* came to embrace blues, white-authored discussions of the city's blues clubs either ignored them or presented them in strongly racist terms.<sup>55</sup> White people regularly attended such clubs but employed the perspective of "slumming it" as a way to depict their consumption of blues music as excitingly dangerous.<sup>56</sup>

In "Chicago's Music," we analyze the changing treatments of the blues through the capitalist logics of tourism. Discourses around the blues started to change in the 1960s. Here, Skeggs's notions of inscription again help illustrate the enduring nature of certain aspects of blues practices while also accounting for mainstream white consumers' broader acceptance of the blues. Students read chapters from David Grazian's history of Chicago blues clubs and their

50. Amy Absher, *The Black Musician and the White City: Race and Music in Chicago, 1900-1967* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014).

51. Absher, *The Black Musician and the White City*.

52. David Grazian, *Blue Chicago: The Search for Authenticity in Urban Blues Clubs* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003).

53. Schenbeck, "Music, Gender, and 'Uplift.'"

54. Jeff Todd Tilton, *Early Downhome Blues: A Musical and Cultural Analysis*, 2nd ed., Cultural Studies of the United States (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994).

55. Grazian, *Blue Chicago*; Vaillant, "Sounds of Whiteness." See also Chad C. Heap, *Slumming: Sexual and Racial Encounters in American Nightlife, 1885-1940* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

56. Grazian, *Blue Chicago*.

shifting status. Neighborhoods on the North Side, such as Old Town, positioned themselves as bohemian centers offering a variety of music including Dixieland, experimental jazz, folk music associated with musicians such as Bob Dylan and Joan Baez, and various types of blues. These neighborhoods began to gentrify in the 1970s, and venues increasingly catered to tourists from the white suburbs, from out of state, and eventually from around the world. Blues, by the 1970s, had gained a strong reputation as presenting “authentic” culture, in which the Black bluesman, stereotyped as a gravelly voice singing lyrics about loss, was a representative of an idealized, fictitious past. This representation, Grazian argues, has remained part of the racist caricatures offered in several of the city’s blues clubs since the late 1990s.<sup>57</sup> The city’s Blues Festival and its tourism of Black neighborhoods similarly reinforce the positioning of the blues as part of a mythical rural past, often (though not always) constraining working musicians to present audiences with a limited range of musical selections and racial tropes. Students come to understand how racialized constructions are used to accumulate both symbolic and economic capital for a few club owners, a handful of investors, and Chicago’s municipal government.

All these examples, from the description of Native Americans as sonically “demonic” to Chicago’s attempts to rebrand itself as the “Home of the Blues,” demonstrate how capitalist forms of accumulation interact with sonic/musical histories of the city. They provide a rigorous analysis not only for the fact of racial and gendered oppression but also for the cultural logics that motivated oppression in the first place. Sound and music, in this frame, emerge as crucial forms of social formation wherein the values of a capitalist society shape social structures in ways that are not always immediately obvious to students.<sup>58</sup>

## Conclusions

Incorporating critical treatments of capitalism into musicology pedagogy reveals musical practices in capitalist societies as dynamic—rife with inequities yet still able to challenge hegemonic structures. This dynamism is in fact core to Marx’s theory of capitalism. Many of his more famous writings emphasize this, but dynamism especially permeates Marx’s theorization in *Capital* of the exchange of commodities. For example, in Chapter 2 he argues that commodities’ “guardians must place themselves in relation to one another as persons whose will resides in those objects, and must behave in such a way that each does not appropriate the commodity of the other, and alienate his own, except

57. Grazian, *Blue Chicago*.

58. For distinctions between a capitalist *economy* and capitalist *society*, see Fraser, “Behind Marx’s Hidden Abode.”

through an act to which both parties consent.”<sup>59</sup> In other words, people (i.e., “guardians”) perform capitalist exchange through intentional choices; commodities only have the value that is recognized in them by the seller and the buyer; and these parties are in a social relation that can change. I emphasize Marx’s language here because it brings the whole point of critique—and by extension the whole point of teaching capitalism in a music history course—into focus. Marx was not simply accounting for the nature of social relations within capitalism. He was attempting to provide the means for *changing* those relations. While capitalism is a dominant social relation, it is also a human activity and is, therefore, subject to change. Indeed, Vanessa Wills lands forcefully on this idea: “As social beings, all that human beings are is made by us, and could be made otherwise. This, its emphasis on how and under what conditions we make our lives, is Marxism’s central insight and key contribution to struggles against oppression.”<sup>60</sup> The framing of Chicago’s music history with capitalist critique thus not only charts ways that people have worked for a more just world in the past but also empowers students to envision a more just world for their own future.

Further, embracing Marx’s economic and social theories in a musicology course invites students to engage in interdisciplinary projects that build on the disciplinary work of their own primary areas of study. The final project in “Chicago’s Music,” for instance, is an original research paper, and I will briefly describe one student’s research by way of example. An environmental sciences major studied how poorer neighborhoods and neighborhoods with a larger Black population have higher rates of pollution and industrial noise. She connected noise not just with negative health outcomes but also with the history of racist noise ordinances in Chicago. Specifically, she combined her non-musical expertise with Vaillant’s research on how minorities have long been woven into myths of sonic dysregulation and excess<sup>61</sup> to critique the ways that capitalism reproduces inequality.

Finally, there is considerable city-based musicological research that embraces capitalist critique, much of which is appropriate for undergraduate non-music majors. I offer two recent examples. Timothy Taylor’s recent study of Los Angeles music businesses demonstrates how gendered and classed forms of exploitation and identity-making mediate musical work.<sup>62</sup> This research places the social relations of music making within a broader context of capital

59. Marx, *Capital*, 1, 178.

60. Wills, “What Could It Mean,” 245.

61. Derek Vaillant, “Peddling Noise: Contesting the Civic Soundscape of Chicago, 1890–1913,” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 96, no. 3 (2003): 257–87, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40193997>.

62. Timothy D. Taylor, *Working Musicians: Labor and Creativity in Film and Television Production* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2023).

accumulation.<sup>63</sup> And Chris Gibson and John Connell's research on tourism and identity formation in Memphis demonstrates how capitalism shapes the city's musics.<sup>64</sup> Instructors could expand upon tourism studies by assigning students to research their own cities or hometowns to learn about local music histories. But more to the point, for any topic that involves a major modern city, we can encourage students to research where it was built, why, and by whom. They may then consider how that city's musical cultures developed in tandem with its racialized, gendered, and classed structures. Instructors could then continue to examine the musics of specific places within the city and the time periods in which it developed while enriching those investigations by engaging with capitalist critique. Capitalism is even easily incorporated into the traditional chronological "Western Art Music" survey. To offer but one tangible example, students could be asked to compare the working relations of musicians in contrasting socio-economic systems.<sup>65</sup>

In hope of inspiring further conversation, I conclude with a question and share some preliminary thoughts on answering it. Why has capitalism not been more centered in musicology pedagogy? I wonder if one contributing factor is a failure to follow through with the force—and requisite action—demanded by our own analyses. If, to offer but one pressing example, minstrelsy was a defining feature of nineteenth- and twentieth-century musical life in the United States, one that circulated horrific stereotypes, justified racial violence, and that continues to inform musical tourism in Chicago, then surely we ought to provide students with ways to not only identify and analyze these wrongs but to combat them as well. Foregrounding capitalism in our teaching may empower students to imagine a better world and give them the critical tools to bring it into being.

63. James P. Kraft, *Stage to Studio: Musicians and the Sound Revolution, 1890–1950* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); Michael James Roberts, *Tell Tchaikovsky the News: Rock 'N' Roll, the Labor Question, and the Musicians' Union, 1942–1968* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014).

64. Chris Gibson and John Connell, "Music, Tourism and the Transformation of Memphis," *Tourism Geographies* 9, no. 2 (May 1, 2007): 160–90, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616680701278505>; See also Zandria F. Robinson, *This Ain't Chicago: Race, Class, and Regional Identity in the Post-Soul South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

65. A good example of such a project might compare musical labor in the eighteenth century with labor in the twenty-first century in Great Britain. See Deborah Adams Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750–1850: A Profession of Artisans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Neil Smith and Rachel Thwaites, "The Composition of Precarity: 'Emerging' Composers' Experiences of Opportunity Culture in Contemporary Classical Music," *British Journal of Sociology* 70, no. 2 (2019): 589–609, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12359>; Hettie Malcomson, "Composing Individuals: Ethnographic Reflections on Success and Prestige in the British New Music Network," *Twentieth-Century Music* 10, no. 1 (2013): 115–36.

## Code-Meshing in the Music History Classroom: Connecting Repertoire, Writing, and Assessment

KIMBERLY HANNON TEAL

There is no denying the impact of white supremacy on collegiate music curricula in the United States; today’s music students and faculty must now grapple with its legacy. Writings by authors like Philip Ewell and Loren Kajikawa help to identify the present whiteness of the music academy in clear, unmistakable terms, and several recent conversations show that musicology as a field is currently exploring how to do better with regard to race and the music history classroom. Among them are: the “What Constitutes ‘Core’ in the Conservatory Curriculum?” panel at the 2020 conference of the American Musicological Society; the White Supremacy and Anti-Racism in the Music Academy speaker series hosted virtually by the Binghamton University Music Department during the 2020–2021 academic year; the “Beyond Tokenism” teach-ins at the 2022 Teaching Music History Conference; and the 2020 special issue of the *Journal of Music History Pedagogy* on decolonization in music history and world music curricula.<sup>1</sup> The heightened attention to race and curriculum that has emerged since the 2020 murder of George Floyd is certainly not unprecedented, as efforts to diversify music history curricula are now decades old. The present social, political, and educational atmosphere of the Black Lives Matter era has motivated many instructors to reform—sometimes radically—traditional music courses with antiracist interventions, reigniting momentum for even broader changes.

Each new edition of a popular anthology of music history that adds in a few more composers of color and women or non-binary musicians helps additional students see people like themselves represented in music history courses. But

1. Philip A. Ewell, “Music Theory and the White Racial Frame,” *Music Theory Online* 26, no. 2 (September 2020), doi: 10.30535/mto.26.2.4; Loren Kajikawa, “The Possessive Investment in Classical Music: Confronting Legacies of White Supremacy in U.S. Schools and Departments of Music,” in *Seeing Race Again: Countering Colorblindness across the Disciplines*, eds. Kimberlé Crenshaw, Luke Charles Harris, Daniel Martinez HoSang, and George Lipsitz (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2019): 155–74; Special Issue: Decolonization, *Journal of Music History Pedagogy* 10, no. 1 (2020), <http://ams-net.org/ojs/index.php/jmhp/issue/view/27>.

more substantial interventions like, for example, Travis Stimeling and Kayla Tokar's instructional unit on the 1740 Negro Code in South Carolina demonstrate even larger ways in which the content of music history courses can be altered not only to better reflect diverse musical practices but also to call attention to the history and impact of systemic racism on what is heard and what is silenced.<sup>2</sup> As instructors continue to work toward representing and valuing diverse musical voices in class, another way to address historical inequalities and access barriers for students is to reconsider approaches to writing pedagogy and assessment in what are often the most writing-intensive courses in music degree programs.<sup>3</sup>

In this article, I argue that individual musical works that draw on musical practices from multiple cultures can be used to teach students not just about music and its racialized contexts but also about how their own choices as writers can cross or conform to existing linguistic boundaries. Examining works like the stylistically hybrid jazz-classical ballet *The River* by composer Duke Ellington and choreographer Alvin Ailey and its mixed, racially coded reception encourages students to think critically about how the language they use to express themselves leverages, upholds, or challenges established power structures in the academy and the broader world in which they live.<sup>4</sup> To give students the opportunity to investigate and experiment with the modes of written expression they choose to employ, I also advocate for the adoption of antiracist assessment strategies developed by writing instructors, in which grades reflect the degree of completion of work rather than the quality of work, the usual (and

2. Travis Stimeling and Kayla Tokar, "Narratives of Musical Resilience and the Perpetuation of Whiteness in the Music History Classroom," *Journal of Music History Pedagogy* 10, no. 1 (2020): 20–38.

3. Much recent scholarship in music history pedagogy already proposes a variety of alternatives to traditional research papers or essays as a way to elevate student motivation and spark creativity. See, for example, Esther M. Morgan-Ellis and Kristen Strandberg, "Practical and Engaging Alternatives to the Music History Research Paper," *Musicology Now*, June 14, 2019, <https://musicologynow.org/practical-and-engaging-alternatives-to-the-music-history-research-paper/>; Erinn E. Knyt, "Rethinking the Music History Research Paper Assignment," *Journal of Music History Pedagogy* 4, no. 1 (2013): 23–37; Sara Haefeli, "Using Blogs for Better Student Writing Outcomes," *Journal of Music History Pedagogy* 4, no. 1 (2013): 39–70; Alexander Stefaniak, "Remaking the Canon in their Own Images: Creative-Writing Projects in the Music History Classroom," *Journal of Music History Pedagogy* 9, no. 2 (2019): 195–214.

4. Many musical traditions, and certainly jazz, draw on practices from multiple cultures; in this way, jazz in general could be considered a music rooted in code-meshing of African, European, and Caribbean vernacular and classical musics. In the case of *The River*, I describe the jazz as one distinct tradition blended with a second style, Western classical music, due to widespread recognition of jazz as an independent genre by the time of the work's composition in 1970. In addition, while jazz has long been a global music with contributors of many races, ethnicities, and nationalities, I primarily discuss jazz as a form of Black American music and the lessons associated with it, as Ellington, Ailey, and the contemporary reviewers of *The River* discuss jazz primarily in relationship to African American culture.

ultimately subjective) criterion employed to assess academic writing. In what follows, I first introduce the concept of “code-meshing.” Delineated by speech and communication scholar Vershawn Ashanti Young, code-meshing is the practice of mixing African American communicative idioms with European-derived forms to speak across cultural boundaries without code switching. Then, I offer a brief analysis of musical and choreographic “code-meshing” in Ellington and Ailey’s *The River* to show how the work and its reception fit with Young’s ideas about race, culture, communication, and power, along with details of my approach to teaching this work through the lens of code-meshing.<sup>5</sup> Finally, I offer a summary of recent work by musicologists on alternative writing assignments coupled with ideas on assessment from writing instructors in other disciplines to offer a model for promoting diverse modes of expression in student music history writing.

### **Meshing vs. Switching**

In presenting his case against teaching students to code switch in order to write with conventional academic style and tone, Young offers a term for the blending of diverse linguistic elements: “code-meshing.” Young advocates for code-meshing as a strategy for writers whose native dialect may not be so-called “standard English,” arguing that the model of encouraging code switching—the practice of using separate dialects for different circumstances—reinscribes racial segregation and white supremacist cultural norms. He writes,

The prevailing definition [of code switching], the one most educators accept, and the one I’m against, advocates language substitution, the linguistic translation of Spanglish or AAE [African American English] into standard English. This unfortunate definition of code switching is not about accommodating two language varieties in one speech act. It’s not about the practice of language blending. Rather it characterizes the teaching of language conversion.<sup>6</sup>

In discussing the ways in which the prevailing technique of teaching requires students raised with diverse English dialects to code switch by, for example, speaking Black Vernacular English at home and a “standard English” based in white middle- and upper-class norms at school, Young points out how language segregation mirrors other forms of racial segregation, writing:

---

5. Vershawn Ashanti Young, “Nah, We Straight’: An Argument Against Code Switching,” *JAC* 29, no. 1/2 (2009): 49–76.

6. Young, “Nah, We Straight,” 50.

In truth, to teach students that the two language varieties cannot mix and must remain apart belies the claim of linguistic equality and replicates the same phony logic behind Jim Crow legislation—which held that the law recognized the equality of the races yet demanded their separation. Indeed, the arguments used to support code switching are startlingly and undeniably similar to those that were used to support racial separation.<sup>7</sup>

In short, saying that Black Vernacular English or another dialect is great so long as it remains in the home or on the street and not at work or school is ultimately another way of saying that white linguistic habits are superior and should continue to dominate the most prestigious spaces in our culture. Young writes that code switching, rather than exemplifying some kind of positive form of separate but equal, is “a strategy to negotiate, side-step and ultimately accommodate bias against the working-class, women, and the ongoing racism against the language habits of blacks and other non-white peoples.”<sup>8</sup> Insisting on a separation between modes of communication ultimately belies claims that those modes of communication are granted equal worth.

Young describes code-meshing as a technique that “meshes versions of English together in a way that’s more in line with how people actually speak and write.”<sup>9</sup> He explains and demonstrates this practice through reflections on his own experiences as an academically oriented Black boy growing up in a community that categorized the “standard English” he often spoke as white and/or feminine and the Black Vernacular English that he also used as Black and/or masculine. His story offers a good reminder that language use is always intersectional, and no one dialect maps exactly or neatly onto one particular demographic group.<sup>10</sup> Because many people draw on different versions of

7. Young, 53.

8. Young, 51.

9. Vershawn Ashanti Young, *Your Average Nigga* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2007), 7.

10. In capitalizing Black but not white when using these terms to refer to groups of people, I follow the current standards of the Associated Press and many music scholars working on topics related to African American music. In their explanation of this style choice, the AP writes that they capitalize Black when used “in a racial, ethnic, or cultural sense, conveying an essential and shared sense of history, identity, and community among people who identify as Black.” Meanwhile, “White people generally do not share the same history and culture, or the experience of being discriminated against because of skin color . . . and there is considerable disagreement, ambiguity, and confusion about whom the term includes in much of the world” (“Explaining AP Style on Black and white,” *AP News*, July 20, 2020, <https://apnews.com/article/archive-race-and-ethnicity-9105661462>). Significantly, some groups who choose to capitalize white do so explicitly to advance white nationalist and white supremacist ideology, so my choice to use lowercase is also informed by my intention to avoid replicating linguistic style designed to oppress others. For a substantial consideration of whiteness and its representation in jazz and American music, see Kelsey Klotz, *Dave Brubeck and the Performance of Whiteness* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023).



English that are linked to various aspects of their identities and experiences, encouraging code-meshing can benefit all students. Put directly, it is neither a strategy meant to target or single out Black students, nor is it built on the false assumption that all Black students speak Black Vernacular English as their primary dialect.

Young advocates teaching code-meshing through a descriptive rather than prescriptive approach. He and co-author Aja Martinez explain that a prescriptive approach to teaching standardized English suggests, “These are the rules; learn how to follow them!” while descriptive approaches to code-meshing tell students, “These are rules from various language systems; learn to combine them effectively.”<sup>11</sup> They “envision code-meshing as a way to promote the linguistic democracy of English and to increase the acquisition and egalitarian effective use of English in school, in government, in public, and at home.”<sup>12</sup> While Young’s work is rooted in his specific experience as a Black man growing up in Chicago housing projects before pursuing a PhD and working as an academic, code-meshing is not conceived as a method to benefit one specific group; instead, it’s a flexible approach designed to meet all students where they are with their use of English (or multiple Englishes) as a means of expression. Young and Martinez put forth the following resolution to English teachers to explain and codify their approach:

Let it be resolved that every native speaker of English and English language learner, whether an immigrant to the United States from Indonesia, the queen of England, a native resident of Sudan, bus driver, university undergraduate, or first grader; whether she or he is writing professionally, giving a speech, transacting business, or composing an essay for a standardized test in high school, has a right to code-mesh—to blend accents, dialects, and varieties of English with school-based, academic, professional, and public Englishes, in any and all formal and informal contexts. English speakers’ right to code-mesh includes the use of home languages, dialects, and accents beyond conversations with friends and family. It further includes freedom to explore and to be taught in school how to exploit and combine the best rhetorical strategies, syntactical possibilities, and forms of usage from the various grammars, including standardized English, that they have learned, are learning, have used, or are using in their various familial, social, technological, professional, or academic networks.<sup>13</sup>

In other words, code-meshing as pedagogy embraces multiple Englishes in a non-hierarchical way, allowing both instruction and expression to take multiple and flexible forms. Code-meshing instruction encourages students to use what

---

11. Vershawn Ashanti Young and Aja Y. Martinez, *Code-Meshing as World English* (Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English, 2011), xxi.

12. Young and Martinez, xx.

13. Young and Martinez, xxi.

they have (without value judgments or shame) while continuing to acquire new rhetorical skills that can supplement rather than replace what they know. It also helps to problematize language habits that construct minority dialects as “unacademic” while standards of quality are built around the dialect of middle-class white speakers that often masquerades a racially unmarked universal language.

Code-meshing embraces variety rather than relying on the false premise that Standard English is neutral in terms of its racial origins and associations. A “colorblind” approach to academic writing that dictates white middle class standards of style as universal measures of quality parallels the “colorblind” centering of classical music in American college and university music programs. Despite the central role of African diasporic musics in the majority of styles heard by the majority of Americans, American academic music schools and departments continue to frame these sounds as peripheral (if not inessential) while training students in what they refer to simply as “music” writ large. As Loren Kajikawa writes, “Although music curricula avoid mentioning race explicitly, they tend to prioritize certain approaches to hearing, performing, and understanding music that reinforce the cultural superiority of classical music. In this way, music—a core component of the liberal arts—supplies the means for a disavowing enactment of race.”<sup>14</sup> Keeping Black music on the margins of the academy demonstrates another arena in which Young’s words on code-meshing ring true: while sounds with African roots dominate popular concerts, radio airwaves, film and television soundtracks, and more, many music programs frame them as implicitly inappropriate in an academic context. Remaking academic music institutions to be more inclusive and equitable will require that we make explicit the places where long-held standards cloaked in a language of colorblindness are obscuring systemic racism. Cultivating an awareness of code-meshing and the engrained resistance to it that characterizes the status quo opens up possibilities for substantive action on inclusion by both individual instructors and music schools and departments.

### **Reading *The River* in American Culture**

When Alvin Ailey and Duke Ellington created *The River*, they engaged in a process that I see and hear as a musical and choreographic parallel to Young’s definition of code-meshing in speech and writing. The commission to create a work for the American Ballet Theatre offered the two creators a number of potential avenues for expression, including code switching, which could have looked and sounded like a demonstration of their understanding of the norms of ballet choreography and Western classical music, reaffirming the ballet stage

14. Kajikawa, “The Possessive Investment in Classical Music,” 162.

as a space for work rooted in European formal traditions. Alternately, they could have created a work that asked the ABT dancers and musicians to code switch and demonstrate jazz and Black vernacular dance and musical techniques, displacing ballet traditions with jazz and modern dance. In the end, Ailey and Ellington's work did both and neither of these things. Ellington's score employs both swing and Stravinskian metric play, among other forms of meshing, and Ailey's choreography blends the footwork of ballet with the floorwork of modern dance. In effect, both artists developed a work that suited the abilities of the classically trained performers who would premiere it while also maintaining connections to their practices based in Black American traditions. Mixing jazz and classical elements together, *The River* marks both styles as fair game; neither is dominant nor uniquely appropriate to the setting.

The resulting mixture struck some reviewers as particularly disruptive, for *The River* neither looked nor sounded like Ailey, Ellington, or ABT usually did. Whether critics suggested that *The River* was too Black or not Black enough, the overall tenor of the critical reception pointed to unease around the work's mixture of European-derived and African American elements. Indeed, the many reviews suggesting that both Black and white choreographic and compositional techniques are worthwhile, but that their blending—their musical and choreographic “code-meshing”—could undermine the aesthetic and conceptual merits of the work, evince the kinds of segregationist convictions Young describes. In particular, the discomfort reviewers noted at seeing and hearing movement and music associated with Black traditions, which they considered to be less formal, emanating from bodies, instruments, and spaces linked to the more formal world of ballet, parallels the professional vs. street division described by Young. Studying this work (or others like it) and its reception offers students the opportunity to practice some of the traditional skills employed in music history classes—for example, analyzing rhythm and orchestration and reading primary sources—while exploring how certain linguistic and artistic modes of expression are interpreted in the context of highbrow cultural institutions.

In teaching *The River*, I piece together its story from the work of multiple authors with multiple modes of communication. Ellington is at the center: to learn about his project, students engage with both his words, in the form of interviews in which he discussed his ambitions for concert works and the narrative program he wrote for the ballet, and his music, in the form of score excerpts and recordings by his own jazz orchestra and a symphony orchestra. Ailey's voice as choreographer appears in video excerpts from the ballet, which remains a repertoire staple for the contemporary Ailey company. Finally, the voices of multiple critics writing at different points in Ellington's career,

including reviews of the ballet's premiere found in Ellington's scrapbooks,<sup>15</sup> show how his compositions were celebrated in the context of social dance but more contentiously received on the concert or ballet stage.

While I present this material in the context of a jazz history course as part of a larger theme of exploring resistance to crossover projects by early jazz writers who shaped the canon and conventional narratives of jazz history, a similar approach could be employed from a different angle in a Western music history course, using *The River* or another of Ellington's concert works like *Black, Brown, and Beige*, a piece covered in some widely used Western music history textbooks and anthologies that also had a mixed reception at the time of its premiere. In the next section of this paper, following a more detailed delineation of the critical response to *The River*, I pivot to a discussion of how teaching this work and its reception history has impacted my approach to guiding and assessing student writing.

### Mixed Reception of Mixed Idioms

After the students have read an excerpt from an Ellington interview in which he describes his aspirations to compose large-scale concert works, explored excerpts from the score to *The River*, and viewed brief examples from Ailey's choreography, they then read select reviews of the work. Critic Byron Belt's response, while noting both creators' stature as artists, is very critical of how far the orchestral writing in the ballet strays from Ellington's more conventional jazz composition:

Ailey is one of the most creative of modern dance choreographers, and of course the Duke is one of our authentic national treasures. One of my colleagues heard a tape of Ellington's score performed by the master's own band and says that what emerged through the treacle of the over-blown orchestration was scarcely a shadow of the original. Whatever happened to the music between Ellington's pen and last night's performance was only symbolic of what is wrong with "The River."<sup>16</sup>

Belt frames "whatever happened to the music between Ellington's pen and . . . [the] performance" by the American Ballet Theatre, which was an orchestration by Ron Collier for the ensemble of classically trained musicians who accompanied the dancers, as a corruption of the composer's artistry. He suggests that

15. The Ellington scrapbooks, most likely compiled for him rather than by him, are housed in the Duke Ellington Collection at the National Museum of American History, collection 301, series 8. In class, I project images of press clippings as they appear in the scrapbooks, in addition to providing some key passages that I have retyped for visual clarity and accessibility.

16. Byron Belt, "'The River' Fails to Flow," *Jersey Journal*, June 26, 1970, clipping in Ellington scrapbook.

the music would have better served its purpose had Ellington followed his standard operating procedure of writing specifically for the individual musicians in his regular ensemble, a group of jazz players encouraged to cultivate highly individualized voices through their improvisational practices and personalized instrumental timbres. The recording Belt refers to here as “the original,” however, itself reflects Ellington’s departure from his typical techniques toward a new style that meshes big band jazz and ballet scores. A journalist who witnessed the recording session in which Ellington’s band made rehearsal tapes for Ailey’s dancers described the composer exhorting trumpeter Cootie Williams not to improvise as he usually would, saying Williams was “apt to stumble upon something good” that wouldn’t be in the score. He also acknowledged to trombonist Booty Wood that something in his part “isn’t really a trombone lick,” and told Cat Anderson it was okay to lay out for sixteen bars of a written part that the lead trumpeter said he couldn’t play.<sup>17</sup> If these rehearsal recordings, which were released on record only after Ellington’s death, can indeed be considered his original version of *The River*, the composer’s goal clearly involved departing from the ways he usually wrote for his typical collaborators.

Like Belt’s review criticizing the ballet score but praising Ellington by assuming that a recording of Ellington’s band playing *The River* must be aesthetically superior to the version by the ballet orchestra, much of the work’s reception aligns with the dominant preference for code switching over code-meshing in American culture, as discussed by Young.<sup>18</sup> Even *New York Times* reviewer Clive Barnes, who raved about the new work, read its mixed influences in a hierarchical context privileging the classical forms associated with white culture. He wrote that “It is the most considerable piece from Mr. Ellington since his ‘Black, Brown, and Beige’ Suite,” classing the new ballet with the large-scale work that premiered in Carnegie Hall in 1943.<sup>19</sup> Yet, while *The River* shared *Black, Brown, and Beige*’s high-art performance context, it was hardly Ellington’s first large-scale work in three decades; in the intervening years he had composed numerous suites, the television special *A Drum is a Woman*, and his stage show *My People*, which commemorated the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, among other works. Was it really “the piece” that was “considerable” for Barnes or the place in which the piece was performed?

17. “The River Optimism: A Ballet by Duke Ellington,” *Bangkok World*, June 18, 1970, clipping in Ellington scrapbook.

18. For an additional example of white critics praising Black jazz artists in traditionally Black spaces and genres but censuring their efforts to cross over to white spaces and audiences, see Christi Jay Wells on Chick Webb and Ella Fitzgerald, “A Dreadful Bit of Silliness: Feminine Frivolity and Ella Fitzgerald’s Early Critical Reception,” *Women in Music* 21 (2017): 43–65.

19. Clive Barnes, “Loving Care for the Past,” *New York Times*, June 28, 1970, clipping in Ellington scrapbook.

While less negative than Belt, who found *The River* “silly, pretentious, and utterly banal,” *New York Post* reviewer Frances Herridge was more skeptical than Barnes about the appropriateness of Ellington’s music at the ballet, writing: “The mixture could be enough to make a traditional balletomane cringe.” While Herridge liked some aspects of the work, she also wavered between an apparent desire for more exoticism in the place of “simple ballet” and “romantic and symphonic” music. On the other hand, she expressed a feeling that the work’s mixed idioms undermined its attempts at seriousness. Indeed, she called the themes of Ellington’s written scenario “too pretentious for such modest choreography.”<sup>20</sup> In short, Herridge places Ellington and Ailey in a musical and choreographic double bind, a version of what Young describes for African American speakers and writers: “If they do give up [Black Vernacular English], they’re damned for being affected, overformal, artificial, even by those who require the extraction. But if they do use [Black Vernacular English], they’re damned for being too black, too radical, too militant, profiled as ignorant. Being damned in both directions stems from not being able to blend the two together.”<sup>21</sup>

While the blend of styles in *The River* was the main feature that interested reviewers and commentators, it also exposed their discomfort with the intermingling of idioms associated with different races. The reviews also reinforced a cultural hierarchy that privileges traditionally white forms of expression for artistic explorations of serious topics in high-art spaces.<sup>22</sup> Ellington’s interest in broad themes and mixed styles may hold appeal for some audiences, yet the mixed reception also reveals an engrained resistance to code-meshing in a culture that tends to present forms of expression associated with minority groups as novelties, additions, or outside voices rather than equally valid communicative options in a diverse society.

20. Frances Herridge, “Ballet Theater Does Ailey Work,” *New York Post*, June 26, 1970, clipping in Ellington scrapbook.

21. Young, “Nah, We Straight,” 66.

22. Despite the hybrid work’s mixed early reception, it has also clearly filled a niche in concert halls and on ballet stages. It has been performed by a number of major dance companies and orchestras, including the Royal Swedish Ballet, the Pennsylvania Ballet, and the symphonies of Detroit, Chicago, Cincinnati, Boston, and Cleveland. In the decade surrounding the centennial of Ellington’s birth, it was performed an average of twenty times per year, peaking with thirty-five performances in 1999 when the composer would have turned one hundred, and while *The River* has been most popular in the United States, it has also been played by orchestras in Italy, Canada, France, the United Kingdom, Spain, and Peru. It has also served as a repertoire staple for the Ailey company throughout the past five decades. See Stephen Earl Tucker, “Edward Kennedy ‘Duke’ Ellington’s Ballet, ‘The River’: A Conductor’s Approach to the Preparation and Performance of the Score” (DMA diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2007).

### Grading Code-Meshing

While I encourage my students to dig into how and why Ellington met with resistance in his efforts to cross traditional boundaries, I don't want to make his story a cautionary tale about how the risks of experimentation are unlikely to be worth the rewards. As exploring diverse forms of musical expression has become an increasingly central aspect of the courses I teach, I have become more aware of the necessity of creating space for diverse forms of expression from students. Despite having grown accustomed to showcasing a wide range of musical styles that reflect their creators' diverse cultures, backgrounds, and values, I was still caught off-guard by the following statement from Asao Inoue's book *Labor-Based Grading Contracts: Building Equity and Inclusion in the Compassionate Writing Classroom*, as it pushed me to acknowledge the extent to which I expected my students to aim for a single standard language even as they wrote about a variety of musics: "All grading and assessment exist within systems that uphold singular, dominant standards that are racist, and White supremacist when used uniformly. This problem is present in any grading system that incorporates a standard, no matter who is judging, no matter the particulars of the standard."<sup>23</sup> Inoue, a professor of rhetoric and composition who has written numerous award-winning books and articles on writing assessment, makes a case for entirely avoiding measures of quality when grading student writing. My previous attempts to move toward fairness in my grading rubrics for student writing had led me to inch gradually in the direction of Inoue's model. For instance, I already placed more weight on first drafts, in which quality of the writing doesn't matter, and gave some points on final drafts simply for making revisions, regardless of the relative quality of the results from my perspective. After encountering Inoue's work, however, I forced myself to sit for a while with the idea that the grades I gave my students still weren't—and probably never would be—entirely equitable. As Valerie Balester puts it, "The knotty problem with rubrics is that in the attempt to standardize scoring and instruction, they also standardize prose."<sup>24</sup> Looking back, I could also see that the students who had the highest grades in my classes were most often those whose language habits mirrored mine. While these students represented a variety of different races (and, of course, race alone is far from being a singular defining factor in how students speak and write), it was also true that most of the students I was

---

23. Asao B. Inoue, *Labor-Based Grading Contracts: Building Equity and Inclusion in the Compassionate Writing Classroom* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2019), 3.

24. Valerie Balester, "How Writing Rubrics Fail: Toward a Multicultural Model," in *Race and Writing Assessment*, ed. Asao Inoue and Mya Poe (New York: Peter Lang, 2012), 63. Balester advocates for rhetorically driven rubrics interpreted by instructors who are trained to understand linguistic diversity as a useful rhetorical strategy.

giving high grades to were white, and the students receiving the lowest grades were frequently people of color and non-native English speakers. I had been grading students as I was accustomed to being graded when a student myself, and the students who were most successful in my courses were, generally speaking, the ones whose backgrounds, educations, culture, and ethnicity most closely resembled my own. I needed to reevaluate my standards and reconsider why students who are different from me take my classes and what meaningful learning and success in music history might look like from other perspectives.

As music history instructors, we are likely familiar with the experience of having a group of students who have found their way to our classrooms in large part due to their shared strengths as musicians but who also have wildly different linguistic backgrounds and educational goals. For instance, performance-focused students who have never devoted time to developing writing skills, international students new to coursework in English, honors students with several semesters of experience in writing-intensive courses, and music education majors pushing through an overload of credits and several hours per week of marching band commitments may all find themselves in the same music history class. This mixture of students is already diverse even before considering the role factors like race, class, gender, sexuality, and ability may play in students' experiences with language, communication, and writing. In addition, these students will all use writing in their future careers, but not necessarily in the same ways. While a handful may go on to regularly write academic papers as a primary form of written communication, others will be teachers corresponding with students, parents, and administrators; performers explaining and promoting their work in website content, program notes, or press releases; arts administrators writing grant applications and fund-raising letters; and creators whose use of written language forms a part of their artistic and entrepreneurial pursuits. Such a diverse classroom points to a question Inoue raises: "How do we respond to the code-meshed, multilingual, heteroglossia (in writing and speech) of our students when language is not normalized, when there is no living 'standard' English in practice, only Englishes performed?"<sup>25</sup> Indeed, when I asked a class of music history students what "standard English" is, the first response a student offered was, "Not what I grew up speaking." The second was, "Maybe how my mother-in-law talks?" When I ask my students to write in "standard English," some of them hear a request to write like someone else.

In reflecting on his own experience as an African American student, Young writes, "It didn't take me long to see that in the right environments, especially

---

25. Asao B. Inoue, "Foreword: On Antiracist Agendas" in *Performing Antiracist Pedagogy in Rhetoric, Writing, and Communication*, eds. Frankie Condon and Vershawn Ashanti Young (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2017), xv.



at school, that the more I acted white, the more I seemed to succeed.”<sup>26</sup> When I grade my students on how *well* I think they write in what I think is “standard English” (perhaps more appropriately labeled “my English”), I have set them on a very bumpy playing field with a questionable goalpost. In Inoue’s words to teachers:

Now, let me be blunt. If you grade writing by a so-called standard, let’s call it Standard English, then you are engaged in an institutional and disciplinary racism, a system set up to make winners and losers by a dominant standard. Who owns the dominant standard? Where does that standard come from? What social group is it most associated with? Who benefits most from the use of the standard? How is that social group racialized in our society? Do you see where I’m going with this?<sup>27</sup>

Inoue’s questions about writing are so like the ones I ask my students to consider when listening to music that I have found it urgent to address them in my own writing assessment practices. While I recognize that music history instructors also come from a variety of positions in relation to institutional systems and may have varying degrees of comfort with changing—or even the ability to change—grading approaches in their classes, I hope the examples offered below can provide some ideas on how alternative writing assessment practices can be used both as meaningful pairings with diverse course content and as tools for the promotion of social justice and institutional change.<sup>28</sup>

I have now experimented with multiple versions of labor-based grading systems using the model Inoue describes in detail in *Labor-Based Grading Contracts*. For me, his system is best suited to relatively small classes in which writing is a central focus, so I have used a version closely related to his in graduate and honors undergraduate classes with around twenty or fewer students. In an honors music appreciation course, for example, I assigned one or two brief writing assignments per week, usually in the form of responses to assigned reading or listening, and a final project with a couple of preparatory stages like an annotated bibliography and rough draft. Completing a good-faith effort of

26. Vershawn Ashanti Young, “Your Average Nigga,” *College Composition and Communication* 55, no. 4 (2004): 701–2.

27. Inoue, “On Antiracist Agendas,” xv.

28. Writing teacher Jesse Stommel offers the following reflection on experimenting with approaches to grading: “I have not felt I could be fully out about my approach to grading at every institution where I’ve worked. When I was a ‘road warrior’ adjunct, teaching up to 9 courses at 4 institutions, how I talked about my pedagogy was different from one institution to the next. I had to balance my own approach with the specific requirements at each institution. But I can also say that none of the institutions where I’ve worked (including R1s, community colleges, liberal arts colleges) has entirely dictated how I had to approach assessment—at every single one there was sufficient wiggle room for experimentation.” Jesse Stommel, “How to Ungrade,” March 11, 2018, <https://www.jessestommel.com/how-to-ungrade/>.

all those assignments would earn a B for the semester. (I only marked a handful of assignments unsatisfactory over the course of the semester, and only in cases of work that was significantly short of the assigned word count or not clearly related to the assigned material.) For an A, students also had to take on two additional projects from a list of options—these included creating video presentations that supplemented course content or offering feedback on their peers' project drafts. A complete final project was required for a passing grade, and a set number of missing or incomplete assignments would result in a C or lower. For each assignment, I provided comments but no grades. I was curious to see whether I would perceive a difference in quality by my old standards when comparing students' efforts in this labor-based course to a version I had taught in the past that was very similar in most respects but used conventional grades. I found that the work that the two groups of students submitted was extremely similar. In other words, I did not notice students making any more or fewer mechanical errors in their writing, and they seemed to experience similar amounts and types of rhetorical victories and challenges—I was simply free to comment on these features of the writing without assigning scores.

In graduate courses where I have opted out of conventional grading, I have noticed more students taking creative risks with the tone and style of their writing than I used to see when those aspects of their prose showed up as point values on my rubrics. Put directly, without grades, my students have moved toward code-meshing. Some of their efforts strike me as more rhetorically successful than others, but one common result has been that I now feel like I know my students better as people—their work for class more frequently reflects their values, goals, and past experiences in personal, individual ways than the more strictly policed academic writing I was used to reading in past years. Given that the majority of the students I work with major in performance or composition rather than musicology or theory, I could see the conscious development of a personal voice as a writer to be a more reasonable and practical goal than mastering a traditional academic style—explaining their work as artists and connecting with broad audiences would certainly be easier in the former style than in the latter. In graduate classes, I include discussions about traditional academic writing as a source of power within the current structure of the academy and offer instruction on how to do it, but removing traditional grades has freed students to explore and hone other means of communication that relate more closely to their individual professional goals.

In survey courses with more clearly defined content requirements and more students, I don't find substantial written feedback on weekly work to be practical, so I have adapted my labor-based system to involve one larger written project with feedback, some shorter writing assignments that I simply

mark as complete or incomplete, and a set of pass/fail collaborative quizzes.<sup>29</sup> In addition to a passing quiz average, students need to submit a completed final written project for a C or better in the course. They can decide to pursue a higher grade by completing additional assignments. Each student submits a grade contract during the first week of class to let me know what they intend to earn and which assignments they will complete to do so, and then we revisit the contracts at midterm to see if the grades they originally chose are still the ones they intend to pursue or if they have adjusted their plans to include more or less work. The work for a B or higher requires more writing that engages more advanced readings beyond the textbook, and the work for an A requires some kind of contribution to the experience of other students in the course, like leading a study session or discussion group, giving a presentation, or participating in multiple student-led sessions outside regular class time. Ultimately, the aim is that any student can choose to earn any grade. While many want As, others acknowledge up front that their lack of available time or interest makes planning for a B or C a better option for them.

While some models for contract-based grading, including Inoue's, have students document the amount of time they put into class work as a central metric, I opt to simply count completed assignments, in part because of the enormous number of factors that impact the amount of time any individual student will need or be able to devote to any given project. One of the most significant criticisms leveled at labor-based grading is that the labor at its center is not equally accessible to all students. As Ellen Carillo argues, students with disabilities, the need to work while in school, or intersectional identities that create multiple layers of marginalization do not necessarily have the same resources to devote to a course that many of their peers do for reasons that have no direct

29. My adoption of collaborative quizzes was inspired by a workshop with Jay Howard, author of *Discussion in the College Classroom: Getting Your Students Engaged and Participating in Person and Online* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2015). In my survey course, students have to maintain an average passing score of 70 percent or better on the quizzes throughout the semester to pass the course, demonstrating general familiarity with the content, but any passing grade works equally well. Three quarters of their quiz grade comes from taking the quiz on their own, and the remaining quarter comes from immediately retaking the same quiz in a randomly assigned small group. Generally speaking, a group score only shifts an individual score by a few percentage points. Someone who needs one more right answer to pass has a good chance of getting through a rough quiz, but any individual score of 59 percent or lower can't be brought up to a passing level by even a perfect group score—a person who is woefully underprepared for quizzes won't pass the course on group work alone. Meanwhile, all get immediate feedback on their answers and reinforcement of key material and concepts as they discuss their responses to each question with their peers, coming to a consensus before submitting their group work. When I transitioned from traditional grades on collaborative quizzes to a pass/fail model, the class average score remained consistent, somewhere in the mid 80s, so the students' work suggests to me that they prepare equally well for them without the threat or reward of a typical grade.

relationship to their desire to learn the material or willingness to put in effort. For this reason, Carillo advocates instead for what she calls engagement-based contracts:

Focusing on engagement rather than labor . . . addresses my contention that labor-based grading contracts perpetuate a normative conception of time, as well as the unnecessary and unfounded connection between time and willingness. Students may have the will to labor, but they may not have the time to do so. This is often a socioeconomic issue that limits how inclusive labor-based grading contracts actually are. It is also a (dis)ability issue. If students are allowed to choose the form of engagement that is suitable and possible for them at a particular moment in time, that can help bridge willingness and ability.<sup>30</sup>

Carillo also suggests the possibility of starting contracts from scratch in collaboration with the actual students in a class rather than constructing a contract in advance for hypothetical future students, a system that, even when flexible, puts the onus on students to seek accommodations around implicit norms and standards. Indeed, while labor-based grades can level one aspect of the playing field, they also bring new rough patches as reminders that efforts toward justice in education and assessment are a work in progress rather than an arrival point. With each move I make toward fairness in my classroom, I encounter yet another real individual student whose specific situation has me reconsidering my methods.

As pointed out by Linda Nilson, labor-based grades can indeed lead to grade inflation, and her book *Specifications Grading: Restoring Rigor, Motivating Students, and Saving Faculty Time* offers an alternative grading model that uses a similar contract approach but ties grades more directly to mastery of course objectives.<sup>31</sup> As an instructor, however, I find it challenging and not necessarily maximally productive to direct all student writers toward the same measurable outcome and then decide whether or not they have completed an assignment “correctly” or “mastered” a given skill. In approaching each student writing project with the open-ended goal of providing individual feedback, I leave myself the flexibility to respond to any elements of the writing that I see as particularly strong or in need of revision and treat writing skills as lifelong practices rather than a series of perfectly ordered steps to be mastered. In addition, research on an anti-grade-inflation policy at Wellesley College found that Black students, who already had lower grades than their white colleagues before the program was enacted, were disproportionately impacted when faculty members

30. Ellen C. Carillo, *The Hidden Inequalities in Labor-Based Contract Grading* (Logan: Utah State University Press), 58–59.

31. Linda B. Nilson, *Specifications Grading: Restoring Rigor, Motivating Students, and Saving Faculty Time* (Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing, 2015).

intentionally reversed grade inflation.<sup>32</sup> I also find that avoiding any form of grade on writing projects is helpful in guiding students away from seeing a grade as the underlying purpose of a piece of writing. The purpose of their writing is to communicate their ideas, and I respond to it as an opening for conversation rather than an opportunity to rate their ability. As Susan Blum points out in her introduction to *Ungrading: Why Rating Students Undermines Learning (and What to Do Instead)*, decades of educational psychology research point to the fact that grades are counterproductive to the goal of motivating students to learn.<sup>33</sup> A labor-based approach that gives credit for all good-faith efforts, incentivizes extra effort to support the learning of the whole community, and ultimately allows all students a pathway to earn the grade they feel they need or want better supports my pedagogical goals. One of my roles is then to foster an environment in which most students can find intrinsic motivation to take on challenging material and create high-quality work.

Just as I consider music like *The River* to be legible through the lens of code-meshing, I see many parallels to labor-based writing grades in other places in a typical university music program, and I think music history instructors can look to some of our colleagues in performance to see students thriving on intrinsic motivation in classroom settings that grade engagement more than ability. It's not only the principal players in the orchestra that earn As for the semester, and a less skilled performer making a modest success of a relatively simple piece after a semester of diligent practice and improvement might well score higher on a jury than a more skilled player whose performance of a more challenging work is underprepared. A singer who struggles with intonation in an open-enrollment choir is unlikely to get a C after showing up on time for and being attentive during every rehearsal and performance—feedback and instruction on how to improve would be more typical in this circumstance than a hit to the student's GPA. At the same time, we are surrounded by instructors who demand excellence and foster growth. In many cases, students want to do well in music performance contexts not because of the threat or reward of a grade, but because they are in learning environments that are conducive to intrinsic motivation.

---

32. Kristin F. Butcher, Patrick J. McEwan, and Akila Weerapana, "The Effects of an Anti-Grade-Inflation Policy at Wellesley College," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 28, no. 3 (Summer 2014): 195.

33. Susan D. Blum, *Ungrading: Why Rating Students Undermines Learning (and What to Do Instead)* (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2020).

## Open to Surprises

With the goal of fostering intrinsic motivation in mind, I have moved away from conventional grading and toward more open-ended assignments and projects as a means of setting up students to do their best work. As author and writing pedagogue John Warner argues, “Student writing tends to be judged against a standard of ‘correctness’ and resemblance to a kind of ‘standard’ academic writing that doesn’t actually exist in nature, the making of which bears little resemblance to the process writers employ when confronted with genuine writing tasks.”<sup>34</sup> A number of musicologists have documented successful shifts away from requiring conventional academic papers as a key component of music history courses. As Erinn Knyt writes, “For some students, the biggest impediment to writing a good research paper is a lack of real engagement with the project as they fail to see its importance for their lives and careers.”<sup>35</sup> After shifting to a system in which students could choose to design alternative projects to replace traditional paper assignments, Knyt found, “The majority of the alternative projects were exceptional. Many of the creative projects displayed more careful planning, more extensive preparation, and greater attention to detail than traditional projects produced by the same students in other classes. I found that most students choosing the alternative formats typically wrote just as much or more and consulted just as many or more sources than students did with traditional research papers.”<sup>36</sup>

Similarly, Sara Haefeli found that assigning students blogs read by their peers rather than regular papers with an assumed audience of the professor alone “not only promoted better writing outcomes but a specific kind of thinking process—what Bloom’s taxonomy advocates would call ‘higher order thinking skills.’”<sup>37</sup> In part, the success of alternative writing assignments may lie in the fact that they encourage students to write in their own version of English. Warner notes that, “The writing-related tasks we frequently visit upon students would prove difficult for even highly experienced writers. Writing on subjects with which we’re newly familiar, in forms that are foreign, and addressed to audiences that are either undefined or unknown (other than ‘for the teacher’) bears little resemblance to the way we write for the world.”<sup>38</sup> Esther Morgan-Ellis and Kristen Strandberg also note that alternative writing assignments, especially those that will be read by a broader audience than the professor

34. John Warner, *Why They Can’t Write: Killing the Five-Paragraph Essay and Other Necessities* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018), 14.

35. Knyt, “Rethinking,” 25.

36. Knyt, “Rethinking,” 35.

37. Haefeli, “Using Blogs,” 40.

38. Warner, *Why They Can’t Write*, 27.

alone, “often produce better quality writing. Rather than attempting to produce an essay using what they perceive as academic language, students write clearly and directly for a specific audience.”<sup>39</sup> Instead of asking students to write papers that look like stepping stones to replicate my academic work or to aim for words and content that they hope might earn my A, I seek to motivate them to hone their expressive use of language to engage with their own interests and goals as artists and communicators.

In a jazz history course for approximately sixty undergraduates that functions similarly in many respects to the kind of lecture-based Western art music history sequence courses I have taught in the past, I give students the option of writing a traditional academic paper or reimagining the project in an alternative format of their choosing, and all papers are read not just by me but also by groups of their fellow students. This assignment is set up by our conversation about Ellington’s *River* and its reception, during which students explore the idea that different forms of expression carry different forms of cultural currency, reach different audiences, and achieve different outcomes. We consider how Ellington took an artistic risk that met with mixed results in part because of the systems in which he was working, and we talk about the possibilities and potential problems involved in taking risks as college-level writers, noting that some students may want the opportunity to master academic writing for the doors that skill opens while others may want to trouble the system that values some forms of writing over others.

In the end, the majority of students write straightforward academic essays, but some of the most successful and interesting writing shows up in alternative-format projects. I don’t have a formal way of measuring or documenting student motivation, yet my interactions with students suggest that at least some of them find that the option to create an alternative project sparks a desire to engage more deeply with the assignment. For example, a student who was taking this course in the same semester as her general education composition course told me afterward that she ended up putting much more thought, time, and effort into the comic strip she created for her jazz history assignment than she did for any of the traditional papers in her writing class. In the process of creating her project, she met with me during my office hours to discuss the logistics of how she would meet the requirements for the project within the format she had chosen and, specifically, how she would code-mesh by incorporating both technical language from the class and vernacular slang she envisioned for the characters in her comic. In the course of our conversation, we were also able to discuss some of the challenges she was having understanding the reading that was part of the assignment, a very productive exchange that I doubt would have happened if her excitement about drawing a comic hadn’t gotten her to my

39. Morgan-Ellis and Strandberg, “Practical and Engaging Alternatives.”

office in the first place. Another student and I had a similarly productive conversation as she developed her ideas for a fictional Twitter exchange between members of the 1960s jazz avant-garde, blending careful description of musical sound with inflammatory social media rhetoric. The ability to mix elements of Englishes they knew from outside class with the terminology and material we were studying helped them create rich, interesting, and expressive projects.

Completing the writing assignment is a necessary element in passing the course, and certain components are required: use and documentation of both primary and secondary sources (in this case, I provide some preselected ones given that the course serves a broad population with varying degrees of research and writing experience), analysis of music (again, from a selection of specific recordings I provide with the option to add other examples), and discussion of connections between the music and the historical context in which it was performed or recorded. We spend one class session on a writing workshop in which students work in small groups to plan their projects and discuss the assigned readings and music. They then submit drafts and spend a second class session on a peer-review activity before submitting final versions to me for feedback. I provide comments only, unless one of the assignment's required elements is missing, in which case the student submits another revision to successfully complete the assignment. While many choose standard papers, which are not notably different in quality to academic papers I received in courses in which I used traditional grading, others have made videos, podcasts, websites, or program notes that take on a more public-facing style and tone. Other students have produced highly individualized creative writing, including a television script, a letter from a fictional (and grumpy) government bureaucrat weighing in on the use of jazz in Cold War diplomacy, and a newspaper as it would appear in print, complete with headlines, photos, and advertisements.

## Conclusion

While musicologists continue to make great strides toward more diverse and inclusive curricula by engaging with a wider variety of musical voices in music history classes, there is much we can learn from scholars of writing pedagogy about how to value diverse forms of student writing and instruct student writers from disparate language experiences and backgrounds. By connecting the work of the musicians we describe in our classes to the way we design and grade assignments for our students, we can foster an environment for creative risk-taking in the classroom while also making space for more versions of what student success could look like. In the critical take-down of *The River* that I have my students read, Belt notes that the unorthodox and, to his mind, inappropriate work could have been stopped “if someone in artistic power had sat



back and observed dispassionately what was going on under their noses.” He considers the work to have slipped through when “management . . . simply abdicated its responsibility to determine artistic standards.”<sup>40</sup> The responsibility to determine and enforce standards is indeed a powerful one, and half a century after *The River’s* rough premiere, it is time to reconsider whether classroom standards are helping students learn or are merely gate-keeping to maintain an acceptable standard for student work long delimited by a white, middle- and upper-class perspective. When students are given the opportunity to bring their existing language knowledge into a course and combine it with the new knowledge they gain, the door is open to new forms of expression that can speak to diverse communities—not just the ones in which they are learning but also those they come from and those they may aspire to build.

40. Belt, “‘The River’ Fails to Flow.”

# Introduction: The Promise and Pitfalls of Global Music History Pedagogy

GAVIN S.K. LEE

Hegel famously thought that Africans do not have history, which he understood as unfolding in teleological development towards civilization, away from nature.<sup>1</sup> Against that hoary Eurocentric assumption, the claiming of global history in music studies is a liberation. For too long, the recovery of music histories outside the West was impeded by both musicological and ethnomusicological disinterest. But in recent years, the emergence of global music history<sup>2</sup> and historical ethnomusicology<sup>3</sup> in Europe and North America has changed things. There is the exciting potential for innovative combinations or adjacencies of historical and ethnographic methods in music research, representing a significant intervention in the study of global musics that was primarily carried out in ethnomusicology in the post-WW2 period. I doubt if any serious music researcher in that period regarded global musics as being “without history,” but research practices convey their own reality, and it is obvious that history is not the primary research method employed in ethnomusicology, which usually contributes instead to in-depth knowledge of

1. Hegel refers to “Africa Proper” as “the land of childhood, which lying beyond the day of self-conscious history, is enveloped in the dark mantle of Night.” G. W. F. Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*, trans. J. H. Clarke (New York: Dover, 1956), 91.

2. Two landmark volumes are Reinhard Strohm, ed., *Studies on a Global History of Music: A Balzan Musicology Project* (New York: Routledge, 2018); Reinhard Strohm, ed., *The Music Road: Coherence and Diversity in Music from the Mediterranean to India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019). Other significant publications include Mark Hipleh, *Towards a Global Music History: Intercultural Convergence, Fusion, and Transformation in the Human Musical Story* (New York: Routledge, 2019); Hyun Kyong Hannah Chang, Introduction to “Musics of Coeval East Asia,” special issue, *Twentieth-Century Music* 18, no. 3 (2021): 333–40; Pablo Palomino, *The Invention of Latin American Music: A Transnational History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020); David Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint: Music in Early Modern Manila* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); David Irving, “Rethinking Early Modern ‘Western Art Music’: A Global Music History Manifesto,” *IMS Musicological Brainfood* 3, no. 1 (2019): 6–10, [https://brainfood.musicology.org/pdfs/ims\\_brainfood\\_3\\_no1\\_2019.pdf](https://brainfood.musicology.org/pdfs/ims_brainfood_3_no1_2019.pdf).

3. See Jonathan McCollum and David Hebert, eds., *Theory and Method in Historical Ethnomusicology* (New York: Lexington Books, 2014).

how living musical traditions are intertwined with and expressions of multiple sociocultural factors. What we show in this special issue is how music faculty, through pedagogical interventions, can help peoples who were denied their histories.

There is much of interest in the new conjunction of global musics, on the one hand, and history, on the other, but our focus in this special issue is global music history, rather than historical ethnomusicology (to my knowledge, global music history courses, while still scarce, are far more frequently found than historical ethnomusicology courses). This special issue came about out of the authors' desire to catalyze changes in music curricula by providing tools to teachers, many of whom have been approaching us individually for assistance in designing more inclusive courses. There are some teachers and students who have a budding interest in global music history courses and many who want changes to the traditional Western music history survey where it is still being taught. Our decision to publish syllabi with accompanying essays is a response to these needs.

Already well understood among many readers, the aims of inclusion through the global were initiated in ethnomusicology, and global music history is an expansion of that through the long millennia of the global musical past. As teachers, the authors of this special issue have individual pedagogical approaches and goals, but we do share a common belief that students in the third decade of the twenty-first century need to be well equipped to step out into a world of resurgent nationalism that may be combined with racism and white supremacy, as we saw towards the end of the 2010s. Where exclusively Western music history surveys still exist, the global has the potential to intervene decisively; for teachers who adopt a non-chronological case-study approach to their history courses, the content in this special issue offers a rich variety of global material to choose from. By offering a more inclusive worldview, global music history shapes young musical minds in ways that make them more prepared for the increasingly diverse contemporary world in which we live, in terms of both demographics and culture. In many contexts, global music history offers a way to document violent colonial encounters of Europeans with peoples of different geographies who may in some cases have been transported for long distances against their will. For the Americas, global music history offers an opportunity to trace music history in terms of settler colonization and the transatlantic slave trade. In different geographies, empires, and networks, global music history makes visible other forms of coloniality and interconnectivity; case studies include slave orchestras of Southeast Asia, the global spread of Arabic music during the Islamic Golden Age, and music along the Silk Road.

Global music history is relatively young, having emerged only in the 2010s, notably with a large-scale research project across six universities funded by

Reinhard Strohm's Balzan Prize (2013) and resulting in two edited volumes (see note 1). Since then a large number of scholar networks for global music history have emerged, including the American Musicological Society's Global Music History and Global East Asian Music Research study groups and the International Musicological Society (IMS) and International Council for Traditional Music's (ICTM) Global History of Music study groups. Recent conferences are certain to catalyze even more research activity: "Mobility and Transcultural in Music and Performance in Global Civilisations" (2021, ICTM Global History of Music study group), "Music in the Pacific World: Change and Exchange Through Sound and Memory" (2021, IMS Global History of Music study group), "Global Musicology – Global Music History" conference (2022), and "From Musical Bow to Zithers along the Silk Road" (2022, ICTM colloquium).

As a field, global music history is critically dependent on pedagogy in addition to research. A crucial piece in the development of our sister discipline of "world" history is precisely the teaching of it in the post-WW2 period, with efforts made towards training and providing resources for history instructors in higher education as well as high schools. There was a sense in which world history was created through the very teaching of it: the collection, presentation, and interpretation of historical facts on a global scale was most visible in world history courses, which created a demand for corresponding textbooks. The broad narrative of world history remains a central problematic when applied to music: Is music history on a global scale coherent as a narrative or collection of narratives? How can we possibly cover the totality of music history, and who would have that kind of exhaustive expertise? The essays and syllabi collected in this special issue address these questions from different angles. Each essay outlines the approach taken in relation to a syllabus or bibliography created by the author. These resources vary in coverage, with distinctions in terms of time period (since antiquity or the medieval period; the Baroque as critical framework), geographies (South and Southeast Asia), topical focus (slave orchestras), organization (chronological, geographic, thematic), and difficulty (introductory survey, upper undergraduate elective).

While world history created a more inclusive version of history, the more recent *global history* places an emphasis on global integration, showing how seemingly disparate geographies have always been intertwined.<sup>4</sup> (World history, in contrast, can in principle comprise a collection of national histories without thorough examination of their interconnections.) Congruent to some extent with other inclusive and anti-racist initiatives, global history emerged with an ethical agenda, which, simply put, is to counter nationalist history

4. See Sebastian Conrad, *What Is Global History?* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016).

that tends to occlude the global picture. By focusing on a wide range of global connectivities (globalization, flow, mobility, transculturation, etc.) and their underlying integration, we may dispel the notions of supposed marked differences between, say, “Europe” and “East Asia” or “Latin America” and of cultural identities as “naturally” different. The field of global *music* history is usually closely in step with global history, and has thus mainly focused on the history of musical exchanges. Global music history is generally regarded by scholars as being focused on global encounters that traverse geographic boundaries, promoting interconnection over familiar categories of (“European,” “East Asian,” etc.) music and identity. However, national histories, often with a long lineage, may reflect more *alternate, independent materialities* (e.g., pre-Silk Road China, which was relatively insular) than the global music history emanating from the colonial and imperial centers of Europe and North America that compelled global integration for centuries. How, then, should we approach these geographically discrete histories that are often not just national but *nationalist*, a conjunction that we must always be wary of? This question remains to be addressed beyond this special issue, but I suggest that it is possible to integrate multiple centers with *varying* degrees of interconnectivity in history. In perusing the various essays and syllabi in this issue, readers will be able to sense the productive tension between relatively global and relatively insular periods of history in different geographies. In Chinese, the dialectical relation is captured in the saying “there is some of me in you and some of you in me.” In historical terms, this means that there is the global within the insular and the insular within the global. Global and insular derive their meanings from each other such that we always have to be careful about whether and why one term is elevated above another. In one sense, global interconnections show that Western music history has always been global, from the influence of Arabian poetry on troubadours to immigrant Chinese American composers such as Chou Wenchung (which is not to suggest that all roads lead to the West). But consider that insular histories are just as potent—perhaps even more potent—in disrupting Eurocentric history as global interconnections: Could it be that the pedagogical future of the global lies not entirely in rehearsing colonial connectivities in music history, but at least in part in the *obsolescence*, the *forgetting* of the West, turning instead to histories elsewhere for a moment?<sup>5</sup>

The fact is that relatively global and relatively insular aspects of history co-exist. Whether and how to approach insular histories in our teaching is

5. Chakrabarty conceptualizes the “provincialization” of Europe through the framework of two mutually interrupting histories of other geographies: the “pre-capital” (how other geographies were regarded as the pre-condition for capitalism in the course of being subsumed into capitalism), and the difference from capitalism (how they could not be entirely subsumed into capitalism). Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

a matter that needs to be considered in relation to the principle of *inclusion*, which relates to the thorny issue of whether it is feasible to cover the entirety of global music history. What do we lean toward when we attempt to teach the entirety of global music history versus specific interconnections, temporalities, and geographies? How do we achieve balance between depth and breadth of history? How do we avoid extremes of the micrological and macrological, when *both* micro relations between music-makers *and* the overarching, critical frame of colonization are of equal importance? What topics, geographies, and temporalities are we willing to *exclude* from a delimited semester of coursework, and based on whose criteria? These vexed questions, which have to be resolved with the particularities of faculty, students, and institutions in mind, guarantee that there will always be global music histories in the plural, as opposed to one unified narrative.

Perhaps the most important question of all has to do with decolonization. What is the best way to decolonize Western music history, or can the dismantling of colonial *cultural* forms even be called decolonization (e.g., shifting away from exclusively Western music education in Singapore and Japan), as opposed to the achievement of independence in former colonies or the removal of settlers? The answer to this last question depends on what level of recognition we give to the historical, geopolitical, sociocultural, epistemic, and psychological aspects of colonization and decolonization—not to mention the intertwined dimensions of race (including, especially, Indigenous peoples), class, gender, sexuality, and ability. There can be little doubt that continued settler colonization in the Americas demands our urgent attention, but there are other peoples living in conquered territories who are in a similar situation (e.g., Xinjiang), and peoples who may not be colonized but suffer from what are ultimately violent, exploitative, and catastrophic effects of expansionist imperialist ideologies, of which cultural imperialism is a key component orienting hearts, minds, tastes, alliances, and actions towards the imperial center, creating imperialized subjects, subjectivities, and subjection. Those who have achieved political decolonization may yet live in conditions of economic imperialism (as in many African countries caught in forever debts), US military imperialism (2003 Iraq War; intervention in South American countries to prop up bloody authoritarian regimes), or may have assimilated so well to European and North American culture that they *desire* to be imperialized (as with people who wish for their lands to become part of the United States, a phenomenon seen in East and Southeast Asia).<sup>6</sup> The variegation of multiple persisting colonizations and imperialisms implies that necessarily plural decolonial strategies will differ, whether in the context of Indigenous decolonization in the United States,

6. Kuan-Hsing Chen, *Asia as Method: Towards Deimperialization* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), xiv.

agitating against the extra-legal status of US service members in military bases in East Asia (in relation to sexual violence against the local population), or the dismantling of the Western music curriculum in Chinese conservatories.<sup>7</sup> What matters is the political potential set free by individual decolonial languages, whether in the laser focus on land occupation,<sup>8</sup> in the concept of a “*merdeka*” history of “freedom from colonization” proposed by Singaporean writer Alfan Sa’at, or other decolonial frameworks.<sup>9</sup> In relation to the many contestations in global music history outlined above, this special issue presents a range of perspectives that may inform readers’ own deliberations as we, authors and readers alike, collectively work to broaden the scope of music history education.

This second special issue on global music history from the *Journal* complements the first by offering practical as well as theoretical advice to those who may need to create entire courses on specifically the global *past* (as opposed to just global musics in general), spanning a significant geographic scale in the territories and circulations covered. Expanding on the use of key “threshold” concepts as well as European coloniality as a framework, already explored in that first special issue as a means of structuring global music history courses,<sup>10</sup> this second special issue shows how such courses can be designed in a large variety of ways—by era, geography, and topic, or by grappling with the entirety of the “global.” In terms of theoretical issues, this special issue furthers the interrogation of the “global” begun especially by Tamara Levitz, for whom “structural white ignorance may be operating in our collective denial of how the globalization of capital is extended through the spatial project of global music history, and how little this has to do with decolonization”<sup>11</sup> (compare with my discussion above of how global pathways are often paved by European colonialism, and hence relatively insular historical periods should not simply be discarded). Furthermore, global music history, being the international academic practice of the cosmopolitan elite (exceeding the framework of a nation),

7. On the complex relation of decolonization to Western music in East Asia, see Shzr Ee Tan, “Whose Decolonization? Checking for Intersectionality, Lane-Policing and Academic Privilege from a Transnational (Chinese) Vantage Point,” *Ethnomusicology Forum* 30, no. 1 (2021): 140–62. The appropriation of Western music may paradoxically be a form of decolonization.

8. Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, “Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor,” *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education, and Society* 1, no. 1 (2012): 1–40.

9. Alfan Sa’at, Faris Joraimi, and Sai Siew Min, eds., *Raffles Renounced: Towards a Merdeka History* (Singapore: Ethos Books, 2021).

10. Danielle Fosler-Lussier, “Threshold Concepts for Music Studies from Global Music Histories,” *Journal of Music History Pedagogy* 13, no. 1 (2023): 52–63; Roe-Min Kok, “Teaching Music Colonialism in Global History: Pedagogical Pathways and Student Responses,” *Journal of Music History Pedagogy* 13, no. 1 (2023): 64–82.

11. Tamara Levitz, “Why I Don’t Teach Global Music History,” *Journal of Music History Pedagogy* 13, no. 1 (2023): 118–37, at 131.

could distract from universities' occupation of unceded Indigenous lands.<sup>12</sup> For the contributions in this special issue, all of which are oriented towards decolonization in some way, Levitz's article serves as a sober reminder of the depth and breadth of coloniality that inheres even in ostensibly counterhegemonic pedagogies. Not only do universities occupy unceded Indigenous land, but they also conduct imperial surveys of global geographies and cultures, mine BIPOC counterhegemonic knowledge, and maintain and propagate Eurocentric knowledge, including in the form of Western music history.

Global music history has other limitations beyond its possible continuation of coloniality. The emergence of global music history courses is a positive development in that it has enlarged the possibilities of teaching about global musics. Nevertheless, there are other ways, often grouped under musicology, of approaching global musics. We might call this the cultural studies of music, broadly speaking. For instance, cultural studies of contemporary global popular musics could focus on music as media representations, which is how most listeners engage with music—in this case, just as in popular musicology in general, historical contextualization or ethnography are supplementary to media analysis, which is the central methodology. Cultural studies could also treat Western-style concert music by global composers (including well-known avant-gardists) as objects of hermeneutic interpretation.

What the above points to is the limitation of a conception of global music history that regards its ambit as primarily “history,” when musicology as a whole has moved productively into the terrain of *meaning*. There is a sense in which attention is now focused quite closely on either historical or ethnographic methods for global music studies, with media and hermeneutic research sometimes falling into the cracks of established Euro-North American methodologies (even if newly established, as with global music history). Musicologists of the global need to embrace all methodologies available to us because the range of musical meaning and significance is not limited to that of global music *history* (circulation, scale). The study of global historical actors, actions, and discourses needs to be systematically (and not just selectively) complemented with interdisciplinary theories of all kinds that lead us to an understanding of race, class, gender, sexuality, disability, subjectivity, sociocultural context, ecology, animality, aesthetics, experience, listening, capitalism, and more.<sup>13</sup> Such global studies could potentially encompass historical context and/or hermeneutic meaning, historical and/or media figures, a relatively small (single site, single work, single temporal point) and/or large scale and could cover the past, the present, and/or the future. Exceeding geographic (the globe) and temporal spans (eras), as well

12. Levitz, 131–32.

13. An indicative project of this kind is the American Musicological Society Global East Asian Music Research study group's 2020 panel on “Posthumanist Musicology and East Asia.”



as circulations and scales, the field to come would simply be global studies in musicology, adopting the full range of musicological methods (history, media representations, hermeneutics, theory and analysis)—as opposed to the quintessential ethnomusicological method of ethnography. Of course, this is assuming that the current institutional division of musicology and ethnomusicology does not collapse under the weight of its contradictions (see Figure 1)—not the least of which is the existence of global music history research *across* that divide (as evidenced in the existence of study groups for global music history across ICTM, IMS, and AMS). The related pedagogical implications would have to be explored in another special issue.<sup>14</sup>

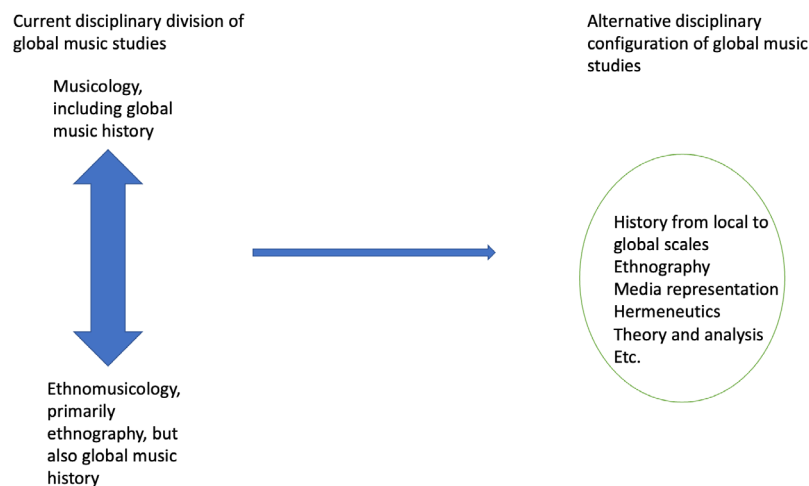


Figure 1. Disciplinary configuration of a “collapsed” global music studies.

The many problems discussed above may encourage some writers to attempt what I regard as the impossible task of positioning their work within a sphere of pure counterhegemony—by avoiding global music history altogether. But this special issue instead recognizes the complexity of a world in which counterhegemonic action emerges within hegemonic structures, a state of affairs which can be deduced from the long-standing anthropological tenet

14. Another “contradiction” is ethnographic studies of Western music. Laudan Nooshin, *The Ethnomusicology of Western Art Music* (Routledge, 2014). There is huge overlap in the current official definitions of the music disciplines. According to SEM, ethnomusicology “encompasses all geographic areas” and “ethnographic fieldwork” as well as “historical research.” According to AMS, musicology encompasses “history,” as organized by nations and regions—e.g., “South Asian music,” as well as “anthropology” of music. Following these definitions, there is no meaningful distinction between the two disciplines. See “About Ethnomusicology,” Society for Ethnomusicology website, accessed February 8, 2024, <https://www.ethnomusicology.org/page/AboutEthnomusicol>; “What is Musicology?,” American Musicological Society website, accessed February 8, 2024, <https://www.amsmusicology.org/page/whatismusicology>.

that agency is exercised within (one could specify, colonial) structure.<sup>15</sup> At issue is the multi-faceted nature of real-world phenomena that cannot be reduced to binary structures with counterhegemony and hegemony occupying different locations (whether conceptual, cultural, or geographic), such that global music history, for example, can only be associated with one or the other. Criticisms that have been raised of global music history are all valid—an emphasis on circulation over locality that can replicate colonial routes linking Western and global sites; the capitalist retracing of those colonial routes; the potential for global music history to become disconnected from inequalities on the ground. Yet global music history has become one of the most powerful ways of countering exclusively Western music history, in part by recognizing Indigenous music histories. None of this can be unified into a simple narrative, and attempts to maintain a purified stance can often lead to inadvertently regarding certain BIPOCs, even those who hold a counterhegemonic agenda—including global music historians from myriad geographies—with a vampiric logic, as if they were “dead” or at best unaware, duped into becoming colonial mouthpieces replicating colonial-capitalist ideology.<sup>16</sup> There is a risk of returning to hoary racist ideologies that have treated Indigenous and Black peoples precisely as “dead”—in the sense of voided agency (in slavery) and of spatiotemporal extension (in the British treatment of, for example, Australia as *terra nullius*, an empty land that is available for occupation). This approach treats certain past, present, and future BIPOCs who are real-world musickers or contemporary intellectual figures (such as ethno/musicologists) as “dead.” It happens when writers are too quick to dismiss counterhegemonic frameworks (such as global music history), which feature historical BIPOC figures and in which a sizable number of BIPOC scholars participate (often due to cultural affiliation), such that these potentially emancipatory frameworks are sidestepped altogether because of their complexity.

Rather than avoiding global music history, authors of this special issue have a specific dedication to the articulation of colonial and decolonial narratives. All of the resources either encompass or incorporate consideration of indigeneity, whether in the Americas and Australasia or elsewhere (e.g., non-settler colonies), where the term signifies differently. This approach takes BIPOCs seriously, both in global music history and as global music historians, while dealing with the complexities of coloniality, capitalism, circulation, and other differentials of power. Global music history especially needs to rethink the

15. Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

16. On a similar phenomenon in global musical modernisms studies, see Gavin S. K. Lee and Christopher Miller, “Introduction to the Special Issue on Global Musical Modernisms,” *Twentieth-Century Music* 20, no. 3 (2023): 274–91, at 285.

axiomatic principle of circulation, which may end up excluding wide swathes of BIPOCs (both historical figures and contemporary music scholars), and instead embrace both relatively insular and global eras and geographies. Beyond this special issue, there is much work to be done in highlighting the capitalist history of mass media music and its global circulation (for example, in commercial “world music”) as one means of flagging the capitalist logic of global expansionism that global music history cannot be disassociated from entirely.

The critical problematics of global music history raised above acknowledge that there is much more to be considered on the subject of global music history and its pedagogy than can be contained in this special issue. Here, our overarching goal is to share resources in hopes of furthering both conceptualization and pedagogical practice of global music history, for specific pedagogical practices reflect particular conceptions of what “global music history” implies. Following this introduction are a bibliography with preamble and four syllabi preceded by short essays or full-length articles. The preamble and essays briefly introduce the thinking behind the teaching resource, while the articles provide extended discussion of pedagogical and global historiographic issues. Of the teaching resources, two cover the breadth of global music history while the remaining three are defined by time period (global Baroque), geography (South and Southeast Asia), and topic (slave orchestras). We hope readers will find what they need in these pages to take a first step into global music history or to extend their existing involvement with it.

# Towards a Global Baroque: Unbinding Time, Temporality, and the “European” Tradition

MAKOTO HARRIS TAKAO

*Baroque enables—arguably, it demands—a radical rethinking of historical time—and a rethinking of familiar history. It permits a liberation from periodization and linear time, as well as from historicism. [...] Baroque brings discrepancy and rupture, not simply harmony: the shattering of what was taken for granted. This is not a question of linear time: baroque is always already contemporary.*<sup>1</sup>

Helen Hills

*Professor Emerita of Architectural and Art History  
University of York*

“Of all the terminology borrowed from art historians as labels for periods of music history, none has been more troublesome in its vagueness if not its inappropriateness than the word Baroque.”<sup>2</sup> So opens George J. Buelow’s history of music from Monteverdi to Bach. In tracing such incipient designations as Rudolf Wustmann’s “baroque century” in 1909 to Curt Sachs’s formulation of “baroque music” a decade later, we can recognize by the mid-twentieth century, with the work of Manfred Bukofzer, an attempt to legitimize and unify a coherent notion of *the* Baroque for both scholarly and pedagogical applications.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, the story of this term’s “imperfect” beginnings as an anachronistic import from a parallel discipline is, by now, but a truism. And yet, while periodizing concepts are widely recognized as

1. Helen Hills’s introduction to Claire Farago et al., “Conceptions and Reworkings of Baroque and Neobaroque in Recent Years,” *Perspective* 1 (2015): 43–62, at 45. Emphasis original.

2. George J. Buelow, *A History of Baroque Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 1–8.

3. Rudolf Wustmann, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs* [Music History of Leipzig], vol. 1 (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1909), 69; Curt Sachs, “Barockmusik” [Baroque Music], *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters* [Yearbook of the Peters Music Library] 26 (1919): 7–15; Manfred F. Bukofzer, *Music in the Baroque Era from Monteverdi to Bach* (New York: Norton, 1947).

subjective constructions that are inevitably susceptible to change,<sup>4</sup> the lingering persistence of an uncritical “baroque” as a chronological bookend and a stylistic moniker in music history surveys alerts us to a broader state of curricular stasis.<sup>5</sup> In the words of Leonard B. Meyer, musical conceptualizations (in terms of the events that constitute both a certain music as well as its history) are too often “interpreted in the light of the axiom of *inertia*.”<sup>6</sup> Some four decades later, we find ourselves facing a moment of reckoning that lays bare the colonial vestiges of cognitive imperialism and Eurocentric modes of knowing that continue to occupy our classrooms of higher education.<sup>7</sup> Crisis, as a critical juncture of “choice,” “judgment,” or “decision making” (as in the ancient Greek *krisis/krino*), thus compels us to *motion*. As teachers, such disciplinary and institutional flashpoints are opportunities for systemic change and for us to embrace new ways of seeing, thinking, and responding as historians of music.<sup>8</sup>

In recent years, the field now most commonly referred to as “global music history” has increasingly found a scholarly foothold, particularly (though not exclusively) among musicologists researching the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,<sup>9</sup> as a space to cultivate post-Eurocentric frameworks for studying the histories of our world’s musics. Less present, however, has been a public-facing discussion of what this field means for our students and the curricula by which

4. See, for instance, Daniel Martín Sáez, “La idea musical del ‘barroco’: Genealogía y crítica” [The Musical Idea of the ‘Baroque’: Genealogy and Criticism], *Revista de Estudios Culturales* [Journal of Cultural Studies] 23 (2018): 1–21; James Webster, “The Eighteenth Century as a Music-Historical Period?,” *Eighteenth Century Music* 1, no. 1 (2004): 47–60; Martin Elste, “Curt Sachs und die Barockmusik: Das folgenreiche Missverständnis eines ideengeschichtlichen Begriffes” [Curt Sachs and Baroque Music: The Consequential Misunderstanding of a Concept from the History of Ideas], in *Vom Sammeln, Klassifizieren und Interpretieren: Die zerstörte Vielfalt des Curt Sachs* [On Collecting, Classifying, and Interpreting: The Destroyed Diversity of Curt Sachs], eds. Wolfgang Behrens, Martin Este, and Frauke Fitzner (Mainz: Schott, 2017), 277–88.

5. At the risk of constructing straw people, I do acknowledge the significant work many institutions have done and continue to do in rethinking their music history curricula, as well as recent efforts to resolve the “textbook” problem. See, for instance, Timothy Rice and Dave Wilson, *Gateways to Understanding Music* (New York: Routledge, 2019). This text has been subsequently updated as Timothy Rice and Dave Wilson, *Gateways to Understanding Music*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2022).

6. Leonard B. Meyer, “Innovation, Choice, and the History of Music,” *Critical Inquiry* 9, no. 3 (1983): 517–44, at 522. Emphasis added.

7. See Josephine Gabi et al., “Decolonial Praxis: Teacher Educators’ Perspectives on Tensions, Barriers, and Possibilities of Anti-Racist Practice-Based Initial Teacher Education in England,” *The Curriculum Journal* (2022): <https://bera-journals.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/curj.174?af=R>.

8. Patricia Suzanne Sullivan, *Experimental Writing in Composition: Aesthetics and Pedagogies* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012), 78.

9. See Olivia Bloechl, “Editorial,” *Eighteenth-Century Music* 17, no. 2 (2020): 173–76.

they are taught.<sup>10</sup> This article, and the special issue in which it appears, is an invitation to such dialogue, confronting the implications and limits of global music history as a decolonial praxis and how it can critically reframe a singular Baroque as a multiplicity of “baroques” that centers Indigenous contributions to and ownership of these musics. It takes as its starting point Gary Tomlinson’s earlier call to seek out “revisionist alternatives” in music history that resituate Europe in its broader global-historical contexts.<sup>11</sup> This is not, however, a matter of eradicating the teaching of “Western art music” but rather, as Catherine Haworth has articulated, a “stepping back” to a critical vantage point from which we can see “broader [global] patterns and alternative ways of conceptualizing, organizing and pushing forward the critique of difference.”<sup>12</sup> As a guide to my accompanying syllabus, this article reflects on the course’s intent, inception, and implementation. And while this ultimately intersects with ongoing discussions about the continued (ir)relevancy of a compulsory music history sequence, it is beyond its scope to fully engage with these debates.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, the ideas explored here are intended to shed light on thinking “global” in music history and on related curricular and pedagogical “unbindings” relevant to both undergraduate and graduate contexts. Throughout, I reflect on my own experiences with and modeling of a music history without (or, rather, against) chronology and how this invites students to make meaningful connections to a baroque that is at once transcultural, transhistorical, and global.

10. As testaments to the pace of progress in global music history, several publications on the field’s pedagogical dimensions have appeared since the completion of this article. See, especially, Hedy Law, Daniel F. Castro Pantoja, and Hyun Kyong Hannah Chang, eds., “Teaching Global Music History: Practices and Challenges,” *Journal of Music History Pedagogy* 13, no. 1 (2023): 45–173. See also Hedy Law et al., “Forum: Centering Discomfort in Global Music History,” *Journal of Musicology* 40, no. 3 (2023): 249–307; Qingfan Jiang, “From Beijing to Paris: Teaching Music of the Global Eighteenth Century,” in *Navigating Stylistic Boundaries in the Music History Classroom: Crossover, Exchange, Appropriation*, ed. Esther M. Morgan-Ellis (New York: Routledge, 2024), 40–61.

11. Gary Tomlinson, “Monumental Musicology,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 132, no. 2 (2007): 349–74, at 374. For a framing of Tomlinson’s critique as an early intervention in the modern field of global music history, see Makoto Harris Takao, “Global Music History,” in *Oxford Bibliographies in Music*, ed. Kate van Orden (New York: Oxford University Press, 2022), doi: 10.1093/obo/9780199757824-0317.

12. Catherine Haworth, “Book Review: [. . .] Rethinking Difference in Music Scholarship,” *Journal of the Society for Musicology in Ireland* 12 (2017): 71–73, at 73. Many thanks to Melanie Lowe for directing me to Haworth’s important parsing of this distinction.

13. For more on this see Melanie Lowe, “Rethinking the Undergraduate Music History Sequence in the Information Age,” *Journal of Music History Pedagogy* 5, no. 2 (2015): 65–71.

### Unbinding Time and Temporality: Teaching Through a Series of “Connected” Vignettes

In the spring of 2020, I was asked to develop and teach a course that would serve both upper-level undergraduate and graduate students. According to my school’s curriculum, the course was to be designated as “period studies in musicology,” involving the “intensive study of the music of a specific historical period.” The geographical scope of such courses (in contrast to those designated as “regional studies in musicology”) has generally been set at the implied borders of Western Europe and North America. As a scholar invested in the field of global historiography, I took on this assignment as a challenge: to rethink dominant structures, concepts, and methods in music history pedagogy that arguably isolate not only world regions from one another but also considerations of the past from those of the present. Stefan Tanaka’s approach to “making a mess” vis-à-vis a “history without chronology” has been a critical inspiration in my thinking through his incorporation of “the multiple times and various temporalities that simultaneously operate in our world.”<sup>14</sup> My point of departure was asking how we might attend to these through the baroque and thus how we might in turn rethink the baroque for our study of music. The course that emerged was founded on the possibilities of the “global turn” in the humanities to reconceptualize both these spatial and temporal dimensions, problematizing the uncritical use of the baroque as a fixed category of musical style and periodization. Thinking across, between, or beyond chronologies nevertheless necessitates recognition of them. As art historian Helen Hills emphasizes, the “issue of temporality and of a history that is not historicist [thus] emerges as central.”<sup>15</sup> Herein lies the first of my “unbindings”: *to consciously experiment with time and temporality in a global-historical context.*

At the crossroads of Tanaka’s chronological “mess,” I have found resonance with Timothy Brook and his commitment to an understanding of the past without reproducing the present as its necessary outcome.<sup>16</sup> In doing so, Brook prioritizes the seeking out of “keyhole moments” that cut across timelines without replicating them. In a similar fashion, I designed this course as a series of vignettes that pull at the periodizing threads of the baroque, stretching it back into the sixteenth century and forward beyond the turn of the nineteenth century and into our present moment. This is an attempt neither to redefine nor to reinforce a sense of the baroque as temporally bounded but is rather intended for students to familiarize themselves with the conventions of European chronology in order to think beyond them. Every vignette in this course, as

14. Stefan Tanaka, *History without Chronology* (Amherst, Mass: Lever Press, 2019), 6.

15. Farago et al., 44.

16. Timothy Brook, “Time and Global History,” *Globalizations* 6, no. 3 (2009): 379–87.

grounded as it is in specific geographies, is designed as a self-contained module with its own historiographies, epistemologies, priorities, and materials. Each week's lecture establishes these critical contexts to ensure students can engage more directly in a subsequent seminar discussion of related and extended scholarships. But these vignettes do not exist in isolation. As much as Brook's "keyhole moments" cut across timelines, historians such as Tonio Andrade have advocated for the use of those very same keyholes as lenses through which to observe the global interconnections of individual lives—what he calls a form of "global microhistory."<sup>17</sup>

In a recent visit to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, a monumental painting by the musically minded Robert H. Colescott (1925–2009) caught my attention (see figure 1): "Knowledge of the Past is the Key to the Future: Some Afterthoughts on Discovery."<sup>18</sup> The longer I spent with the painting, the more Colescott's own subversion of the "baroque" revealed itself. From the way he destabilizes the conventional subjects and forms of European "Old Masterworks" to his presentation of history as a series of disordered snapshots, Colescott brings the past, present, and future into conversation so as to connect the US racial traumas of the 1980s to the barbarism of the nation's colonial origins and its associated myth of discovery.<sup>19</sup> In teaching our musical pasts, we too cannot escape from our present moment. When we lean into an unbounded sense of time and temporality (further elaborated in the following section), our students are confronted with the "past present continuous"<sup>20</sup> nature of any music history. Indeed, a classroom reading, interpretation, and discussion of Colescott's painting in the first module can offer a productive reference for students to understand how they will learn to work with and against inherited ideas of time and teleology. So, what is there to gain in returning to the "baroque" if, by now, musicologists have so heavily critiqued it for yielding little conceptual authority? In what follows I shift the focus of this concern to ask, instead, what is at stake, and especially *for whom*, if we do away with

17. Tonio Andrade, "A Chinese Farmer, Two African Boys and a Warlord," *Journal of World History* 21, no. 4 (2010): 573–91. See also Jan de Vries, "Playing with Scales: The Global and Micro, the Macro and the Nano," *Past & Present* 242, no. 14 (2019): 23–36.

18. This title is a reference to the Jamaican political activist and founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League, Marcus Garvey, who is famously known for claiming that a "people without the knowledge of their past history, origin, and culture is like a tree without roots."

19. See Raphaela Platow and Lowery Stokes Sims, eds., *Art and Race Matters: The Career of Robert Colescott* (New York: Rizzoli Electa, 2019).

20. Kai Kresse employs this expression to capture "the actions and experiences that have started in the past and are ongoing in the present (and possibly beyond)," with reference to the postcolonial experience of coastal Muslims in Kenya. Kai Kresse, *Swahili Muslim Publics and Postcolonial Experience* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018), 3.



the baroque in our thinking, researching, and teaching of a global-historical approach to our world's musics.



**Figure 1:** Robert Colescott, *Knowledge of the Past is the Key to the Future: Some Afterthoughts on Discovery* (1986). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Arthur Hoppock Hearn Fund, 1987. ©2017 Estate of Robert Colescott /Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/Art Resource, NY.

### Unbinding the Baroque: From “New World” to “Global” Conceptions

America, continent of symbiosis, of mutations, of vibrations, of *mestizajes*, has been baroque from the start. [. . .] And why is Latin America the promised land of the baroque? Because all symbiosis, all *mestizaje*, gives rise to baroqueness.<sup>21</sup>

Alejo Carpentier, “The Baroque and the Marvelous Real” (1976)

21. Translated in César Augusto Salgado, “Hybridity in New World Baroque Theory,” *The Journal of American Folklore* 112, no. 445 (1999): 316–31, at 316.

Rethinking the baroque from “the South” has long been practiced by Latin American authors who have sought to reclaim the term as a “trope or adjective for the region’s complex ethnic and artistic *mestizaje* (‘racial mixture’) rather than as a reference to exclusively Western cultural forms.”<sup>22</sup> Celebrated Cuban writer Alejo Carpentier, a central figure of the literary “New World Baroque,” further embraced the term in his writing for its “disjointed form of temporality.”<sup>23</sup> And it is this very temporal play, as outlined above, that I have found useful in my own teaching. Carpentier, perhaps lesser known for his musicological contributions, offers us an important parallel for consideration.<sup>24</sup> In the title of his untranslated collection of essays, *Tientos y diferencias* (Tientos and Variations), he invokes a Spanish (and later Latin American) form of instrumental music, somewhat analogous to the English fantasia, that at once reaches backward to its sixteenth-century origins and forward to its compositional revival in his own time.<sup>25</sup> Not only by implication of the tiento’s imitative form, but also in Carpentier’s setting of it against a set of “variations” (*diferencias*), a specific postcolonial position is established through musical metaphor. Carpentier’s sense of the baroque here is not, however, a mimetic one but, as literary scholar Monika Kaup posits, a “device for the creation of new worlds, new collective identities, and new forms of expression.”<sup>26</sup> In this, we begin to see a tripartite formulation of the Baroque (as “representation”), the New World Baroque (as “transculturation”), and the Neobaroque (as “counter-conquest”).<sup>27</sup>

In moving towards a conception that is both transcultural and autochthonous, I have sought to include narratives in my classroom that, in their unfolding, reveal such disjointed forms of temporality and a destabilizing of

22. Salgado, “Hybridity in New World Baroque Theory,” 316.

23. Monique Roelofs and Norman S. Holland, “Anachronism and Baroque Abandon: Carpentier’s, Cortázar’s, and Botero’s Decolonial Columns,” *Confluencia Revista Hispánica de Cultura y Literatura* 30, no. 3 (2015): 149–66, at 150. See Alejo Carpentier, “La ciudad de las columnas” [The City of Columns], in *Tientos y diferencias* [Themes and Variations] (Havana: Ediciones Union, 1966), 55–56.

24. Carpentier was appointed as professor of musicology at Cuba’s National Conservatory of Music in 1941 and is noted for his significant contributions to knowledge on Afro-Cuban musical traditions. See, for instance, Caroline Rae, “In Havana and Paris: The Musical Activities of Alejo Carpentier,” *Music & Letters* 89, no. 3 (2008): 373–95; Katia Chornik, *Alejo Carpentier and the Musical Text* (Oxford: Legenda, 2015).

25. See José López-Calo, “El Tiento: Orígenes y características generales” [The Tiento: Origins and General Characteristics], in *El órgano español: Actas del Primer Congreso, 27–29 octubre 1981* [The Spanish Organ: Proceedings of the First Congress, October 27–29, 1981], ed. Antonio Bonet Correa (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1983), 77–98.

26. Monika Kaup, “Becoming-Baroque: Folding European Forms into the New World Baroque with Alejo Carpentier,” *The New Centennial Review* 5, no. 2 (2005): 107–49, at 111.

27. Lois Parkinson Zamora and Monika Kaup, “Baroque, New World Baroque, Neobaroque: Categories and Concepts,” in *Baroque New Worlds: Representation, Transculturation, Counterconquest*, eds. Lois Parkinson Zamora and Monika Kaup (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 1–43.

(post)colonial dynamics. In Module 8 (the syllabus for my “Towards a Global Baroque” follows below) for instance, we explore the *Trujillo Codex* (or the *Codex Martínez Compañón*), ca. 1782–1785, a depiction of colonial Peru’s ethnic diversity in nine volumes, including 1,411 watercolor paintings (thirty-six of which depict dance and music-making) and twenty transcriptions of secular and sacred Peruvian musics in Western notation. The latter offer important insight into the largely oral music traditions of eighteenth-century Indigenous and Afro-Peruvian communities as well as their baroque hybridities forged through Spanish influence. More specifically, this primary source centers contemporary discussions of cultural loss, dispossession, and ownership of the baroque—not least through the song “Tonada del Chimo,”<sup>28</sup> which exists as the only preserved musical example of the extinct Mochica language. It is for this reason that discussion of the codex’s ongoing legal status parallels the kind of cross-chronological brushstrokes rendered by Robert Colescott in his paintings. Debate continues over 136 of these watercolors, which the Spanish Ministry of Culture has declared a critical piece of *Spanish* heritage, preventing their sale to the Museo de Arte de Lima in Peru. To this end, the museum’s director Natalia Majluf has bemoaned that “[d]ue to the very nature of the colonial situation, there is a whole chapter of Latin American history that is not represented in local collections [. . .]. That is why it has been so hard to see Spain withhold this volume [from us].”<sup>29</sup>

Other vignettes in this course further our consideration of the “past present continuous” nature of these histories as embodied in contemporary performance practice. Module 13, for instance, sheds light on Ensamble Moxos. Directed by Raquel Maldonado, this ensemble originated from the primary music school in San Ignacio de Moxos (revitalized in 1994), a former Jesuit mission in the Bolivian Amazon. Ensamble Moxos presents an invaluable “key-hole” through which to explore the complex intersection of music, temporality, heritage, indigeneity, and postcolonialism. Indeed, the hybridity of their repertoire—it places seventeenth- and eighteenth-century composers and works associated with the Jesuit missions alongside Indigenous instruments and oral music traditions—speaks to a baroque that is at once transcultural, transhistorical, and an act of “counter-conquest.” Edgard Vela, a violin teacher in San Ignacio de Moxos, describes this hybridity as the “European baroque [that]

28. “Tonada” is an ambiguous term that refers to a range of short songs to be sung (for one and sometimes more voices in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), first popularized in Spain and later throughout South America.

29. Sarah Cascone, “The Storied Codex Trujillo, a Rare Masterpiece Showing Life Under Colonialism, Returns to Peru Following Outcry,” *Artnet* (June 20, 2017), <https://news.artnet.com/market/codex-trujillo-peru-vs-spain-997250>. A compromise has, however, been agreed to, wherein these images are on indefinite loan to the museum while remaining as Spanish-owned objects.

was taken by indigenous people, who made it their own, [and] this is what now identifies us.”<sup>30</sup> While Vela characterizes their practice as an indigenized baroque that “is still alive,” Maldonado is clear that it “is not about trying to colonise the indigenous people. . . it is about giving importance to the local music, so the local people can identify with [it].”<sup>31</sup> This sense of preserving musical heritage and giving power to both Indigenous musicians and audiences alike is a sentiment shared among other former missions elsewhere in the Bolivian region. Juan Vaca, an archivist in Concepción (Santa Cruz), for instance, works intimately with preserving musical scores from these missions and is driven by the belief that “[t]he Baroque is our tradition here.”<sup>32</sup>

Also in Module 13, students explore the ethnographic work of Suzel Ana Reily in southern Minas Gerais, Brazil. By unpacking the construction of “historical consciousness” in the former mining town of Campanha, they encounter the multiple forms of temporality at play in contemporary Holy Week celebrations, as well as the limitations of the “baroque” as a stylistic measurement. Reily’s work deals with a musical repertoire that is conventionally “preclassical and [fosters] classical influences,” but is often grouped under the indistinct umbrella of “colonial music.”<sup>33</sup> By contrast, she demonstrates that its role in structuring sensuous ritual experiences transforms this repertoire into something that can only be understood as “baroque”—that is, these multimedia festivities give rise to a “Carpentien” sense of baroque. Through such examples, we begin to see the necessity of thinking across chronologies as well as through and from non-Eurocentric geographies that connect music with space and place and other forms of expression that shape them. To this extent, there is potential for us to work with a decentralized idea of the baroque that furthers its “provincialization.”<sup>34</sup> This reorientation represents the second of my “unbindings”: *to shift from a “New World” to a “global” conception of a transhistorical baroque.*

My framework thus far clearly draws on the work of literary scholars and art historians who “weigh Old World Baroque forms against their New World uses” specific to Latin American histories and realities.<sup>35</sup> But it is my

30. Interviewed in Andres Schipani, “Why Bolivian Baroque Rocks,” *BBC News*, August 30, 2009, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/8206836.stm>.

31. Schipani, “Why Bolivian Baroque Rocks.”

32. Interviewed in Nicholas Casey, “Concepción Journal: Jesuit Legacy in the Bolivian Jungle: A Love of Baroque Music,” *New York Times*, May 8, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/08/world/americas/bolivia-baroque-music.html>.

33. Suzel Ana Reily, “Remembering the Baroque Era: Historical Consciousness, Local Identity and the Holy Week Celebrations in a Former Mining Town in Brazil,” *Ethnomusicology Forum* 15, no. 1 (2006): 39–62, at 48.

34. See Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

35. Zamora and Kaup, 2.

intention to apply such thinking to a broader geography. And while the course may currently favor certain regions across the Americas, I have attempted to lean further into the globality of the baroque that connects not only past with present, but Mexico City with Nagasaki and Goa, London with Kolkata and Jamaica, and Beijing with Manilla and Paris. That is, this course embraces the global as a concept that brings together time and space, whereby “global spatiality implies global history and vice versa.”<sup>36</sup> Thinking about music history in a global context thus challenges what we mean by history, as it compels us to move beyond conventional ideas of space such as the nation-state. As Julia McClure has noted, a “connected” approach to global history is a critical contribution to decolonized curricula that resituates a decentered Europe as part of an interconnected world.<sup>37</sup> Her reassessment of the “Renaissance” and the “Enlightenment” as products of broader global processes intersects with recent work in the field of global music history that has sought to emphasize these same processes as central to what we know as “European music” or “Western art music” in the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries.<sup>38</sup>

To return to Helen Hills’ assessment of the baroque as a bringer of “discrepancy and rupture” as much as it is one of “harmony,” we can see in it the need for an unbounded approach that exposes not only deep connections between world regions but also critical points of disjuncture and upheaval. Situating the baroque in its global contexts thus allows us to focus on “subjugated Indigenous voices, knowledges, and philosophies” as well as the “material dimensions of colonialism.”<sup>39</sup> Teaching a global baroque is therefore a restorative move that reformulates what students typically understand as “baroque music”—that it is a product of global processes of (dis)integration, entanglement, and friction brought about by imperialism (both European and non-European), colonialism, missionization, and mercantilism. And while this intersects with recent moves to “diversify” early music (in terms of what constitutes “early music,”

36. Prasenjit Duara, Viren Murthy, and Andrew Sartori, “Introduction,” in *A Companion to Global Historical Thought*, eds. Prasenjit Duara, Viren Murthy, and Andrew Sartori (Oxford: Wiley, 2014), 1–18, at 1.

37. Julia McClure, “Connected Global Intellectual History and the Decolonisation of the Curriculum,” *History Compass* 19, no. 1 (2021): <https://compass.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/hic3.12645>.

38. See, for instance, David R. M. Irving, “Rethinking Early Modern ‘Western Art Music’: A Global History Manifesto,” *IMS Musicological Brainfood* 3, no. 1 (2019): 6–10; David R. M. Irving, *The Making of European Music in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2024); Jürgen Osterhammel, “Globale Horizonte europäischer Kunstmusik, 1860–1930” [Global Horizons of European Art Music, 1860–1930], *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* [History and Society] 38, no. 1 (2012): 86–132.

39. Soenka Biermann, “Knowledge, Power and Decolonization: Implication for Non-Indigenous Scholars, Researchers and Educators,” in *Indigenous Philosophies and Critical Education: A Reader*, ed. George J. Sefa Dei (New York: Peter Lang, 2011), 386–98, at 388.

how it is performed, and by whom), I would argue that it draws an important heuristic line in the sand by acknowledging that *the baroque was always already global*. That is, this shift is less about nominal “inclusion” and more about a restorative historiography that focuses on the peoples, practices, and places who have largely been un(der)represented as orchestrators (both literally and figuratively) of the baroque in music history curricula. As much as it is an appeal to take seriously Indigenous contributions to the histories of these musics, this impetus is also a recognition of ownership as central to sounding communal identities and forging present links with the past and vice versa. Processes of decolonizing knowledge and knowledge production are thus not, and cannot be, only about diversifying our syllabi; they must also be about exposing these deeper entanglements that have hitherto been obscured.

In embracing this conception of the baroque as transcultural, transhistorical, and global, students confront the entanglement of a diversity of musical practices, acoustemologies, and ways of reckoning with time.<sup>40</sup> Module 4, for instance, introduces students to the study of intercultural contexts that existed outside the forces of European settler colonialism. While each week does offer audiovisual examples that might seemingly place an emphasis on “works,” students must critically connect those works to extra-musical *networks* and, in this module, extend their focus to non-notated “musical” practices that tend to fall between disciplinary cracks. Specifically, through my own scholarly work, students come to learn about sung narrative traditions indigenous to Japan and how they came to be adapted by Catholic converts in the sixteenth century.<sup>41</sup> Exploration of such hybridities establishes the groundwork to then consider the kind of chanting styles fostered by Japanese Crypto-Christian (*kakure kirishitan*) communities from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, whose practice survives to this day. And as these communities dwindle, study of their vocal traditions is a critical means of heritage preservation.<sup>42</sup> This focus on Japan’s so-called “Christian Century” (1549–1650) also allows for students to grapple with culturally and historically situated differences in the experience, conceptualization, and recording of time. To the extent that they will be familiar with Gregorian approaches to the calendar, students also encounter here

40. For a useful exploration of acoustemologies in a global “early modern” context, see Emily Wilbourne and Suzanne G. Cusick, eds., *Acoustemologies in Contact: Sounding Subjects and Modes of Listening in Early Modernity* (Cambridge, UK: Open Book Publishers, 2021).

41. Makoto Harris Takao, “In Their Own Way’: Contrafactual Practices in Japanese Christian Communities During the 16th Century,” *Early Music* 47, no. 2 (2019): 183–98.

42. See Yurina Koizumi, “Nagasaki-ken Ikitsukishima ni okeru kakure kirishitan no ‘uta orasho’: Ikitsukishima Yamada-chiku no jirei kenkyū” [The “Uta-Orasho” of the Hidden Christians on Ikitsuki Island, Nagasaki Prefecture: A Case Study of the Yamada District on Ikitsuki Island], *Nenpō himoji shiryō kenkyū* [Annual Report for the Study of Nonwritten Cultural Materials] 11 (2015): 245–66.

such systems as Japan's twenty-four "micro-seasons" (*sekki*) and the occurrence of hours, months, days, and years in a specified sequence according to the East Asian sexagenary cycle (*jikkan jūinshi*), which is associated with the five primal elements (wood, fire, earth, metal, and water) of Chinese cosmology as well as its twelve "zodiac" animals.<sup>43</sup>

Modules 5 (China) and 6 (India) both offer critical insight into the eighteenth-century practice of "proto-ethnomusicology," the politics of transcribing non-European "melodies" in Western notation, and how the scholarly study of such Asian musics at the time shaped self-understandings of "European" music and identity. In Module 5, students explore examples of Chinese music history, theory, and organology during the late Ming (1368–1644) and early Qing (1644–1912) Dynasties through such primary sources as the 1746 *Lülü zhengyi houbian* ("A Supplement to the Correct Interpretation of the [Twelve] Pitches," 律呂正義後編). Simultaneously, by looking to the compositions and transcriptions of such Beijing-based Catholic figures as Teodrico Pedrini and Jean-Joseph Marie Amiot, forms like the violin sonata are critically assessed alongside Chinese instrumental compositions as part of the imperial court's complex sonic identity as a baroque, cosmopolitan center shaped by the aesthetic interests and priorities of emperor Kangxi (r. 1662–1722) and later emperors Yongzheng (r. 1723–1735) and Qianlong (r. 1736–1795).<sup>44</sup> In the following week, students are met with familiar names that have formed the bedrock of European music history textbooks over the last century: George Frideric Handel and Arcangelo Corelli. By recontextualizing these figures through the prism of colonial Kolkata (Calcutta), students begin to grasp the former's *Messiah* and the latter's violin and trio sonatas as temporally and geographically mobile. Indeed, this consideration of Corelli connects students back to the previous module wherein discussions of Pedrini's own violin sonatas in eighteenth-century Beijing are informed by his importation of Corelli's music

43. I also find images of nineteenth-century Japanese clocks a useful teaching point for thinking about cultural differences in the reckoning of time and their simultaneous functioning in our world. See, for instance, the myriad-year clock, made by Hisashige Tanaka in 1851, with Western and Japanese dials; weekly, monthly, and zodiac settings; as well as the sun term and phases of the moon. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Myriad-Year\\_Clock\\_made\\_by\\_Hisashige\\_Tanaka,\\_1851,\\_with\\_western\\_and\\_Japanese\\_dials,\\_weekly,\\_monthly,\\_and\\_zodiac\\_setting,\\_plus\\_sun\\_and\\_moon\\_-\\_National\\_Museum\\_of\\_Nature\\_and\\_Science,\\_Tokyo\\_-\\_DSC07407.JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Myriad-Year_Clock_made_by_Hisashige_Tanaka,_1851,_with_western_and_Japanese_dials,_weekly,_monthly,_and_zodiac_setting,_plus_sun_and_moon_-_National_Museum_of_Nature_and_Science,_Tokyo_-_DSC07407.JPG).

44. Another teaching point I find useful for exploring the transculturation of the baroque in the Chinese imperial court is with reference to the European-inspired palaces, pavilions, and gardens in a dedicated section of the Yuanmingyuan. Access to the eighteenth-century engravings of this hybridized architecture by Giuseppe Castiglione is freely available through the New York Public Library: <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/collections/a-suite-of-twenty-engravings-of-the-yuan-ming-yuan-summer-palaces-and-gardens#/?tab=about>.

to China at that time.<sup>45</sup> Indeed, we can seek out “revisionist alternatives” to how we teach the history of European composers that, at the very least, begin to resituate familiar names in their broader global-historical realities.<sup>46</sup> In this course, Corelli himself is unbound as but one corrective to the dominant Eurocentric narratives generally associated with his life and music.<sup>47</sup> Verily this line of thinking once more demonstrates the utility of seeking out “keyholes” (be they people, musical “works,” or practices) that can reveal the global interconnections of individual lives across time and space.

Lastly, a global approach to the baroque necessitates working with a polycentric model. That is, Beijing and Kolkata, for instance, can be considered as much baroque epicenters as their Parisian, Venetian, or Roman counterparts. In so doing, not only do we capture the musical activities of such individuals as Pedrini (who would be largely overlooked if we focused solely on his native Italy), but equally those musicians, historians, and intellectuals indigenous to all of these global metropolises. Inasmuch as students focus on Corelli and Handel in Module 6, they also engage with how their music indirectly influenced the development of the Carnatic tradition of violin playing through the figure of Baluswami Dikshitar. Further still, students follow Baluswami’s older brother Muthuswami Dikshitar (1776–1835), one of the “Carnatic Trinity,” in his writing of the late eighteenth-century *Nottuswara Sahithya*.<sup>48</sup> These melodies draw on Celtic reels, European children’s songs, and British anthems, among others, revealing the ways in which Carnatic musicking was a baroque site of transculturation and counter-conquest. In a similar fashion, Module 7 places emphasis on such Mexican-born figures as Manuel de Sumaya [Zumaya] (ca. 1678–1755) to unpack the idea of “composing Indigeneity,” which deals with not only the works of Indigenous peoples trained within the conventions of the Spanish baroque but also those colonial compositions (namely the villancico) that communicated early modern taxonomies of race and the racialization of sound and language. Module 9 centers the life, letters, and music of African-born British writer, composer, and abolitionist Ignatius Sancho (ca. 1729–1780). Here, stu-

45. Scholars have continually conjectured the likelihood of these sonatas being composed in China (and not Italy). See Peter C. Allsop and Joyce Lindorff, “Teodrico Pedrini: The Music and Letters of an 18th-Century Missionary in China,” *Vincentian Heritage Journal* 27, no. 2 (2008): 43–59, at 56.

46. Tomlinson, “Monumental Musicology,” 374.

47. Thinking about a “global Corelli” is inspired by the work of musicologist and violinist David R. M. Irving. For Irving’s important unpacking of Corelli’s adaptation in eighteenth-century Malaysia, see David R. M. Irving, “Trading Tunes: Thomas Forrest, Malay Songs, and Musical Exchange in the Malay Archipelago, 1774–84,” in *Intercultural Exchange in Southeast Asia: History and Society in the Early Modern World*, ed. Tara Alberts and D. R. M. Irving (London: I. B. Tauris, 2013), 203–35.

48. *Nottuswara* combines the idea of Western “notes” (*nottu*) with *swara*, an analogous concept of “note” and “tone” in Indian classical musics.



dents are challenged to rethink the categories of space within which we write, teach, and study music history—specifically, how a focus on the Atlantic Ocean moves us beyond seeing the nation as a spatial referent and attends to how the forces of the British slave trade laid the foundations for a culture that would be at once African, American, Caribbean, and British, i.e., what Paul Gilroy famously calls the “Black Atlantic.”<sup>49</sup> In doing so, these discussions further those from the previous Module 8, in which students study the presence of Black musicians in the *Trujillo Codex* and their revealing of a broader history of African-Iberian music in the Andean regions of South America and beyond.

It has not been my intention to offer a particularized account of how this course was taught week by week (a general sense of this can be gleaned from the syllabus alone). As such, there are vignettes and module components that have been excluded from discussion in this article in the interest of space. What I have intended is to explore in more detail how a conscious experimentation with time and temporality motivates a productive conception of the baroque as at once transcultural, transhistorical, and transregional. In the space that remains, I briefly reflect on the challenges associated with teaching a course of this nature as a party of one. As much as the paradigms of doing global history have brought a critical eye to the limits of single-authored research to date, so too must we confront the limits of how it can and should be taught.

### **Unbinding the Professor: Centering Subjective Formation**

How can I, a specialist of region X in century Y, teach a course in global music history? In informal conversations I have often encountered expressions of uncertainty or even skepticism in answering to this hypothetical design. Though these concerns are not unwarranted, much of this suspicion is arguably born out of confusion over what constitutes global music history in the first place. My approach, like many others in this growing field, is to employ the “global” as a specific epistemological premise. That is, thinking about the global is not so much about pursuing a universal scope (i.e., this is not a “world history” or a “universal history” approach to music), but is rather a way of seeing and situating specific local, regional, national, or even oceanic spaces in the context of global structures and transformations.<sup>50</sup> By so doing, we are better placed to account for the circulation, exchange, and flow as well as disruption

49. Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993). On the role of seas and oceans in the navigation of more-than-national histories of music, see Kate van Orden, ed., *Seachanges: Music in the Mediterranean and Atlantic Worlds, 1550–1800* (Florence: Officina Libraria/Harvard University Press, 2021).

50. Takao, “Global Music History.” See also Olivia Bloechl and Hyun Kyong Hannah Chang, eds., “Colloquy: Theorizing Global Music History,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 76, no. 3 (2023): 831–72.

and suppression of musical ideas, practices, peoples, and commodities between groups and societies.

In thinking about this essentially creative hand of the professor in curating course content, I am reminded of the philosopher Thomas Kuhn, who once jibed that “[i]n history, more than in any other discipline I know, the finished product of research disguises the nature of the work that produced it.”<sup>51</sup> Here, Kuhn hits at the sore spot of subjectivity, understood to be fought at every stage by the historian in their rendering of an “objective” account of the musical past. One might argue that it is in the very nature of music history surveys and textbooks generally to communicate to students a similar sense of History with a capital “H.” And yet, as Susan Crane reminds us, subjectivity informs every choice we make, it is intimately connected with objectivity, and “we could never attempt one without the other.”<sup>52</sup> Just as Philip Bohlman characterizes musicology as a “reflexive process” that moves “music into discourse,” so too can we lean into that very process in the act of teaching.<sup>53</sup> Herein lies the third of my “unbindings”: *to make transparent the seams of the syllabus and the formation of the instructor’s subjectivity.*

As a scholar trained as a historian of religion with a background in Asian Studies, my approach to musicology is perhaps an unconventional one. This is something I center in my classroom, and I make clear how the “product” (that is the course and its syllabus) is an outcome of this, thus attempting to lift the veil of objectivity. Making transparent my disciplinary, linguistic, and geocultural positionalities invites students themselves to engage as self-reflexive members of a learning community who actively question how they approach and relate to each week’s module. The syllabus, as it is presented here, is but a snapshot in time that captures my thinking at its point of creation, and it will doubtlessly change as I continue to teach this course and mature as a scholar. Indeed, it is my intention for others to use it as a starting point from which to amplify their own regional foci, disciplinary skillsets, interests, and needs. Nevertheless, it is important to briefly address the pedagogical limits in navigating the ongoing global turn in music history curricula at both undergraduate and graduate levels.

I have been fortunate to draw on the generosity and knowledge of colleagues both on campus and further afield as occasional guest lecturers in my own courses, allowing students to gain valuable access to perspectives and

51. Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Essential Tension: Selected Studies in Scientific Tradition and Change* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), x.

52. Susan A. Crane, “Historical Subjectivity: A Review Essay,” *Journal of Modern History* 78, no. 2 (2006): 434–56, at 434.

53. Philip V. Bohlman, “Musicology as a Political Act,” *Journal of Musicology* 11, no. 4 (1993): 411–36, at 418.

specializations other than my own.<sup>54</sup> As much as the future of global music history beckons a greater degree of collaboration in research, so too must we think strategically about how it can be taught.<sup>55</sup> Perhaps we might look to a kind of “polyphonic pedagogy” (what I see as a consciously synergistic form of group teaching) that reflects not only the imperatives of the field’s multilateralism (both in terms of geographical and disciplinary diversity) but also its increasing need for multilingualism. Certainly, the latter touches on one of the many challenges (in my case) of teaching a course of this nature in a largely monolingual institutional setting.<sup>56</sup> In spite of such challenges, we must still strive to develop strategies in the classroom that make space for “epistemological equity.”<sup>57</sup> Indeed, the implication for non-Indigenous and/or “systematically privileged” educators, as articulated by Soenke Biermann, is to think critically about how to center a multiplicity of knowledges, philosophies, and forms of scholarship in our curricula, in our classrooms, and in how we structure teacher-learner relationships.<sup>58</sup> Aside from providing students with translations of scholarly materials in languages other than English (which is an often unrecognized, undervalued, and time-consuming form of labor), it is important to assign materials in English which themselves enter into meaningful historical and contemporary dialogue through a diversity of geocultural settings and associated perspectives. In realizing a more equitable practice for global music history, especially as it increasingly finds a curricular foothold, it is crucial that we foster in students a “transcultural consciousness” that unites perspectives from musicology, ethnomusicology, history, and the social sciences while

54. I am grateful to Sarah Eyerly, Christina Horton, David R. M. Irving, and Carlos Molina-Vital for their invaluable contributions in this regard.

55. On the necessity of collaborative research, see Olivia Bloechl, Katherine Butler Schofield, and Gabriel Solis, “The Value of Collaboration,” *AMS Musicology Now*, March 20, 2017, <https://musicologynow.org/the-value-of-collaboration/>.

56. For students whose first language is one other than English, I try my best to provide additional readings written by scholars in that language. Indeed, I think it is a critical intervention to encourage students (especially at the graduate level) to draw on their multilingualism as a source of scholarly strength and to find ways to assist them in designing a research project that takes advantage of this invaluable skillset.

57. On this concept, see George J. Sefa Dei, “Indigenous Knowledge Studies and the Next Generation: Pedagogical Possibilities for Anti-Colonial Education,” *Australian Journal of Indigenous Education* 37, no. 1 (2008): 5–13, at 8, 11.

58. Writing from the perspective of a “white middle-class male working in a university,” Biermann offers a sober assessment of how educators of this demographic might confront their “own implicatedness in colonial structures” and make meaningful contributions to systemic change. Soenke Biermann, “Knowledge, Power, and Decolonization: Implication for Non-Indigenous Scholars, Researchers, and Educators,” in *Indigenous Philosophies and Critical Education: A Reader*, ed. George J. Sefa Dei (New York: Peter Lang, 2011), 386–98.

pursuing and maintaining regional diversity and scholarly participation without hegemony.<sup>59</sup>

### Unbinding the Curriculum: Beyond “European Chronology with Tangents”

We are at a critical juncture where conservatories and schools of music are beginning to reckon with the historically Eurocentric focus of their curricula and the underlying relationship between colonialism and the production of knowledge.<sup>60</sup> Concomitant with broader efforts to decolonize education in the humanities, such moments of reformation have been increasingly emboldened by student-led initiatives advocating for a greater representation of non-European musics, musicians, and musicologies. Yet we must be wary of what Walter D. Mignolo calls the “gesture of decentering and delinking” from Europe and coloniality that invariably lacks a genuine “relinking” to both aesthetic and political Indigenous structures.<sup>61</sup> To this extent I wish to reiterate a central question I posed earlier: What is at stake and for whom in our thinking through the concept of a global baroque? This leads me to the last of my “unbindings”: *to “delink” from the fictions and frictions of a Eurocentric musicology in order to foster a curriculum that favors a global approach to music history.*

For Mignolo, decolonial thinking breaks away from “imposed dichotomies in the West, namely the knower and the known, the subject and the object, theory and praxis.”<sup>62</sup> As has been emphasized throughout this article, consideration of the baroque in a global context necessitates the collapsing of these aforementioned dichotomies. Indeed, as we have seen, students in the course at hand encounter the varied ways in which musicians and communities from southern Japan to the Andean regions of South America today delink from a colonial baroque (as representation) to embrace one which “relinks” (as transculturation and/or counter-conquest) them to “their own memories and legacies, thereby securing modes of existence that satisfy them.”<sup>63</sup> Applying Mignolo’s decolonial thinking to our own consideration of music history is to consciously part ways with the baroque as “uni-global, uni-form, [or] homog-

59. Reinhard Strohm, ed., *Transcultural Music History: Global Participation and Regional Diversity in the Modern Age* (Berlin: Verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung, 2021). See also Sanela Nikolić, “Five Claims for Global Musicology,” *Acta Musicologica* 93, no. 2 (2021): 219–35.

60. For a personal reflection on these challenges as an educator (and in response to student-led movements for curricular reform in the United Kingdom), see Michael A. Peters, “Why is My Curriculum White?,” *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 47, no. 7 (2015): 641–46. See also Shzr Ee Tan, ed., “Decolonising Music and Music Studies,” *Ethnomusicology Forum* 30 (2021): 4–162.

61. Walter D. Mignolo, “Coloniality is Far From Over, and So Must Be Decoloniality,” *Afterall: A Journal of Art, Context, and Enquiry* 43 (2017): 39–45.

62. Mignolo, 42.

63. Mignolo, 45.

enous” while also avoiding the transformation of decoloniality into yet another “global design.”<sup>64</sup> In other words, advocacy for a global baroque that is both transcultural and transhistorical is one that de-emphasizes “the Baroque” as a stylistic and periodizing universal and, instead, makes room for a multiplicity of articulations that relink with Indigenous agencies across and between space and time. What is at stake and for whom is thus a question of what Mignolo calls “delink[ing] in order to re-exist.”<sup>65</sup> As the vignettes in this course illustrate, each baroque is as much about a present “re-existing” and preservation of local legacies as it is about a record of the past.

This article began by acknowledging the origins of musicology’s uncomfortable relationship with the baroque. Inasmuch as we may look to our peers in art history to account for its conceptual baggage, it is arguable that they, along with scholars in the field of literary studies, are a pace ahead in finding productive ways of working with and through this discomfort. Certainly, we are facing a prime opportunity to fully embrace our global moment in the study of all musics and their histories. In this, we would be wise to gain insight from how the field of global historiography has, in recent years, navigated its own trials and tribulations in rethinking course offerings and curricular priorities. To this extent, J. Laurence Hare and Jack Wells offer critical reflections that resonate with how we might stipulate paths of study for undergraduate students majoring in music:

Schools should no longer be content to broaden students’ horizons and break the grip of Euro-centrism by mandating surveys and by stocking up on non-Western regional courses. [. . .] They should first recognize the unique challenges of global history research, and second implement its principal lesson that world regions do not exist in isolation. Above all, universities and colleges, in order to demonstrate a true commitment to world [global] history, must find a way to cultivate its presence across the curriculum.<sup>66</sup>

Here we find a parallel call to transform the spatial frameworks we use in teaching that move us from isolated nationalisms to more connected (music) history curricula.<sup>67</sup> At the same time, the authors highlight the problem of taking a “deficiency” approach to diversifying an undergraduate core—that is, the offsetting of a required sequence of “Western” history courses with a number of “non-Western” electives and how this ultimately fails to remedy the underlying

64. Mignolo, 45.

65. Mignolo, 40.

66. J. Laurence Hare and Jack Wells, “Promising the World: Surveys, Curricula, and the Challenge of Global History,” *The History Teacher* 48, no. 2 (2015): 371–88, at 377.

67. On approaches to “connected history” see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “Connected Histories: Notes Towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia,” *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 3 (1997): 735–62.

issue. Alan J. Singer has similarly been critical of teaching global history in name only, which effectively preserves “European chronology with tangents.”<sup>68</sup> A conscious experimentation with time and temporality, a hallmark of recent global-historical thinking, has thus been a through-line in this article that brings us full circle: “baroque is always already contemporary.”<sup>69</sup> What started with my being assigned to a “period studies in musicology” course ultimately led me to embrace a series of pedagogical unbindings that make space for the “past present continuous” nature of the music histories I teach. Moreover, endorsing a baroque that is transregional, transcultural, and transhistorical is not only a restorative positioning that resituates familiar names, works, and practices within their global contexts, but it is also a reflexive positioning that invites students to understand their own relationship to these histories. If we are, as educators, invested in cultivating global citizens, then the way we approach teaching our world’s histories of musics must accordingly respond to today’s needs.<sup>70</sup> Now, more than ever, the crises of globalization compel us to work with a global-historical approach to the study of music that can help students understand our pasts, make sense of our present, and think critically about our future.

## **SYLLABUS: Towards a Global Baroque: Music, Power, and the (More Than) “European” Tradition**

### **Module 1: The Global Turn in (Music) History**

#### *Lecture*

What is Global History?

#### *Seminar Readings*

1. Neus Rotger, Diana Roig-Sanz, and Marta Puxan-Oliva, “Introduction: Towards a Cross-Disciplinary History of the Global in the Humanities and the Social Sciences,” *Journal of Global History* 14, no. 3 (2019): 325–34.

68. Alan J. Singer, *Teaching Global History: A Social Studies Approach* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 39–47.

69. Helen Hills’s introduction to Claire Farago et al., 45.

70. For a recent critique, see Timothy Rice, “Schools of Music as Social Institutions in Service to Society,” *MUSICultures* 50 (2023): 111–31.

2. Sebastian Conrad, *What is Global History?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 1–16; 62–89; 162–64.
3. Thomas David, Anne-Isabelle Richard, and Pierre Singaravélou, “Is Global History Global? Convergences and Inequalities,” *Itinerario: Journal of Imperial and Global Interactions* (2023): 1–12, <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0165115323000293>.

## Module 2: Conceptualizing a Global Baroque

### *Lecture*

Sewing the Global Seams of “Western Music” in the Early Modern World

### *Seminar Readings*

1. David R. M. Irving, “Rethinking Early Modern ‘Western Art Music’: A Global History Manifesto,” *IMS Musicological Brainfood* 3 (2019): 6–10.
2. Olivia Bloechl, “Music in the Early Modern Colonial World,” in *The Cambridge History of Sixteenth-Century Music*, ed. Iain Fenlon and Richard Wistreich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 128–55.
3. Lois Parkinson Zamora, “New World Baroque, Neobaroque, Brut Barroco: Latin American Postcolonialisms,” *PMLA* 124, no. 1 (2009): 127–42.

## Module 3: Sounding Japan’s Christian Century

### *Lecture*

Musical Hybridities in Japan’s Catholic Past and Present

### *Seminar Readings*

1. Makoto Harris Takao, “‘In Their Own Way’: Contrafactual Practices in Japanese Christian Communities During the 16th Century,” *Early Music* 47, no. 2 (2019): 183–98.
2. Christal Whelan, “Religion Concealed: The Kakure Kirishitan on Narushima,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 47, no. 3 (1992): 369–87.

*Audiovisual Sources*

1. “Tantum ergo,” *Manuale ad Sacramenta ecclesiae ministranda* (Nagasaki: Jesuit Mission Press, 1605), performed by タコタコシンガーズ (Tako-Tako Singers): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BxS8rjFToNA>.
2. “Gururiyoza” (ぐるりよざ) chant among the *kakure kirishitan* (hidden Christian) of Ikitsuki Island, from Tatsuo Minagawa, *Yōgaku torai kō* [A Study on the Introduction of Western Music to Japan] (Tokyo: Japan Traditional Cultures Foundation/Victor Entertainment, 2006): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OHPgEWFxCcs>.
3. Comparison between “O gloriosa Domina” and “Gururiyoza,” performed by *kakure kirishitan* (hidden Christian) members of the Yamada District, Ikitsuki Island: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oWTC6xa-3i8>.

**Module 4: A Chinese Imperial Baroque***Lecture*

The Kangxi Emperor at the Harpsichord: Music in the Age of Chinese Intercultural Exchange

*Seminar Readings*

1. Joyce Lindorff, “Missionaries, Keyboards, and Musical Exchange in the Ming and Qing Courts,” *Early Music* 32, no. 3 (2004): 403–13.
2. Yoko Nii, “The Jesuit Jean-Joseph-Marie Amiot and Chinese Music in the Eighteenth Century,” in *Europe and China: Science and Arts in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, ed. Luis Saraiva (Singapore: World Scientific, 2013), 81–94.
3. Qingfan Jiang, “In Search of the ‘Oriental Origin’: Rameau, Rousseau, and Chinese Music in Eighteenth-Century France,” *Eighteenth-Century Music* 19, no. 2 (2022): 125–49.

*Audiovisual Sources*

1. Teodorico Pedrini, Sonata Op. 3 No. 1, *Dodici Sonate a Violino Solo col Basso del Nepridi* (ca. 1711–1746, likely published in China), performed by Julia Glenn, Madeleine Bouïssou, Elliot Figg, and Paul Morton: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tZLSNQwqE7g>.



2. Excerpts from Jean Joseph Marie Amiot, *Divertissements chinois ou Concerts de musique chinoise* (Peking [Beijing], 1779), performed by Le Baroque Nomade (dir. Jean-Christophe Frisch): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S1FQBgVx2x4>.
3. “Shui Long Yin” [水龙吟, “Call of the Water Dragon”], Xian Di Pipa Pu [絃笛琵琶譜, *Scores for Sanxian, Dizi, and Pipa*] (1770), performed by François Picard: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rJGUp1Od00k>.
4. Paul Hindemith, “Turandot (Scherzo),” *Symphonic Metamorphosis of Themes by Carl Maria von Weber* (1943), performed by the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra (dir. Claudio Abbado): [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CH3W\\_cGj070](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CH3W_cGj070).

## Module 5: Colonial India in the Age of the “Hindostannie Air”

### Lecture

The Baroque in Colonial India and the Politics of Transcription

### Seminar Readings

1. Ian Woodfield, “The ‘Hindostannie Air’: English Attempts to Understand Indian Music in the Late Eighteenth Century,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 119, no. 2 (1994): 189–211.
2. Joep Bor, “The Rise of Ethnomusicology: Sources on Indian Music ca. 1780–ca. 1890,” *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 20 (1988): 51–73.

### Audiovisual Sources

1. William Hamilton Bird, trans., “Rekhtah: Mutru be khoosh nuwa bego” (also rendered as “Mootrib I khoosh nuwa bigo”) [وگب اونشوخ برطم], *The Oriental Miscellany: Airs of Hindustan* (Calcutta: Joseph Cooper, 1789), performed by Jane Chapman: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DXjXV147pDI>.
2. Edward Smith Biggs, arr., “O Do Not Ask Whence Springs My Sadness,” *A Second Set of Hindoo Airs with English Words* (London: Rt. Birchall, ca. 1800), “performed” by Makoto Harris Takao<sup>71</sup>: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CDkt5JUBfYY>.

71. This excerpt was the outcome of recording all parts on my own with the “Acapella” app during the early weeks of the coronavirus pandemic in 2020. I am not a trained vocalist, nor is this recording intended for any use other than the illustrative.

3. William Hamilton Bird, “Sonata” [as inspired by Indian tunes], *The Oriental Miscellany: Airs of Hindustan* (Calcutta: Joseph Cooper, 1789), performed by Jane Chapman and Yu-Wei Hu: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&v=77DifMRMCRU>.
4. Muthuswami Dikshitar, “Paradevate” [O supreme goddess], (ca. 1800), published in Subbarama Dikshitar, *Prathamabyasa Pustakamu* (Ettayapuram, 1905), performed by Debipriya Sircar and Ensemble Tempus Fugit: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&v=97x1uC5gZKw>.

## Module 6: Hispanizing Filipino Musics, Philippinizing the Baroque

### Lecture

Sounding Filipino Identities in Catholic Soundscapes

### Seminar Readings

1. David R. M. Irving, “The Hispanization of Filipino Music,” in *Colonial Counterpoint: Music in Early Modern Manila* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 99–133.
2. David Kendall, “This is not Filipino Music”: Syncretism, Homogeneity, and the Search for Philippine-ness in Spanish Colonial Liturgical Music,” *Pintacasi: A Journal of Church Cultural Heritage* 8 (2012): 13–40.

### Audiovisual Sources

1. “Tocotín” by Antonio de Villegas /Sebastián de Aguirre, performed by Los Otros: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yb0dFcZFMGo>.
2. Anonymous, “Misa de Sales” from *Kirial de Baclayon* (ca. 1826), performed by Manuel Maramba and UST Singers (dir. Fidel Calalang Jr.): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8Rda6uqVxwI>.
3. Pabása ng Pasyón (chanting of the Passion) by community members of Bustos, Bulacan, Philippines: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pLQibliF0x8>.

## **Module 7: Composing Indigeneity in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Mexico**

### *Lecture*

Adopting, Adapting, Contesting the Baroque in Colonial Mexico

### *Seminar Readings*

1. Gerard Béhague, "Music in the 'New World': The Baroque in Mexico and Brazil," in *The World of Baroque Music: New Perspectives*, ed. George B. Stauffer (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 253–80.
2. Jonathan Truitt, "Adopted Pedagogies: Nahua Incorporation of European Music and Theater in Colonial Mexico City," *The Americas* 66, no. 3 (2010): 311–30.

### *Audiovisual Sources*

1. Manuel de Sumaya, *Hieremiae Prophetae Lamentationes* (1717), performed by Chanticleer (dir. Joseph Jennings): [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Oc2-I7\\_aBW4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Oc2-I7_aBW4).
2. Manuel de Sumaya, *Si ya a aquella nave* (Cantata for St. Peter), performed by Ángeles Maciel with Cantiga Armónica: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oy-3oP6ELCE>.
3. Juana Inés de la Cruz, *Madre, la de los primores* (1686), performed by London Oriana Choir (dir. Dominic Ellis-Peckham): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zW-sw4j2sus>.
4. Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, *A siolo flasiquiyo* (1653), performed by Ensemble Elyma: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&v=IZBV5DLzP6k>.

## **Module 8: Afro-Indigenous Musicking in Colonial Peru**

### *Lecture*

Many Hands Make a Manuscript: Navigating Indigenous Authorship and Postcolonial Ownership of the Codex Trujillo del Perú

*Workshop*

Workshop on the Quechua and Mochica Language<sup>72</sup>

*Audiovisual Sources*

1. “Tonada del Chimo,” *Codex Trujillo del Perú* (ca.1782–1785), performed by La Cappella Novohispana and Concentus Harmonicus (dir. Patricio Amezcua Zilli): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U0th1UPJcT4>.
2. “Cachuyta de la montaña, El vuen querer,” *Codex Trujillo del Perú*, performed by Hespèrion XXI (dir. Jordi Savall): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-8NORDzt90s>.
3. “Hanacpachap cussicuinin” (Hanaq pachap kusikuynin), Marian hymnal in the Quechua language [Juan Pérez Bocanegra, *Ritual formulario, e institucion de curas* (Lima, 1631)], performed by La Cappella Novohispana & Concentus Harmonicus (dir. Patricio Amezcua Zilli): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4ebaAS2UVPY>.

**Module 9: Baroque and the Black Atlantic**

*Visit to the Rare Book and Manuscript Library: The Life and Works of the “African” Composer Ignatius Sancho (1729–1780) in the Age of the British Slave Trade.*

We will gain “hands on” experience with a number of rare 18th-century texts detailing the British Empire and its relationship with the African slave trade to better understand the letters of Ignatius Sancho and his status as an English composer, including:

- *Letters of the Late Ignatius Sancho, an African* (London: J. Nichols, 1782).
- *The letters of the late Rev. Mr. Laurence Sterne, to his most intimate friends : with a fragment in the manner of Rabelais: to which are prefix'd, memoirs of his life and family* (London: T. Becket, 1776).

72. I have been most fortunate to call on the expertise of colleagues both on campus and further afield, including that of Carlos Molina-Vital in the Center of Latin and Caribbean Studies at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. Prof. Molina-Vital and I were able to collaborate in using seventeenth- and eighteenth-century music scores in Quechua and Mochica as starting points to explore the rudiments of these languages’ grammar and history. Online resources that may be useful in this regard include the vocabulary for Barry Brian Werger’s Internet Quechua Lessons (<http://ullanta.com/quechua/Vocabulary.html>) and Culturas de los Andes (<http://www.andes.org>).

- *Elegant epistles being a copious collection of familiar and amusing letters, selected for the improvement of young persons* (London: T. Longman et al., 1794).<sup>73</sup>

### *Seminar Readings*

1. Albert Mosley, "Music in The Black Atlantic," *Philosophia Africana* 6, no. 1 (2003): 23–30.
2. Rogério Budasz, "Black Guitar-Players and Early African-Iberian Music in Portugal and Brazil," *Early Music* 35, no. 1 (2007): 3–21.
3. Mary Canton Lingold, "In Search of Mr. Baptiste: On Early Caribbean Music, Race, and a Colonial Composer," *Early Music* 49, no. 1 (2021): 49–66.
4. Josephine Wright, "Ignatius Sancho (1729–1780), African Composer in England," *The Black Perspective in Music* 7, no. 2 (1979): 132–67.

### *Audiovisual Sources*

1. Ignatius Sancho, "Sweetest Bard," *A Collection of New Songs Composed by an African* (London, ca. 1769), performed by Reginald L. Mobley and Henry Lebedinsky: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xnd5YOlro44>.
2. Ignatius Sancho, *Twelve Country Dances* (London: S. and A. Thompson, 1779), performed by Zenas Hsu and Eunghee Cho (Phoenix Orchestra): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=llxvkSiZJCw>.

## **Module 10: Hymnology and the Repression and Revival of Native American Languages**

### *Lecture*

Native Americans, Missionaries, and the Indigenization of Christianity in Early North America

73. I am deeply invested in connecting my students with library collections and, in so doing, highlighting the very "material" nature of doing music history. To this end, I am particularly grateful to Cait Coker (curator and associate head) for her assistance in coordinating workshops at the Rare Book and Manuscript Library at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. I recognize I am in a privileged position to have firsthand access to these materials and resources. All of these titles, however, are also freely and readily available in digitized formats through Google Books.

*Seminar Readings*

1. Richard Crawford, *America's Musical Life: A History* (New York: Norton, 2001), 3–20.
2. Olivia Bloechl, *Native American Song at the Frontiers of Early Modern Music* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 22–31.
3. Rachel Wheeler and Sarah Eyerly, “Songs of the Spirit: Hymnody in the Moravian Mohican Missions,” *Journal of Moravian History* 17, no. 1 (2017): 1–26.

*Audiovisual Sources*

1. “Jesu paschgon kia” (in the Mohican language), as performed in three different recordings by Cantores Musicae Antiquae (dir. Sarah Eyerly); the Church of the Wilderness congregation (Stockbridge Mohican Reservation, Wisconsin); Stockbridge Mohican musician, Bill Miller: <https://oieahc.wm.edu/digital-projects/oi-reader/singing-box-331-rachel-wheeler-sarah-eyerly/exhibits/>.
2. Recording of a Nain (Nunainguk) Moravian Church Choir, 1971, Memorial University of Newfoundland Digital Archives: <https://collections.mun.ca/digital/collection/extension/id/757/>.

**Module 11: “World Building” on the Baroque Stages of Europe***Lecture*

The Geopolitics of “Globalism” in Early Modern Musical Theater and Its Performance Today

*Seminar Readings*

1. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978), 1–28.
2. Ralph P. Locke, “Alien Adventures: Exoticism in Italian-Language Baroque Opera,” *Musical Times* 150, no. 1909 (2009): 53–69.
3. Ayana O. Smith, “Race and Representation in Baroque Opera: Some Thoughts on Pedagogy, Scholarship, and Performance,” *Historical Performance* 3 (2022): 1–24.
4. Contemporary adaptations and interpretations of Jean-Philippe Rameau’s “Les Sauvages” (from *Les Indes Galantes*, 1735):

- Les Arts Florissants, dir. William Christie (Paris, 2003): <https://youtu.be/3zegtH-acXE>.
- Les Talens Lyriques, dir. Christophe Rousset (Bordeaux, 2014): <https://youtu.be/bD9fLIBP13k>.
- Danse du Grand Calumet/Il Giardino d'Amore, dir. Stefan Plewniak/Natalia Kozłowska (Poznan, Poland, 2016): <https://youtu.be/acd2CyafXIQ>.
- Ars Lyrica Housaton, dir. Matthew Dirst (Houston, 2019): <https://youtu.be/GDPgXSv-t9s>.
- Opéra national de Paris, dir. Clément Cogitore/Bintou Dembélé (Paris, 2019): <https://youtu.be/Q4jy2wrjESQ>.

#### *Audiovisual Sources*

1. Rameau's "Forêts paisibles" (*Les Indes Galantes*) from Les Arts Florissants' celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Philharmonie de Paris (2019): <https://youtu.be/wNmyYgkG2z8>.
2. Lully's "Marche pour la cérémonie des Turcs" (*Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*) from the film *Le roi danse* (2000): <https://youtu.be/OO2HBhwk05g>.
3. "Chinese Chaconne" from Les Arts Florissants' (dir. William Christie) production of Purcell's *Fairy Queen* (1989): <https://youtu.be/bI-NugPMg2M>.
4. Excerpts from Le Concert Spirituel's production of Boismortier's *Don Quichotte Chez de la Duchesse* (2016).<sup>74</sup>
5. Interview with Bintou Dembélé (facilitated by Noémie Ndiaye as part of "Black Baroque" through the University of Chicago): <https://youtu.be/QnNfySQ6lck>.

### **Module 12: Acoustic Contact Zones in South America**

#### *Lecture*

"Counter-Hegemonic" Uses of Sound and Music in Colonial Paraguay and Bolivia

#### *Seminar Readings*

1. Piotr Nawrot, "Teaching of Music and the Celebration of Liturgical Events in the Jesuit Reductions," *Anthropos* 99, no. 1 (2004): 73–84.

74. This is currently only available as a DVD recording through Alpha Classics.

2. Guillermo Wilde, “Toward a Political Anthropology of Mission Sound: Paraguay in the 17th and 18th Centuries,” trans. Eric Ederer, *Music & Politics* 1, no. 2 (2007): <http://dx.doi.org/10.3998/mp.9460447.0001.204>.
3. Leonardo J. Waisman, “Why Did Indians Sing? The Musical Practices by South-American Natives in the Jesuit *Reducciones*,” in *Studies on a Global History of Music*, ed. Reinhard Strohm (New York: Routledge, 2018), 311–29.

#### *Audiovisual Sources*

1. Anonymous (in Guaraní language), “Ara vale hava pehendü ava,” performed by Ensemble Louis Berger: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X5GoIc9m4AA>.
2. Anonymous, arr. P. Nawrot (in Spanish and Chiquitano language), “Opéra San Francisco Xavier” (ca. 1740), performed by Ensemble Elyma (dir. Gabriel Garrido): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YHFlgFcsAUA>.
3. “Guarani Kaiova Brazil” from Deise Lucy Oliveira Montardo’s *Através do Mbaraka: Música e xamanismo Guaraní* (2002): [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sn\\_rvxgfwvY](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sn_rvxgfwvY).

### **Module 13: Navigating Postcolonial Baroque(s)**

#### *Lecture*

“The Baroque is Our Tradition Here”: Ensemble Moxos and the Performance of Heritage Preservation

#### *Seminar Readings*

1. Javier Alejandro Barrientos Salinas, “‘Macheteros y violines’: La experiencia musical como pedagogía de la espiritualidad en la Amazonía beniana” [“Macheteros and Violins”: Musical Experience as a Pedagogy of Spirituality in the Benian Amazon], in *Encuentros con la Amazonía Boliviana: Reflexionando desde la diversidad de nuestros pueblos* [Encounters with the Bolivian Amazon: Reflections from the Diversity of Our Peoples], ed. Ángel Eduardo Román-López Dollinger, María Beatriz Castro Mojica, and María Clara Zeballos Puccherelli (La Paz: Instituto Técnico Ecuménico Andino de Teología, 2016), 89–106.
2. Suzel Ana Reily, “Remembering the Baroque Era: Historical Consciousness, Local Identity, and the Holy Week Celebrations in



a Former Mining Town in Brazil,” *Ethnomusicology Forum* 15, no.1 (2006): 39–62.

*Audiovisual Sources*

1. Ensemble Moxos’s campaign “Our Future Is in Your Hands” for their album *La Cosecha: Recogiendo nuestros Frutos* (The Harvest: Reaping our Fruits, 2016): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p2rXl4QSQ2o>.
2. Ensemble Moxos, “Aquel Monte” (orally-preserved song to the Virgin of Carmel with text in the Moxeño language) from the album *Pueblo Viejo* (2016): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1iwDrZ-gWaI>.
3. Holy Week procession in Diamantina, Minas Gerais (Brazil), video taken by Maria Edna Dias (2012): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JF7QFEzfPL8>.
4. Holy Week in Campanha, Minas Gerais (Brazil), video taken by Suzel Ana Reily in 2008 (2010): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=920oEG6DyW0>.

# Five Decolonial Narratives in Global Music History

GAVIN S.K. LEE

Global music history counters the coloniality of Western music history and works towards the decolonization of music higher education. This essay argues that big decolonial narratives are crucial in global music history, presenting and elaborating on five such narratives that together constitute a substantive 6000-word skeleton of global music history since 4000 BCE. To critique the tendency towards little narratives in recent music studies as an inadvertent obfuscation of the big story of colonial history, I present a synthesized, decolonial account of the full historical and geographic spans of global music history. In this article, I define decolonization as the targeted dismantling and at least partial *retreat* of cultural coloniality as embodied in Western music history, as well as, crucially, the accompanying “return” of Indigenous and other BIPOC musics to various ethnic groups. Decolonization of music curricula is critical because, as Dylan Robinson argues, “[w]ithin all academic disciplines, the core curriculum serves as the epistemological foundation—the ground that we provide through the courses, the texts, and the performances we teach . . . [I]n order for decolonization not to merely be a metaphor, curriculum might need to be one of the things ‘given back.’”<sup>1</sup> While Western universities are colonial institutions that require multi-pronged approaches to decolonization<sup>2</sup> (see Introduction to this special issue), global music history is one concrete approach that can address the problems of offering exclusively Western music history in music higher education. This is the case even as global music history, like all ethical approaches, rightfully undergoes close scrutiny in order to identify its limitations (such as the potential disconnect with social justice for

1. This is from Dylan Robinson’s own segment in the introduction titled “Beyond Western Musicalities,” co-authored with Maya Cunningham, Chris Stover, Leslie Tilley, and Anna Yu Wang for *Engaging Students: Essays in Music Pedagogy* 8 (2020): <https://engagingstudentsmusic.org/index.php/engagingstudents/issue/view/245>.

2. La paperson, *A Third University is Possible* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), <https://manifold.umn.edu/projects/a-third-university-is-possible>.

marginalized peoples<sup>3</sup>), because, as Robinson argues, the ceding of epistemic grounds *is* a concrete decolonial action.

Recent discussions of appropriate and inappropriate uses of the term “decolonial” have emphasized the centrality of Indigenous voices, and thus the viewpoints in Eve Tuck’s article “Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor” (coauthored with K. Wayne Yang) should be given full consideration in settler colonial contexts.<sup>4</sup> Certainly, “decolonization” can and has been misused. Student-centering pedagogies, for example, are important but not necessarily decolonial. However, what is less often appreciated is that replacing “decolonial” with “decentering”<sup>5</sup> can distract from the colonialism of Western music history. In fact, the lack of specificity in “decentering” is precisely what I would refer to as a “move to innocence,” to borrow Tuck and Yang’s term (following Malwhinney<sup>6</sup>), indicating vagueness about what precisely is being resisted (decentering *what* exactly?). As opposed to only criticizing the misuse of the term “decolonial,” however justified it may be, those who restrict the use of “decolonial” to refer to the return of land in settler colonial contexts should always engage in a fuller discussion of universities’ and academic societies’ colonialism. Furthermore, a map for how to decolonize should always be provided; otherwise, universities and academic societies are simply allowed to maintain the colonial status quo. Granted, the depth and complexity of universities’ and academic societies’ colonialism means that any decolonial action taken is always partial, inadequate, and entangled with their colonial legacy. However, the alternative is to just maintain the colonial status quo, as opposed to the entanglement of decolonial attempts with the colonial legacy.

Calling global music history’s countering of Western music history “decentering” misses the point that Western music history is a specifically *colonial* cultural form. Cultivated by Western universities and academic societies, Western music history propagates the expansionist imperial ideology of Western superiority and is projected globally. Without a doubt, the decolonial function of global music history is limited to only colonial music curricula, leaving myriad other issues in universities and academic societies for further action, especially their occupation of Indigenous lands. However, focusing exclusively on the incompleteness of countercolonial actions such as global music history, and

---

3. Tamara Levitz, “Why I Don’t Teach Global Music History,” *Journal of Music History Pedagogy* 13, no. 1 (2023): 118–37.

4. Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, “Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor,” *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education, and Society* 1, no. 1 (2012): 1–40.

5. E.g., Levitz, “Why I Don’t Teach Global Music History,” 120.

6. Janet Mawhinney, “Giving up the Ghost: Disrupting the (Re)Production of White Privilege in Anti-Racist Pedagogy and Organizational Change” (master’s thesis, University of Toronto, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1998), [http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/obj/s4/f2/dsk2/tape15/PQDD\\_0008/MQ33991.pdf](http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/obj/s4/f2/dsk2/tape15/PQDD_0008/MQ33991.pdf).

restricting the conversation to land only, results in the reduction of multiple colonialisms into settler colonialism (in the Americas and Australasia), thereby erasing other (Asian, African) geographies and colonialisms from the conversation.<sup>7</sup> Western universities and academic societies occupy Indigenous lands, *and also propagate colonial forms such as Western music history that projects purported Western superiority, which is the core justification for expansionist imperialism in Asia and Africa.* The colonialism of Western music history is seen in the offering of exclusively Western music history courses in Singapore (where I received my early music education) well into the early twenty-first century, even though the British left in 1959, and in the rising gap in contemporary China (where I now work) between growing numbers of Western-music students and falling numbers of Chinese-music students. Against the expansionist imperial ideology of Western superiority as embodied in Western music history, the teaching of global (including Asian, African, and Afro Asian) music history is a *decolonial* act. Calling the function of global music history “decentering” leaves Western music history unaccountable for the part it plays in colonialism. To be clear, cultural and epistemic colonization—how “subjects that are socially located in the oppressed side of the colonial difference [are made] to think epistemically like the ones on the dominant positions”<sup>8</sup>—is colonization.

To counter the imperial aspect of Western music history by targeting the way in which it has excluded other histories (rather than targeting Western music history per se in its totality, which is one among many histories that should be studied), this article and the accompanying syllabus frame global music history in five decolonial narratives. From a pedagogical perspective, big narratives may seem to be nothing more than the kind of over-generalizations we regularly observe in student essays. Most of us try to cultivate students’ argumentative ability by guiding them towards the specificity of case studies, readings, and primary materials. I am in agreement with the need for methodology to lean towards the specific, but I also hold the position that there is a distinction to be made between valid and invalid generalities. Spatial, temporal, and social generalities, from the dominance of European coloniality over the past five centuries to the global impact of climate change and the universal need for anti-racist action, are valid generalities that can be harnessed for

7. For a critique of the positivist approach to land as the basis of both colonization and decolonization, which brackets the role played by colonial ideologies such as *terra nullius* in “clearing” land of Indigenous inhabitants, and a more complex account of colonial violence as rooted in modes of thinking, see Tapji Garba and Sara-Maria Sorentino, “Slavery Is a Metaphor: A Critical Commentary on Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang’s ‘Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor,’” *Antipode* 52, no. 3 (2020): 764–82.

8. Ramón Grosfoguel, “The Epistemic Decolonial Turn,” *Cultural Studies* 21, no. 2–3 (2007): 211–23, at 213.

counterhegemonic purposes *when combined with specific case studies*. In music, this could mean studies of how Western music altered the soundscape of nineteenth-century Japan, or the disappearance of Indigenous American musics such as the Arapaho Ghost Dance song, or the policy of dispersal that made it impossible for African musics to be preserved after their transatlantic journey to the United States. It is through big narratives that students can fully comprehend Western music as an instrument of colonialism and also see a global past that extends beyond—while sometimes being entangled with—the West. Global music history gives students the tools to create their own decolonial projects that dismantle exclusively Western music history courses by amplifying music histories that have previously been invisible.

### Part 1: Rethinking Big Narratives

While teachers in different parts of the world have long taught the histories of their own musics (e.g., Chinese music history), global music history as an area of research first appeared in Western musicology only in the 2010s,<sup>9</sup> with the majority of publications taking a case-studies approach based on in-depth analyses of how particular global points are connected, say *China and the West*.<sup>10</sup> (The field of ethnomusicology delves deeply into global musics but remains anchored in the anthropological method that leans towards the contemporary moment, in spite of the emergence of “historical ethnomusicology.”<sup>11</sup>) Even now, only a handful of higher education institutions offer global music history courses, and there is wide variance in the approaches adopted. These courses may be organized around historical patterns (diaspora and migration), cultural concepts (transculturation and hybridity due to cultural mixing), era (the past five centuries as a period of global integration), or specific case studies. A novice to the field of global music history might understandably be confused at this point due to the lack of overarching narratives.

In working on global music history narratives, we do not need to start entirely from scratch because there are relevant methodological issues which have been dealt with in Western music historiography. Broadly interpreted, “narratives” encompass all kinds of constructs, from (genius/gendered) images of canonic composers to development of styles and chronologically arrayed,

9. Two landmark volumes are Reinhard Strohm, ed., *Studies on a Global History of Music: A Balzan Musicology Project* (New York: Routledge, 2018); Reinhard Strohm, ed., *The Music Road: Coherence and Diversity in Music from the Mediterranean to India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

10. Michael Saffle and Hon-Lun Yang, *China and the West: Music, Representation, Reception* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2017).

11. See Jonathan McCollum and David Hebert, eds., *Theory and Method in Historical Ethnomusicology* (New York: Lexington Books, 2014).

stylistically defined historical periods.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, composers, styles, periods, and gender are key components of the stories we tell in music history, akin to the characters and plot development in a play. While narratives, especially big narratives, seem old fashioned for musicological research and teaching today, the critical power of what Jean-François Lyotard called myriad “little narratives”<sup>13</sup> derives in part from their opposition to “big” narratives. The critical interventions of little narratives would not seem so critical if the original big narratives had not existed. Calling for the inclusion of Maria Theresia Ahlefeldt and Afro-French composer Joseph Boulogne alongside Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven would not have as much of an impact if the construction of the First Viennese School was not already firmly entrenched. The critique of heights of development (e.g., Palestrina as the epitome of Renaissance polyphony) or genius constructs would not have been possible if these narrative components were not already well established.

In its current state, global music history research and teaching operate largely without macro narratives: in research, detailed studies of specific global connections are based on rigorous primary research dealing with music, texts, and archives (for example, recent research in East Asia is based on close examination of East Asian and European primary materials<sup>14</sup>); in teaching, macro narratives (as opposed to case studies) reaching beyond the past five centuries are uncommon. Indeed, global music history generally avoids the big narratives that were deemed necessary in the so-called world or universal histories that went out of fashion beginning in the late 1980s.<sup>15</sup> While a universal world history of music (were such a thing possible or desirable) would start from

12. Christoph Wolff, “Defining Genius: Early Reflections of J. S. Bach’s Self-Image,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 145, no. 4 (2001): 474–81. Warren Dwight Allen, *Philosophies of Music History: A Study of General Histories of Music 1600–1960* (New York: Dover, 1962 [1939]). An alternative to stylistic succession in music history is the “centuries” approach: e.g., Simon Keefe, ed., *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). Susan McClary, “Constructions of Subjectivity in Schubert’s Music,” in *Queering the Pitch: The New Gay and Lesbian Musicology*, eds. Philip Brett, Elizabeth Wood, and Gary C. Thomas (New York: Routledge, 2006 [1994]), 205–34. On the construction of Beethoven versus Rossini, see Lawrence Kramer, *Classical Music and Postmodern Knowledge* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 46.

13. Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).

14. See e.g., Lester Hu, “A Global Phonographic Revolution: Trans-Eurasian Resonances of Writing in Early France and China,” in *Acoustemologies in Contact: Sounding Subjects and Modes of Listening in Early Modernity*, eds. Suzanne Cusick and Emily Wilbourne (Cambridge, UK: Open Book Publishers, 2021), 167–200.

15. An important exception to the avoidance of big narratives is found in Mark Hijleh’s postulation of three major intercultural convergences: the Silk Road; the Iberian, European, and North African nexus during the Islamic Golden Age; and European colonization. Mark Hijleh, *Towards a Global Music History: Intercultural Convergence, Fusion, and Transformation in the Human Musical Story* (New York: Routledge, 2019).

“prehistory” and work its way through all regions of the globe up to the present day, global music history—allied with the field of global history—draws on empirically grounded, delimited narratives and diametrically opposes the universal narrative of world history.<sup>16</sup> Global history emerged from studies of post-World War II globalization, which were based on the principle of global *integration* (as seen in instant email communication, brief flights connecting the globe, and global financial disasters, for example). To study large-scale patterns (such as trade and conquest), the principle was then in turn applied to the entire span of history—but, significantly, global integration did not aim to cover *all* history.<sup>17</sup> In what follows, I discuss the limitations of global music history as it has been practiced in relation to its key tenets of empirical “researchability,”<sup>18</sup> global integration, and little narratives.

First, while I agree with the empirical tenet of global music history, “researchability” suggests that global history focus on topics in which primary materials are more readily available. In music studies, this precept may lead to the neglect of cultures without a strong tradition of written records, or for which musical artefacts are scarce (e.g., cultures with aristocratic classes tend to leave behind instruments as artefacts, while hunter-gatherer societies tend to make vocal music). What this implies is that a broader conception of appropriate historical method may be required to provide a balanced account of global music history. For example, comparative studies of living oral musical traditions, or comparative study of the etymology of instrument names in various geographies, hold much potential for illuminating continuities and discontinuities across time.<sup>19</sup> Could we expand the range of acceptable primary materials in historical research from texts and artefacts to living sounds, instrument names, and orally transmitted historical narratives? Could we expand the range of acceptable historical argumentation from firmly empirically anchored ones to more speculative reasoning? While this essay does not propose to definitively answer these questions, I will note that major aspects of music history before 1500 will have to be excluded if we use the stricter delineation of global historical method. For instance, Arabic-Persian musical influence in Europe and India during the Islamic Golden Age (eighth to fourteenth centuries CE) would likely be de-emphasized.

16. See Wolf Schäfer, “Global History: Historiographical Feasibility and Environmental Reality,” in *Conceptualizing Global History*, eds. Bruce Mazlish and Ralph Buultjens (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993), 47–69.

17. See Sebastian Conrad, *What Is Global History?* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016).

18. Schäfer, “Global History,” 49.

19. See Patrick Savage and Steven Brown, “Towards a New Comparative Musicology,” *Analytical Approaches to World Music* 2, no. 2 (2013): 148–97, [http://www.aawmjournal.com/articles/2013b/Savage\\_Brown\\_AAWM\\_Vol\\_2\\_2.html](http://www.aawmjournal.com/articles/2013b/Savage_Brown_AAWM_Vol_2_2.html).

As with the emphasis on empirical researchability, another form of unintended exclusion arises if there is a laser focus on global integration, as “local” threads of music history that developed within milieus of relative isolation would be neglected: e.g., Chinese music history during the Shang (1600–1046 BCE) and Zhou dynasties (1046–221 BCE), which predated the Silk Road. Such a “rule” limiting the purview of music history to the strictly “global” may unwittingly become exclusionary and may actually refocus our attention on the most recent period of global integration—ironically that of European colonization and imperialism since 1500 CE. It is of course not the case that all roads lead to the West, but much of global music history research has followed that route.<sup>20</sup> The fundamental problem is the epistemic fracture that occurs when musicology, already lagging behind, absorbs new methodological approaches from other disciplines (in this case, global history).

In global history, an emphasis on interconnections is the logical outgrowth from previous work on national histories and world history. National histories are arguably the natural starting points for historical research, given the relative difficulty of delving simultaneously into multiple geographies and languages; world history builds on national histories by integrating them into larger narratives (e.g., through loose periodization), and a global, truly interconnected history can be seen as the latest development in that trajectory. *Music* history, however, did not go through the period of “world” history focusing on an array of more or less independent geographies, with world music courses in general adopting the anthropological emphasis on more or less recent cultures. Instead, global music history appeared immediately on the scene—*in medias res*, if you will—like a novel or sonata seemingly beginning in the middle of things without the primary characters or themes, plots or structures having been articulated. As a result, the relatively independent phases of national music histories become worthless to the new global music history. This is a rather harsh way to approach varied geographies, as an epistemic callus heals over the methodological fracture caused by global music history. Without a more nuanced view of global historiography, the European and North American conception of global history and global music history seems to be proceeding with Western-defined ethical precepts that present a favorable mirror image of the West to itself (deconstructing the West through global circulations) while discrediting histories elsewhere unless they are of “global” value.

Finally, if global music history is constructed primarily out of little narratives, we lose opportunities to craft macro decolonial narratives. At the moment, most research in global music history is still of a far smaller scale than

20. See Reinhard Strohm, ed., *Studies on a Global History of Music*.



its manifestation in a book like Peter Frankopan's *The Silk Roads*,<sup>21</sup> which examines interactions across Eurasia that undermine a dichotomous understanding of East and West.<sup>22</sup> My basic premise in this essay is that macro decolonial narratives in global music history are *essential* to the project of decentering Western music. Of course, like all big narratives, decolonial narratives are subject to refinement and refutation, and they are undeniably anchored in a particular point of view. Macro decolonial narratives may be just as crude as Marxist narratives, for example, such as the opposition between socialism and capitalism in Naomi Klein's critique of US-led, pro-capitalist global military interventions.<sup>23</sup> Yet the finesse shown in the eschewing of macro narratives could also be due to a failure of nerve in the wake of Lyotard's critique of universal narratives. Indeed, Lyotard's promotion of little narratives in 1979 was widely celebrated in intellectual circles, and it could be argued that his immense influence can be seen at least indirectly in the pivotal position of the concept of *difference* in ethnic, women's, and queer studies; in music studies, this involved articulating how women and BIPOC composers were marginalized in the universal narrative of a string of white male genius composers through time. Only recently has this influential configuration of universality as oppressive and particularity as resistive been reconsidered. Thinkers in music and beyond have pointed out that capitalism, coloniality, and the Anthropocene<sup>24</sup> are indeed universal constructs. But if we are unable to name these universals, how can we recognize such oppressive and/or destructive forces and envision effective counterstrategies on what must necessarily be a global scale?

To that point, however refined feminist, queer, critical race, decolonial, and disability theory may be, they are all in large part based on a particular macro narrative widely accepted in academia: the hegemonic majority oppresses the minority; members of the minority exercise their agency to resist the majority. When cast in such simplistic terms, these narratives may seem crude, but they are the foundation on which much scholarship is built in contemporary musicology. I would posit "Western music history is only one thread in global

21. Peter Frankopan, *The Silk Roads: A New History of the World* (New York: Vintage Books, 2017 [2015]).

22. Frankopan's macro narrative is not only historically verifiable but has potent decolonial value in destabilizing the notions of entrenched civilizational difference and inevitable antagonism, as expressed in, e.g., Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Touchstone, 1997 [1996]).

23. Naomi Klein, *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism* (New York: Picador, 2007).

24. See, respectively: James Currie, "Music after All," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 62, no. 1 (2009): 145–203. Martin Scherzinger, "Temporalities," in *The Oxford Handbook of Critical Concepts in Music Theory*, eds. Alexander Rehding and Steven Rings (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 234–70. Dipesh Chakrabarty, "The Climate of History: Four Theses," *Critical Inquiry* 35 (2009): 197–222.

music history” as the foundational big narrative in global music history.<sup>25</sup> To clarify, if we articulate macro narratives which position Western music *within* global history, global music history research and teaching can play their parts in decentering Western music. This is a critical task because music history until very recently has usually meant *Western* music history in European/US research and teaching, with global musics taught through the lens of social function in so-called World Music courses. Decolonial narratives in global music history “provincialize” Western music, which can then be reduced to its appropriate position alongside global musics.<sup>26</sup>

In the next section, I elaborate on the decolonial narratives that constitute the structure of my global music history course (syllabus below), which I have taught as an undergraduate elective. I currently teach this in a school of music in China to undergraduate students majoring in Western instrumental performance who are required to take three semesters of Western music history survey and two semesters of Chinese music history survey. As a Chinese Singaporean who studied in the United Kingdom and the United States and now works in China, and who is an outsider in many ways to both Western and mainland Chinese cultures, I retain a critical distance to the teaching of both Western and Chinese music histories. For both the students and myself, global music history is an important means of thinking beyond both Eurocentric and Sinocentric terms. I hope to eventually persuade my school of music to integrate my global music history course—the syllabus of which is found in Appendix 1—as the first course in the Western music history survey, reimagined as global in coverage, even as the courses contain content designed to equip students with the knowledge needed to help them understand their Western instruments and repertoires. Appendix 2 shows a selection of global topics (mainly drawn from Appendix 1), organized in the conventional chronological order of Western music history.

The decolonial narratives I articulate below cover most of recorded history from 4000 BCE to the present. These narratives are crafted with the single aim of countering the conventional trajectory of Western music history from ancient Greece to medieval Europe and the familiar stylistically defined eras that follow. Each of the five headings below correspond to one narrative, which is fleshed out in the corresponding section. What I offer is a representative as opposed to comprehensive view of the music relevant to each heading/

25. This thesis has been articulated in relation to the early modern period in music, whereas I propose to expand this thesis to the entire span of global music history. See David Irving, “Rethinking Early Modern ‘Western Art Music’: A Global Music History Manifesto,” *IMS Musicological Brainfood* 3, no. 1 (2019): 6–10, [https://brainfood.musicology.org/pdfs/ims\\_brainfood\\_3\\_no1\\_2019.pdf](https://brainfood.musicology.org/pdfs/ims_brainfood_3_no1_2019.pdf).

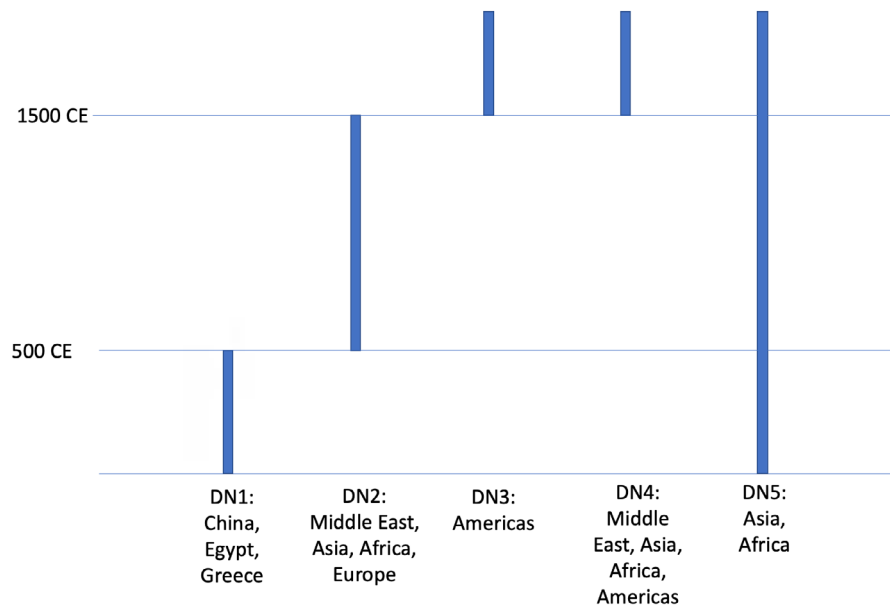
26. Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

narrative. Each narrative is elaborated with a selection of case studies, which, as a whole, cover all macro geographic areas and historical periods. The five decolonial narratives (DN) correspond to the five parts in my global music history course. The narratives are: (DN1) Multiple antiquities existed before 500 CE; (DN2) Arabic and Persian music spread globally during the Islamic Golden Age (eighth to fourteenth centuries CE) and European Medieval period (sixth to fifteenth centuries CE); (DN3) European settler colonizers suppressed Indigenous and African musics (1500ff.); (DN4) Western music spread globally due to European colonization (1500ff.); and, (DN5) There are music histories elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa and Asia-Pacific regions. Discussion of how I partition global music history by periods and geographies is intertwined with the narratives. Narratives 1–4 are focused on different geographies, but they fit within a single tripartite chronological time line (before 500 CE, 500–1500 CE, 1500 CE ff.) because these periods coincide with the heights of one or another of the ancient Roman, Arabic, or multiple post-1500 European empires. Narrative 5 is focused on the huge regions of sub-Saharan Africa and Asia-Pacific with relatively independent music histories from the former regions, at least before the Age of Imperialism. Under narrative 3, I discuss the importance of naming colonial oppressions, which are often erased. Across all the narratives, cases of global musical flow are not one-directional and always involve movement to and from the center to the periphery of empires.

While the five decolonial narratives appear roughly in chronological order, what they express are *multiple* temporalities<sup>27</sup> rather than a unilinear timeline (see figure 1). DN1 appears to predate DN2 but is actually best represented as two or perhaps even three independent timelines for the three case studies of ancient China, Egypt, and Greece, since this was a period before extensive contact between China and the other two cultures (of course, ancient Greece conquered Egypt). DN2 does not actually precede DN3 and DN4, because of geographic discrepancies, with DN2 anchored around the Mediterranean Sea, DN3 the Americas, and DN4 the entire globe. DN3 and DN4 occupy the same temporal period, but there is a positional discrepancy in that the former is focused on Indigenous and Black musics under settler colonization, while DN4 tracks Western musics which were disseminated globally. DN5 geographically overlaps with DN4 but is focused on the portion of music history that is less entangled with Western musics. It may be helpful to think of the convergence of multiple geographies in each DN (due to colonization, capitalism, and cultural

27. Temporalities may be connected via “conjunction or coincidence rather than successive emplotment.” Stephen Tanaka, *History Without Chronology* (Ann Arbor, MI: Lever Press, 2019), 19. I retain the Gregorian calendar throughout this article for ease of reference, but this should not be taken to imply a single unbroken chronology of global time.

exchange) as exceptions to otherwise independent “times that emerge through the activity of people.”<sup>28</sup>



**Figure 1:** Multiple temporalities

It bears remarking that what I offer here is one of the first cohesive views of the histories of all musics since 4000 BCE. Whereas universal accounts of general history are commonly available in the form of textbooks, this is not the case for the new field of global music history, for which only Mark Hijleh’s *Towards a Global Music History* has attempted a full synthesis of global musical interactions across all known history and geography. My account of global music history differs from Hijleh’s in that my focus is squarely on *decolonial* narratives, as opposed to the more neutral and possibly colonial point of view, which led Hijleh to focus on Arab-European “intercultural convergence” on the Iberian Peninsula during the Islamic Golden Age rather than on Baghdad, Mecca, Medina, and Damascus and the radiating outwards of Arabic music towards East and South Asia (Hijleh’s other two convergences were the Silk Road and European colonization).<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, Hijleh offers a global point of view and a synthesis not found in other music textbooks and reference books, in which historical information on various musics is typically split into sections dedicated to various geographies. To my knowledge, other researchers have

28. Tanaka, *History Without Chronology*, 91.

29. Hijleh, *Towards a Global Music History*, 60.

not, in published writing, synthesized historical knowledge of various musical geographies into a single coherent framework.<sup>30</sup>

## Part 2: Decolonial Narratives

### *Decolonial Narrative 1: Multiple Antiquities Existed Before 500 CE*

This narrative makes it clear that there were multiple antiquities alongside ancient Greece and Rome. Materials for music in ancient Egypt and China are more readily available, but there are in fact multiple civilizations, including those in Africa, whose music can be traced back to before 500 CE. From 4000 BCE to 500 CE, the security of food supply due to agriculture led to changes in human society, giving rise to social complexity and the emergence of ancient civilizations. These civilizations left behind texts (song lyrics, treatises), instruments (some of which have been recreated), and images of music making (e.g., pottery) that provide a basis on which to reconstruct music in ancient times. Three examples of global antiquities are: love songs in ancient Egypt (with a music history traced to before 3000 BCE); the ritual instrument bianzhong in ancient China (3000 BCE ff.), and tragic drama in ancient Greece (eighth century BCE ff.). These examples demonstrate how any of the decolonial narratives can be transmitted in research and teaching using just a few case studies, without having to cover the entire range of global music history referenced by a particular narrative.

*Ancient Egypt.* Among ancient Egyptian manuscripts, love songs could be found only from the Ramesside dynasty (ca. eleventh century BCE). These songs were created and sung in palaces. The lyrics of one such love song, “The Great Leisure,” have been preserved on papyrus. Its music has recently been recreated, as was the accompanying instrument, the two-string dancer’s lute.<sup>31</sup>

30. For example, in the landmark monograph on global music history by Western musicologists, Reinhard Strohm, ed., *Studies on a Global History of Music*, the introduction covers methodological issues (as it should) rather than offering a coherent universal account of music history. See Martin Stokes, “Notes and Queries on ‘Global Music History,’” in Strohm, ed., *Studies on a Global History of Music*, 3–18. A case study approach is adopted in Danielle Fosler-Lussier, *Music on the Move* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2020). Timothy Rice and Dave Wilson’s *Gateways to Understanding Music* attempts a chronological account of music with a global purview but is lacking in narrative structure. Part 1 on music before 1500 BCE is organized by genre, while parts 2 and 3 (1500–1900 BCE; 20C) are anchored in the diachronic array of styles familiar from Western music history textbooks, with a single world music example tagged on at the end of chapters without accounting for broader global historical currents in music. Timothy Rice and Dave Wilson, *Gateways to Understanding Music* (New York: Routledge, 2019).

31. Heidi Köpp-Junk, “The Earliest Music in Ancient Egypt,” *The Ancient Near East Today* 6, no. 1 (2018), <https://www.asor.org/anetoday/2018/01/earliest-music-egypt/>.

*Ancient China.* The *bianzhong* set of bells, hung on an L-shaped rack and used in state rituals, is the most prominent instrument from ancient China. Interred in 433 BCE, the *bianzhong* from the tomb of Marquis Yi of the Zeng kingdom (*Zeng Hou Yi*) is the most important specimen of this instrument. It carries inscriptions which detail the music theory systems (e.g., pitch names) of Zeng and its neighboring kingdoms, showing regional variation at a time before the unification achieved in the Qin dynasty (221–206 BCE), which ruled over all Chinese territories.

*Ancient Greece.* Performed at most public occasions in ancient Greece, nearly all poetry and drama was sung or accompanied by music. Among the fifty-odd surviving score fragments is the tragedian Euripides's *Stasimon*, or "ode," chorus from *Orestes* (408 BCE). The score is partially preserved on papyrus, and contemporary performances fill in the parts missing from the left and right edges of the page. Like other poets, Euripides was probably also the composer of the music in his dramas. One of the instruments that accompanied singing was the *aulos* double clarinet, also found in ancient Egypt after it was conquered by Greece in 332 BCE.

Collectively, these three case studies make the point that there were multiple antiquities alongside ancient Greece.

*Decolonial Narrative 2: Arabic and Persian Music Spread Globally During the Islamic Golden Age (Eighth–Fourteenth Century CE) and European Medieval Period (Sixth–Fifteenth Century CE)*

The second narrative introduces the problem of periodization. Whereas the term "medieval" is sometimes applied to global cultures, this is not appropriate, as "medieval"—meaning "middle"—is most applicable to Europe in a time of relative cultural weakness, between the fall of the Roman empire (476 CE) and the beginning of the Renaissance (ca. 1400 CE). Rather than the European medieval period, my historical reference point for this second narrative is the approximately concurrent era of the Islamic Golden Age in the eighth to fourteenth centuries CE (roughly, the period of the Islamic Caliphates, 632–1517 CE), representing the first time in history that a particular music had worldwide influence because of the global integration brought about by war and trade. This influence precedes the ubiquity of Western music in the European colonial era. Through the Islamic empire's conquests, Arabic and Persian music spread in all directions—west through North Africa all the way to Muslim Iberia or Al-Andalus (Southern Spain/Portugal); east to Central Asia and China; and southeast to India. In contrast to the global spread of Middle Eastern musical influences, European music was relatively insular and had little global influence during the medieval period. The global spread of Arabic and Persian music reveals that the later global dissemination of Western music was an effect of

European colonialism, not an inevitability. Although there are elements in the history of Middle Eastern global musical influence that can be deduced from comparative study of musics rather than written records, it is reasonable to posit that Middle Eastern musics' global influence began during the Islamic Golden Age. Global flows can be observed between the Islamic empire and the world, alongside comparative musical similarities. (Note the distinction between Arabic and Persian musics, though they share a musical system; "Arab world" encompasses Persia, which was conquered in the seventh century CE.)

During the Islamic Golden Age, the art music suite flowed from the Middle East via North Africa to Muslim Iberia then back to North Africa. The precursor to the Persian art music suite *dastgāh* could have been developed by poet, lutenist, composer, and music theorist Barbad around 700. Persian music greatly influenced Arabic music. Iraq is regarded as the place of origin of the Andalusian *nawba*, said to have been brought by poet, singer, oud player, composer, and teacher Ziryâb (d. 857) from Baghdad to southern Spain, from where it was brought to North Africa in the late fifteenth century by exiled Iberian Muslims. (As a whole, Islam influenced music in North Africa, while Christianity was later transmitted to the western, central, and southern African coasts during the European colonial era so that many African countries have a Muslim north and Christian south.) Middle Eastern influence on Indian musics is likely to have commenced during the Islamic Golden Age, and Persian language and musical terms were used during the Islamic Mughal period in India (1526–1857).

Due to the global flow of Arabic and Persian musics, there are striking similarities between the art musics of the Middle East, North Africa, and South Asia. Arabic and Persian (as well as Turkish) art musics are similar, and their influence can be felt in Indian musics and in Andalusian art music in North Africa. The two common features of all these musics are: (i) a similar concept of mode encompassing scale, conventional melodic patterns, and an associated feeling or emotion; and (ii) unmetered improvisation as well as metered, pre-composed passages. The term for mode is *maqām* in Arabic music, *makam* in Turkish music, *dastgāh* in Persian music, *rāga* in Indian musics (divided into North and South, or Hindustani and Carnatic musics). The art music suite is found throughout the Arab world and is called *dastgāh* in Persia, *fasil* in Turkey, and *nawba* in Andalusian music in North African Muslim countries.

Arabic and Persian art musics are accompanied by bodies of music theory, in which musical flows from ancient Greece to the Islamic empire to medieval Europe can be discerned. In Arabic music theory, we can see the adaption of the Greek tetrachord. Greek scales are constructed with either conjunct or disjunct tetrachords; conjunct tetrachords (forming the Lesser Perfect System) share a common note, while disjunct tetrachords (forming the Greater Perfect System)

are separated by a whole tone. In Arabic music, the lower tetrachord defines and is shared by all the *maqāmāt* in a *maqāmāt* group; the upper notes of the *maqāmāt* in the group vary. It is documented that Arabic music theory influenced Europeans: Al-Fārābī's (d. 950) *Classification of the Sciences*, for instance, contained a section on music (a summary of his music-theoretical *Great Book on Music* or *Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-kabīr*), which was translated into Latin in Spain during the twelfth century and directly influenced the medieval music theorist Jerome of Moravia (d. after 1271, worked in Paris), among others. The influence of the Arab world on medieval Europe is further seen in the preservation and transmission of Greek writings before the Crusades, a time when Greek classics were unknown in Western Europe. Scholars of the Arab world translated Greek writings to Arabic, Persian, and Syriac and brought these works to Muslim Iberia and Sicily. Al-Fārābī, in particular, is credited with preserving Greek texts because of his commentaries and treatises.

Arabic influence on European medieval musical practice in some form is also probable. French troubadour poetry, for example, may have roots in the Arabic poetry of Muslim Iberia.<sup>32</sup> Arabic influence is also suggested by the origins of the European rebec (precursor of the violin) in the Arabic *rebab* and bowed Byzantine lyra.<sup>33</sup> Arabic and Persian musics flowed eastwards as well. The Islamic empire was so extensive that, having incorporated Central Asia, it shared its eastern border with Xinjiang, which was controlled by China beginning in the Han dynasty (second century BCE–second century CE). From the Han dynasty onwards, instruments from the Middle East and Central and South Asia steadily spread to China via the Silk Road, including the Persian lute *barbat*, which became the famous Chinese *pipa*. The drums *jie gu*, *dutan gu*, and *dala gu* in China originated in India and Central Asia, and the double reeds *bili* and *suona* in Central Asia.

The flourishing of Arabic and Persian art musics is contrasted with considerable Islamic skepticism of religious music, and similar musical limitations can be found in the history of Judaism (before the eighteenth century) and Christianity (e.g., musical reforms of the Council of Trent, 1545–1563). Across many religions, chant traditions are found; three examples are Quran recitation (not considered to be music in Islam), Jewish prayer chants, and Gregorian chant. The comparative study of chants, alongside the global flow of Arabic and Persian musics, provides an alternative narrative of the 500–1500 CE period,

32. George T. Beech, "Troubadour Contacts with Muslim Iberia and Knowledge of Arabic: New Evidence Concerning William IX of Aquitaine," *Romania* 113 (1992): 14–26.

33. Because of the Arab-European connection, music director Thomas Binkley drew inspiration from the living traditions of Arab-Andalusian music in his recording of European medieval music. Jonathan Schull, "Locating the Past in the Present: Living Traditions in the Performance of Early Music," *Ethnomusicology Forum* 15, no. 1 (2006): 87–111.



one that decenters European music, which occupied a minor global position during that time.

*Decolonial Narrative 3: European Settler Colonizers Suppressed Indigenous and African Musics (1500ff.)*

From the sixteenth century onwards, the arrival of Europeans in the Americas and Australia led to systemic impacts that suppressed Indigenous peoples, cultures, and musics. The Aztec, Mayan, and Incan civilizations in the Americas were all but decimated and their musics survive only as remnants in rural areas. Similar patterns of European Christian missionary activity are discernable: the suppression of Indigenous musics and the musical re-education of Indigenous peoples in European chant, polyphony, and instruments by the Catholic Spanish in Latin America; and Protestant British influence (in North America and Australia) through hymns. More recently, country music, rock music, popular music, school songs, and avant-garde musical practices have been adapted and performed by Indigenous musicians.

Although Indigenous traditional musics have survived in various ways, and Indigenous peoples have continuously made music, including in Western art and popular styles, the catastrophic effects of cultural suppression cannot be denied. In past decades, many music researchers believed that emphasizing oppressed people's agency amplified that agency, and that, by extension, emphasizing their oppression amplified that oppression. But decolonial theory poses new questions: Is the minimization of colonial history a form of erasure? And if so, whom does this erasure serve? The dated discourse of "Western impact,"<sup>34</sup> which seemed to minimize the musical creativity of musicians, was subsequently replaced with studies of "modernity,"<sup>35</sup> wherein musicians made sense of local and Western sounds in tandem. But the recent emergence of decolonial studies has brought about a renewed focus on naming the oppressions brought about by the continuing occupation of Indigenous lands in the Americas and Australia by settler colonizers.<sup>36</sup> It follows that music histories should be just as direct in articulating the bloody impact of colonization, even as the ubiquitous agency and creativity of Indigenous music-makers are recognized. Indeed, the history of settler colonization is seldom recounted in detail. For example, in a

34. Bruno Nettl, *The Western Impact on World Music: Change, Adaptation, and Survival* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1985).

35. E.g., Andrew F. Jones, *Yellow Music: Media Culture and Colonial Modernity in the Chinese Jazz Age* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001).

36. One of the clearest statements of this is Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education, and Society* 1, no. 1 (2012): 1–40. Many of the panels at the ICTM dialogues reflect this unflinching decolonial stance. "ICTM Dialogues 2021," International Council for Traditional Music website, accessed Dec 19, 2021, <https://ictmusic.org/dialogues2021/abstracts>.

well-known textbook, the “North America/Native America” chapter contains detailed discussion of the social and sonic aspects of Indigenous American music, but the only reference to colonization is in a short paragraph on a song by the Navajo educator Ruth Roessel (1935–2012), which references the Navajos’ removal to a concentration camp in 1864.<sup>37</sup>

Traditionally, Indigenous cultures and musics rely on oral transmission and are in that sense incongruent with historical research methods centered on archives and artifacts, though Indigenous musics were documented under European settler colonization. Many of the musical traditions that have been preserved likely predate colonization. Diverse traditional Indigenous musics (including those of the originally hundreds of Indigenous nations in the Americas, as well as Australia) share some common traits. Indigenous musics usually comprise songs, which may be accompanied by drums and a few other instruments. These songs are transmitted more or less intact, with little improvisation, and contain words as well as vocables (meaningless syllables). A comparable conception of music across Indigenous peoples seems particularly significant. Important in origin myths, music is thought to be received via dreams and visions and not necessarily as a product of human creativity. Traditionally, music is thoroughly integrated with social life, such that the concept of music may not even exist (e.g., among Arctic Inuits), or music is intertwined with other specialized social roles such as priest, shaman, medicine men, and tribal leader. Indeed, professional musicians do not traditionally exist among many Indigenous peoples. In recent centuries, however, European as well as African musics (due to the slave trade in the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries) have influenced Indigenous musics in the Americas. This was the result of Spanish conquests in Latin America and the establishment of British and French settlements in North America beginning in the sixteenth century, as well as the British colonization of Australasia beginning in the late eighteenth century.

In remote areas, such as Arnhem Land in Australia, traditional Indigenous ways of life and traditional music have been preserved. Elsewhere, colonization has left its indelible mark on Indigenous musics. In Mexico, for example, the history of the suppression of Indigenous musics greatly impacted the soundscape, such that even the Zapatista political movement (1994 ff.) that champions oppressed Mayans uses the European-influenced genre of *corrido* (traditional Mexican ballad) for its national anthem (“El Himno Zapatista”), rather than surviving remnants of Mayan music in the rural areas. In the United States, the gradual westward expansion of white settlement in the nineteenth century

37. David McAllester, “North America/Native America,” in *Worlds of Music: An Introduction to the Music of the World’s Peoples*, ed. Jeff Todd Titon (Belmont, CA: Schirmer Cengage Learning, 2009 [2002]), 33–82, at 76.

resulted in the breaking up of tribes and the removal of Indigenous peoples to reservations where food and shelter were inadequate. Settler colonial impact is clearly evinced in the Sioux flag song, for instance. While the flag song serves as the national anthem of the Sioux, its lyrics, which make mention of following the banner of the (US) “President’s flag,” complicate its status as a symbol of Indigenous identity. Another example of colonial impact is the songs of the short-lived Ghost Dance religion, which emerged in the 1880s as Indigenous resistance became unsustainable under the relentless onslaught of US forces. The medicine man Wovoka of the Paiute tribe (from Nevada Territory) had a vision in 1889 of an impending apocalypse that would destroy the world through natural disasters, the white man along with it. Stolen Indigenous lands would be returned, and the Indigenous dead would be resurrected. Ghost Dance religion taught that instead of fighting, believers should turn to song, dance, and prayer, which make them invulnerable to bullets. The Ghost Dance religion was crushed in 1890 when US forces massacred 150 Lakota people (one of the three subcultures of the Sioux), mostly women and children, effectively marking the end of Indigenous resistance against white settler colonization in the United States.

European settler colonists not only suppressed Indigenous American cultures, but also brought enslaved Africans to the Americas to labor under inhumane conditions. In Latin America, some musical traditions can be traced to distinct parts of Africa. In Brazil, the music of the Candomblé religion links directly to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century worship music among the Yoruba people of Nigeria and Benin. Umbanda religious ceremonial music (another Afro-Brazilian music) is related to traditional healing sessions still practiced in Angola. The voodoo music of Haiti and elsewhere in the Caribbean is linked to the *vodun* religious music of the Fon people in Benin. In the United States, the policy of dispersion meant that distinct African musical traditions could not be preserved, though instruments (drums and banjos) were reconstructed based on African originals. Distinct African American musical forms emerged, such as the field holler (which is considered to be a precursor of blues), spirituals, and gospel music.

A disgraceful episode in US music history is blackface minstrelsy (with music written by such celebrated American composers as Stephen Foster)—a form of entertainment, originating in the nineteenth century, in which white performers darkened their faces with burnt cork and presented derogatory black stereotypes. In the twentieth century, black music was perpetually appropriated by white musicians through repackaging (e.g., the originators of rock and roll in the US were black artists such as Little Richard and Chuck Berry).

*Decolonial Narrative 4: Western Music Spread Globally Due to European Colonization (1500ff.)*

During the Islamic Golden Age, Arabic music did spread far and wide, but its influence was limited to certain parts of Afro Eurasia, and the extent of this influence varied from region to region. The first truly globally integrated age of music was the era of European colonization (continuing to the present in the settler colonies of the Americas and Australasia), when virtually the entire globe was colonized, and even countries that remained independent were indelibly changed by colonial contact. Over the course of five centuries, Western art and popular musics spread all over a globe now integrated by colonial military power that facilitated trade and migration, connecting Europe and later the United States to all global regions. Before World War II, global trade primarily benefitted the European/US governments and corporations who “owned” the means of production—i.e., colonized lands, enslaved peoples, profits accrued from plantations and other colonial industries, etc. The influence of Western music is particularly salient in the global transmission of Western tonality, the result of which is the emergence of myriad hybridized art and popular musical genres worldwide.<sup>38</sup>

*Settler Colonies.* The global impact of European musical influence was the greatest in settler colonies. The earliest influence was enabled by sixteenth-century Spanish conquests in Mexico, which, as mentioned earlier, led to the introduction of chants, polyphony, and European instruments. Spanish arrivals such as Hernando Franco (1532–1585) brought the style of sixteenth-century sacred polyphony to Mexico. In the seventeenth century, psalms and hymn singing were introduced and became widespread throughout the Protestant United States. From the eighteenth century onwards, music for theater became popular across the Americas: Spanish zarzuelas (with spoken components) were performed in Mexico City; English and Italian operas played in cities in the northeastern United States; French operas were enjoyed in New Orleans; Mexican composers like Cenobio Paniagua (1821–1882) wrote operas with Italian libretti; and a Wagnerian cult formed in the United States near the end of the nineteenth century. Concurrently, US composers like Louis Moreau Gottschalk, John Knowles Paine, and Amy Beach were writing instrumental art music in the Romantic style of their European counterparts. Popular musical genres like Broadway musical comedy, vaudeville, or variety theater (which supported Tin Pan Alley, the song-writing industry in New York), wind-band marches, and ragtime all use Western harmony, and US popular music spread

38. Kofi Agawu, “Tonality as a Colonizing Force in Africa,” in *Audible Empire: Music, Global Politics, Critique*, eds. Ronald Ronald and Tejumola Olaniyan (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016), 334–56.

globally via radio and records after World War I (from jazz and musicals to rock and roll and hip hop).

The musics of enslaved Africans and their descendants were part of the soundscape of the Americas under settler colonization. African American composers of Western light music, art music, and avant-garde music—from Francis Johnson (1792–1844) to Julius Eastman (1940–1990)—remind us of that history. Because of the slave trade, Black composers like Afro-French composer Joseph Boulogne (1745–1799) and Cuban-French composer Joseph White Lafitte (b. 1836, Cuba; d. 1918, Paris), of West African and Spanish heritage, could be found all over the world.

*Other Colonies.* Beyond settler colonies, Western music had immense influence as well. Beginning at the Age of Imperialism, European powers colonized much of the Asia-Pacific (mid eighteenth century ff.) and Africa (late nineteenth century ff.). The consequences of this can be seen in the spread of hymns, brass bands, military bands, school songs, Western art music, and, in the twentieth century, commercial popular music. The so-called “island music” of Polynesia, performed with brass band, accordions, and mouth organs, emerged in the nineteenth century. In Melanesia today, cowboy songs and rock music can be heard. In East Asia, state-led programs of modernization involved systematic importation of Western technologies and cultures, including musics, changing the course of music histories in East Asian countries. Japan led the way during the period of the Meiji Restoration (1868–1889), instituting the same musical interventions when it colonized Korea (1910–1945). China took Japan’s lead, and Chinese musicians left to study Western music in Japan. There are many twentieth-century East Asian composers who are virtually unknown in Europe or the United States. In South Asia, *filmgīt* or film songs, which were harmonized and accompanied by the Western orchestra (featuring strings in particular), became extremely popular in the twentieth century; music director and composer Naushad Ali (1919–2006) is credited with popularizing the use of the orchestra. Across Southeast Asia, commercial Western popular music, as well as other global popular musics based on the Western format (from Taiwan, Hong Kong, Japan, India, and the Middle East), has had widespread influence. In Indonesia, new forms of European-influenced popular music emerged, beginning in the seventeenth century with the *kroncong* of Portuguese sailors and merchants, which was combined with Malay-Arabic singing to give rise to *dang dut* in the eighteenth century.

In the Middle East, Western notation was introduced in the nineteenth century along with the creation of large Middle Eastern ensembles inspired by the symphony orchestra. Conservatories were established in the twentieth century, and suitable modes were harmonized with tonic-dominant alternation by composers such as Ali Naqi Vaziri (1886–1979, Iran). Egyptian composers like

Hasan Rashid (1896–1969) combined *maqāmāt* with the Western contrapuntal style. Western conservatories, symphony orchestras, and opera houses can be found all across the Middle East, as well as throughout the rest of the world (the Americas, Africa, and Central, South, Southeast, and East Asia).

In Africa, access to Western music education was initially provided through correspondence courses and exams offered by British music schools. This led to the formation of college music departments in Nigeria, Ghana, Uganda, and Kenya, where students were trained in European and African compositional techniques. In Africa music scholarship is published in English, French, and German. The effect of colonial music education can be seen beginning in the nineteenth century with John Knox Bokwe (1855–1922), who wrote the first notated composition by a black South African as well as the decolonial hymn “Plea for Africa” (ca. 1894).<sup>39</sup> In the twentieth century, a large variety of African musics have hybridized with commercial Western popular music, giving rise to guitar-based highlife in Ghana; *juju* and *fuji*, based on Yoruba drumming and praise singing in Nigeria and Benin; Nigerian Afrobeat (e.g., Fela Kuti); modern *taarab* (in Tanzania and Kenya), which is originally a form of sung poetry that originated in late nineteenth century Egypt but is now mixed with electric guitars, basses, and accordions; Cuban-inspired, guitar-based popular music from the former Belgian Congo and French Congo capitals; *isicathamiya*, Zulu male a cappella choral singing of South Africa, which has elements of minstrel music (brought by visiting US musicians in the nineteenth century) and Christian hymns. Francophone and Anglophone popular music is produced by musicians in the former French (Guinea, Mali, Ivory Coast) and British (Nigeria, Ghana) colonies.

*Decolonial Narrative 5: There Are Music Histories Elsewhere in Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia-Pacific*

Given the geographic proximity of Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa, it is unsurprising that their music histories are intertwined. Because successive Greek, Roman, and Arab empires have conquered large parts of the Mediterranean coast, there is a significant degree of musical exchange between different civilizations. In addition, Europe is musically connected with settler colonies in the Americas and Australasia. Because of the various relationships between these geographies, their music histories can be organized chronologically in a more or less coherent narrative. Multiple antiquities led to the first period of global musical influence during the Arab empire, which led to global flows westward through north Africa to Muslim Iberia and eastwards to

39. See Grant Olwage, “John Knox Bokwe, Colonial Composer: Tales about Race and Music,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 131, no. 1 (2006): 1–37.

Central, East, and South Asia. Following that, European colonization led to the integration of global musics with Western art and popular musics.

Beginning with antiquity, there have been links between the geographies mentioned above, on the one hand, and sub-Saharan Africa and Asia-Pacific, on the other. These links include the Silk Road, which brought Arabic instruments to China, and European colonial routes that brought Western art and popular musics to different regions in sub-Saharan Africa and Asia-Pacific beginning in the seventeenth century. However, much of the music histories of sub-Saharan Africa and Asia-Pacific have unfolded independently of the rest of the world until recent centuries, and these histories do not fit into the tripartite chronological division of before 500 CE, ca. 500–1500, and 1500ff., used in the previous sections. The medial period of 500–1500 makes sense for Europe, the Middle East, and northern Africa because of the changing fortunes of various empires, specifically the weakness of Europe and the rise of the Arab empire during this period, after which European colonization commenced. While the histories of sub-Saharan Africa and Asia-Pacific are often recounted according to some version of the tripartite periodization, my position is that their histories do not cohere with that three-part structure, and it makes little sense to chop these histories into bits to be recounted in each of the three parts simply to fit the Mediterranean nexus. The relative independence of sub-Saharan African and Asian-Pacific music histories show that not all roads lead to Europe, as they have often done under European colonization. Furthermore, while there have been exchanges within and between sub-Saharan Africa and Asia-Pacific, these geographies have also been the backdrop of music histories that unfolded in pockets of relative insularity—and these pockets are just as much a part of history as the more properly “global” forms of history characterized by exchange and integration. It needs hardly be said that sub-Saharan Africa and Asia-Pacific “have” histories,<sup>40</sup> contradicting the nineteenth-century European view that certain “uncivilized” global peoples did not have histories and were therefore in an infantile state of development.<sup>41</sup>

*Sub-Saharan Africa.* First, a brief overview of African musics, which are conditioned by ecological factors. The musics of peoples of the Central African rain forests are traditionally vocal based, since it is impractical for them to carry bulky instruments. In contrast, the sedentary agricultural civilizations of the coastal savanna have made use of readily available materials for instrument construction, such as wood for xylophones and gourds for drums. String

40. See Gary Tomlinson, “Musicology, Anthropology, History,” in *The Cultural Study of Music*, 2nd ed., eds. Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert, and Richard Middleton (New York: Routledge, 2012), 59–72.

41. On social Darwinism, see Timothy Taylor, *Beyond Exoticism: Western Music and the World* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 74.

instruments are widespread, as they can be constructed using materials found everywhere, even in the desert where wood is scarce. Central African forest peoples have lost their languages due to interaction with the majority Bantu peoples; musical exchange is seen in that the former have adopted the latter's drums and strings, while Bantu peoples have adapted the forest peoples' polyphony, as heard in the large horn and flute ensembles of the Banda people of the Central African Republic.

The history of African cultures and musics is preserved in oral tradition that diverges from conventional sources used in normative historical research. For example, the history of the Mandinka people over centuries is narrated in the music of *jalolu* professional musicians in Gambia, West Africa, whose songs narrate the founding of the Mali empire (1234–1600) by the warrior king Sundiata Keita. A central value of the *jalolu* is truthfulness in their recounting of history.

Alongside research on individual oral traditions, archaeological and comparative methods facilitate our understanding of African music history. From the African prehistorical period of the so-called Green Sahara (8000–3000 BCE), when the savanna extended into southern Sahara, we have rock paintings that indicate dance styles (presumably with accompanying music) similar to those found in contemporary African cultures. In ca. 0–500 CE, Indonesian settlers on the African continent (via Madagascar) likely introduced their xylophones, ensembles, and musical modes. Global exchange, evidenced early on, also included the fourth-century introduction of Christianity to Ethiopia, where a chanted liturgy with notation dates back to at least the sixteenth century. Musical iconography indicates that *igbin* drums (a set of footed cylindrical drums) were played in Nigeria in the tenth through the fourteenth centuries; and the *dùndún* pressure drum, now associated with Yoruba culture and known in a broad belt across the savanna region, appears in plaques made in fifteenth-century Benin.

Migration of peoples within Africa can be traced through the iconography of archaeological artefacts such as instruments and objects. Based on available evidence, single and double iron bells, probably West African, spread to western Central Africa during the Iron Age (200 BCE–1000 CE). From the seventeenth century on, various kinds of lamellaphones (with iron keys) travelled in different directions, northward from Zimbabwe and eastward from Congo. In the nineteenth century, the slave and ivory trade resulted in the inland migration of instruments. For example, the *zeze* flatbar zither, long known along the East African coast, spread inland to Zambia and elsewhere. Slaves often came from the hinterland, separated from coastal European slave traders by buffer zones that were inhabited by intermediary African “merchant tribes” who facilitated the trade.



*Asia-Pacific*

1. Central Asia, East Asia, Oceania. The earliest recorded history for Asian-Pacific musics extend to the Chinese Shang dynasty (1600–1046 BCE), from which we have oracle bones (for divination) containing symbols representing instruments. In contrast to a three-period structure (before 500, 500–1500, 1500ff.), music histories across China, Korea, and Japan are traditionally organized by dynasties. Korea had musical contact with China beginning in the fourth century and Japan from the seventh century. Multiple waves of Chinese influence have reached Japan and especially Korea over the past two millennia, bringing court music, Chinese instruments, Chinese music theory, and Buddhist chanting to these regions. Musics and instruments were then hybridized with local performance practices and tastes. Vietnam was ruled by China from 111 BCE to 980 CE, and Vietnamese musical genres (theater, court, chamber, and ceremonial) closely parallel Chinese ones. The path of Chinese musical influence can be traced through the example of the Chinese *guqin* zither (dating from 1000 BCE), which has parallels in the Korean *kōmun'go* (seventh through ninth centuries CE), Japanese *koto* (seventh and eighth centuries CE), and Vietnamese *dan tranh* (before the tenth century CE). Musical developments in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been addressed in the previous section; they reflect the creativity and agency of East Asian composers and performers of hybrid and Western musics.

From the nineteenth century onwards, large scale migration occurred with East Asian laborers going to Southeast Asia and the Americas. Among these migrants were the Japanese who moved to Hawaii as cane-field workers in the late nineteenth century, whose folk song is known as *holehole bushi*. These sugar plantations were owned by the descendants of US missionaries, who increasingly cornered the Indigenous Hawaiian monarchy, eventually overthrowing it, leading to the United States' annexation of Hawaii in 1898. It is because of this historical context that the last Hawaiian monarch and the only Hawaiian queen regnant Lili'uokalani's (1838–1917) famous "Aloha 'Oe" (ca. 1878), though written as a lover's good-bye, is often received as a lament for the loss of her country.<sup>42</sup>

If the seaward path from Japan to Hawaii demonstrates the global nature of history in the inadvertent entanglement of Japanese laborers with US colonial ambitions, inland paths between Central and East

42. The history in this paragraph is based on Olivia Bloech's "Global Music History" syllabus; see 14.1.5 in this special issue.

Asia were similarly global in nature. For example, Mongolian music was performed in China during the period of Mongolian rule, known as the Chinese Yuan dynasty (1271–1368), and later as well in the Qing dynasty (1644–1912, led by the Manchu people), which annexed Mongolia.

2. South and Southeast Asia. Music history in South Asia can be traced to the fifth-century dramaturgical treatise *Nāṭya Śāstra*, which discusses music and dance in the context of Sanskrit theater and theorizes musical scales and modes. *Nāṭya Śāstra* became the basis of music treatises in the succeeding centuries. During the period of the Islamic Golden Age (eighth through fourteenth centuries), Arabic and Persian music that flowed along the path of Arabic conquests likely began to influence Indian musics. The first discussion of *rāga* (similar to Arabic and Persian conceptions of mode) appears in the 800s. Middle Eastern influence reached a peak during the Islamic Mughal empire (1526–1857, founded by a Central Asian ruler), when the Persian language and Persian musical terms were used at court. Near the beginning of the Mughal empire (ca. 1600), the art music of South Asia split into the Northern Hindustani and Southern Carnatic traditions. Genealogies of both musics are well known, with music passed down mainly in families. Hindustani music is traced to the guru Tansen (ca. 1500–1589) and Carnatic music to the three gurus Tyāgarāja (1767–1847), Śyāma Śāstri (1762–1827), and Muttusvāmi Dikṣitar (1775–1835).

Music history in Southeast Asia shows the confluence of Indigenous, Indian, and Muslim elements. Influence of India over Southeast Asia can be discerned early on, as seen with Indonesia (revealingly, the name *Indonesia* stems from the period of European colonization and is derived from the Latin word for India, *Indus*). In the Indian epic *Ramayana* (seventh century BCE–third century CE), Java is mentioned as the destination where the Indian goddess Sita is to be found. From the third century CE, Indian traders and missionaries began to exert an influence on Indonesia, where Indianized Hindu–Buddhist kingdoms ruled from the fifth through the sixteenth centuries. The myriad versions of and names for the *Ramayana* in various countries (e.g., *Reamker* in Cambodia, *Ramakien* in Thailand, etc.) attest to Indian influence across Southeast Asia. The earliest evidence of music-making in Southeast Asia, in the bas-reliefs at the Buddhist Borobudur temple in central Java, shows the xylophone and a single pot-gong, which are key instruments in Indonesian gamelan ensembles (which in Javanese mythology was created in 230 CE, predating Hindu–Buddhist influence). However, the largest musical ensembles of gong-chime sets and

large and small hanging bossed gongs are found on bas-reliefs from the eleventh through the fourteenth centuries on mainland Southeast Asia in Angkor, central Cambodia. From the eighth century, Arabic traders brought Islamic influence, and Islamic dynasties were established in the Malay Archipelago from the thirteenth century. The gamelan ensemble came to be associated with Islam thereafter.

As we have seen, music histories within and between sub-Saharan Africa and the Asia-Pacific are largely independent of the Mediterranean nexus and do not fit into its tripartite chronology except in a forced manner. Along with the former decolonial narratives, this final fifth narrative decenters Western music history, paving the way for new imaginings of music history in a global direction.

Throughout global music history, global peoples—from the period of multiple antiquities, to the Arab empire, to Indigenous peoples and African slaves in settler colonies, to global peoples who remade Western sounds in the European colonial era, to the relatively independent spheres (musically speaking) of sub-Saharan Africa and Asia-Pacific—have always made music, whether in times of prosperity or under catastrophic circumstances. More to the point, global music history reminds us that the agency of global people is inextricably intertwined with European colonization, both historical and ongoing.

## APPENDIX 1. Music History 1: Global Overview

### Syllabus

#### *Course Overview*

This course examines global music history. We begin with a chronological approach, first covering ancient civilizations before 500 CE (part 1). Part 2 covers the period ca. 500–1500, when Islamic caliphates conquered territories across the Mediterranean coast, providing a historical reference for comparative similarities across musical traditions from different continents. Part 3 covers the next chronological time period, the era of European settler colonization (1500ff.), which anchors our investigation of the music history of Indigenous peoples in Australasia and the Americas, as well as (in the latter region) the music history of enslaved Africans and their descendants. Part 4 covers the same time period as part 3, examining the global spread of Western musics

under European colonization. The final part 5 concentrates on musical flows between and within sub-Saharan Africa and the Asia-Pacific that stretch back to the time of multiple antiquities. By the end of the course, students should have grasped the multiple threads of global music histories in the plural. They should appreciate that Western music is just one among many global musics.

### Reference Texts and Recordings

Jonathan Stock, *World Sound Matters* (Mainz: Schott Music, 1996), comprises textbook (“teacher’s manual”), CD anthology, and transcriptions, sold separately. All recordings are accompanied by scores in the “transcriptions” book.

Steven Cornelius and Mary Natvig, *Music: A Social Experience*, 3rd edition (New York: Routledge, 2022).

Don Michael Randel ed., *The Harvard Dictionary of Music*, 4th edition (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).

Claude V Palisca and J. Peter Burkholder eds., *Norton Recorded Anthology of Western Music*, 7th edition (New York: W. W. Norton, 2014).

### Topics

The 28 topics are labelled by lesson number, rather than by week. There are 28 lessons which fall within 14 weeks, assuming 2 lessons per week.

Readings from *World Sound Matters* (“teacher’s manual”) are indicated as “W[page number],” those from *Music: A Social Experience* are indicated as “M[page number],” and those from *The Harvard Dictionary of Music* are indicated as “H[page number;entry].”

CD tracks from *World Sound Matters* and *Music: A Social Experience* are indicated as decimals following page numbers. For example, [W30-1;1.14] indicates *World Sound Matters* teacher’s manual, pages 30–31, CD 1, track 14. “Norton” indicates the recorded anthology.

#### *Part 1: Multiple Antiquities Existed Before 500 CE*

Music has existed since prehistory and was key to many ancient civilizations. The three case studies here are chosen because of the relative ease of access to musical materials.

1. Ancient Egypt: Ramesside Egypt love songs ca. 1292–1069 BCE [H285-6;“Egypt”].

2. Ancient Greece: Greek epigram song (*Epitaph of Seikilos*, 408 BCE; Norton). Chorus in Greek tragedy (Stasimon chorus from Euripedes's *Orestes*; Norton) [H357-62; "Greece"], with double clarinet *aulos*, also found in ancient Egypt.
3. Ancient China: Chinese archaeological discoveries (*bianzhong* bell chimes of Zeng Hou Yi, 433 BCE) [H259-69; "East Asia"(I)].

*Part 2: Arabic and Persian Music Spread Globally During the Islamic Golden Age (8–14C CE) and European Medieval Period (6–15C CE)*

The Islamic Golden Age roughly corresponded to the European Middle Ages. At its height, the Islamic empire stretched westward to North Africa and the Iberian Peninsula and eastward to Central Asia (right next to China's borders), and Islamic conquests extended to South Asia. Much of the music discussed in this section originated from that period, though the specific date for the creation of a work may not be known. Newer musical traditions created in later centuries but from the same geographies are included in this section. Islamic, Jewish, and Christian chant or music is included. European medieval art music, much of which centers on melody, like global musics, is positioned alongside the latter.

- 4-5. Art music flows. Persian art music suite *dastgāh* (*Tasnif Djān-e Djahān*, precursor of *dastgāh* originated ca. 700) [W42-3;1.22] [H549-56; "Near and Middle East"]. Composer of Al-Andalus, Ziryāb, and Andalusian *nawba* music suite from Morocco (*Nawba hijāzī al-kabīr*, brought to Morocco in esp. 15C) [W51-2;1.27]. South Indian Carnatic *vīnā* lute music (*varnum*, opens a recital; originated ca. 1600) [W37-9;1.19] [H812-22; "South Asia"]. Comparison of art music forms and practices and music theories (concepts of mode; adaptation of the Greek tetrachord).
6. Religious music. Jewish Yom Kippur day of atonement (*Kol Nidre*, notated 18C, from centuries earlier) [M90-1;2.10] [H435-8; "Jewish Music"]. Music of the Mevlevī Sufi order in Turkey (*Taksim Hüseyni*, order founded 13C) [W44-5;1.23]. Medieval sacred drama (Hildegard of Bingen, *Ordo virtutum*, ca. 1151) [N1.17-8].
7. Comparative chants. Gregorian chant and the misinterpretation of Greek modes (codified in 8C; *Mass for Christmas Day*; Norton). Chant-based polyphony (2-4 voice organum, 9–13C; Norton). Comparison with Quran recitation of Egypt (*Sūrat Yusūf*, 12C ff. [concert-style recitation uncommon from that time]) [W45-6;1.24].

8. Dance and wedding music. Medieval *estampie* with *vielle* (14C, performance by Thomas Binkley drawing on Andalusian musical tradition in North Africa; Norton), and the origins of early European string instruments in the Arabic *rebab* and Byzantine *lyra*. Spanish *flamenco* dance (*A mí no me gustan las rubias*; Roma migration from India to Spain in 9–14C) [W85-6;2.18]. Wedding music by Egyptian folk ensemble (*Yā Farawla*, “Oh Strawberry”; possible remnants of ancient Egyptian music in folk music) [W48-50;1.26].
9. Silk Road. Chinese instruments from Middle East and Central Asia.
10. European medieval music in global context: Is Western music a part of global music?

*Part 3: European Settler Colonizers Suppressed Indigenous and African Musics (1500ff.)*

In decolonial theory, the Americas and Australia are considered to be colonized, still, by white settlers. The musics of settler colonies can be understood as temporally situated in relation to colonization, either predating it (Indigenous peoples’ traditional music) or emerging during colonization (musics of African slaves and European settlers). Colonization decimated Indigenous American peoples and musics and brought African slaves to the Americas, where in North America, their musics could not be preserved due to the policy of dispersion of ethnic groups.

11. Before European arrival. Inuit *katajjaq* women’s vocal game (probably pre-acculturation, before 1800s) [W93-4;2.22]. Inuit song [W94-5;2.23] [H136;“Canada(IV)”]. Australian Arnhem Land Aboriginal music (*Birruck*, rock wallaby; pre-colonial, before 1788) [W36-7;1.18] [H576-7;“Oceania and Australia(II)”].
12. European settler colonization. From the Spanish suppression of Mayan civilization and musical re-education of Indigenous peoples in polyphony (16C) to the Zapatista movement for Mayans in Mexico (*El Himno Zapatista*, ca. 1994) [M114-5] [H508-9;“Mexico”]. Sioux national anthem (probably from 19C at the height of settler colonization) [W96-7;2.24] [H38-42;“American Indian music”]. Arapaho American Ghost Dance song (ca. 1889) and the end of Indigenous American armed resistance [M127-8;3.3,3.4].
13. Slavery and African/Black musics. African American field holler (originated during Atlantic slave trade, 16C–19C), blackface minstrelsy, spirituals, and musical acculturation (gospel) [H26-8;“African American music”]. White appropriation of black music (blues, gospel) in US rock and roll.

14. European American folk music. Texas prison farm work song (*Godamighty Drag*; probably 19C or after) [W97-8;2.25] [H932-6;“United States”].

*Part 4: Western Music Spread Globally Due to European Colonization (1500ff.)*

While European music was relatively insular in the medieval period, all kinds of European music spread across the world beginning in the 16C with colonization and missionization. From the 19C, musical “modernization” was led by governments, particularly in East Asia. In the 20C, US popular music styles spread across the world with the creation of a global market by the popular music industry; independent regional popular music industries emerged from the 1980s onward.

15. Christian missionary music. Renaissance polyphony in Mexico by Hernando Franco (1532–1585). Baroque pipe organs in the Philippines. Hymns in Melanesia, Indonesia (influenced 20C pop music), and southern Africa (influenced *isicathamiya*, Zulu male a cappella choral singing from late 19C). Comparative studies:
  - 4-part hymns in the US by William Billings (1746–1800)
16. De/coloniality. Decolonial Christian hymns by black South African composer John Knox Bokwe (*Plea for Africa*, ca. 1894). British colonial music education in southern Africa.
17. Light, art, and avant-garde music. Afro-French composer Joseph Boulogne (b. Guadeloupe, Caribbean, 1745; d. Paris, 1799). Performance of European quadrille dance in Singapore (1819ff.). Combination of Arabic *maqāmāt* with Western counterpoint by Hasan Rashid (1896–1969) in Egypt. *Filmigāt* or film songs with Western orchestra in India by Naushad Ali (1919–2006). Music in the style of Debussy from China, by Ding Shande (1911–1995). Cosmopolitan avant-gardist Ezequiel Menalled (b. Argentina, 1980) in the Netherlands. Conservatories, orchestras, and opera houses all over the world. State-led musical “modernization” in Japan during the Meiji restoration (1868–1889) and in China from May Fourth movement (1919) onward. Comparative studies:
  - Spanish *zarzuelas* in Mexico and Italian opera by Mexican composer Cenobio Paniagua (1821–1882)
  - Vaudeville, Broadway, and Wagnerian cult in 19C US
  - Symphonies by African American composer Florence Price (1887–1953)

18. Brass band and school songs. Brass band in 19C “island music” of Polynesia. Public school songs by Isawa Shuji (1851–1917, Japan) and Shen Xingong (1870–1947, China). Comparative studies:
  - Wind band marches in the US by John Philip Sousa (1854–1932) (Norton)
  - US public school songs (19C)
19. Popular music. Indonesia (*kroncong*, which was originally by 17C Portuguese sailors and merchants and later became the first pan-Indonesian popular music in the 20C; and *dang dut*, which combines *kroncong* with Malay-Arabic singing). Commercial popular music in East Asia (Shanghai jazz, Japanese karaoke industry, K-pop). Commercial popular music in Africa (guitar-based highlife in Ghana; *juju* and *fuji*, based on Yoruba drumming and praise singing in Nigeria and Benin; Nigerian Afrobeat; modern *taarab* in Tanzania and Kenya, a tradition of sung poetry now accompanied with electric guitars, basses, and accordions; Cuban-inspired, guitar-based popular music from the former Belgian Congo and French Congo capitals).

*Part 5: There Are Music Histories Elsewhere in Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia-Pacific*

*Sub-Saharan Africa.* Although the history of African musics can be traced through archaeological finds and historical observation of African musics in Latin America, it is difficult to pinpoint the historical origination of many musics. What is of some certainty is that the traditional musics in this section predate the era of intense European colonization (1890s–1960s), but it is often difficult to ascertain how long these musics have been around. As with the Americas and Australia, European colonization is a chronological marker in the music history of Africa.

20. Archaeology and musical migration within Africa, from Indonesia to Africa (ca. 0–500 CE), and in the Black Atlantic (1500–1800).
21. Oral history. *Jalolu* professional musicians of West Africa (*Kelefa*; tradition dates from ca. 1200) [M33-6;1.12] [H17-26;“Africa”].
22. Traditions from before European colonization. Community and participation: Chorus of the Dorzé people in Ethiopia (*Dama*; probably before the Scramble for Africa, pre-1890s, same for the rest of the traditional musics in this lesson) [W58-9;2.2]; Baka Bambuké (pygmy) yodelling in Gabon [W62-3;2.4]. Sociality and politics: Whispered praise song of Burundi (for benefactor) [W63-5;2.5]; Hutu child’s song with *umuduri* bow (Burundi) [W66-8;2.7]; Political competition in *Timbila* xylophone



ensemble music of the Chopi people in Mozambique (*Mabandla*; performed for Chopi chiefs in colonial times, 1505–1975) [W68-9;2.8].

*Asia-Pacific.* The music histories of East Asia are relatively well documented because of the tradition of historiography in that region, and important historical sources for South Asia have survived. Both ancient and more recent history are covered in the topics below, with global circulation becoming highly significant in the last two centuries (though there have always been varying degrees of global contact throughout history).

- 23-4. Hybridity (East Asia). Chinese *guqin* zither music (You Lan, possibly mistakenly attributed to Confucius [551–479 BCE]). Japanese *koto* (modelled after *guqin*, 7–8C) [H269-73;“East Asia”(II)]. Korean *kōmun’go* zither (modelled after *guqin*, 7–9C) [W11-2;1.3] [H273-5;“East Asia”(III)]. Vietnamese *dan tranh* zither (modelled after *guqin*, before 10C) [W22-3;1.9] [H826-7;“Southeast Asia”(VI)].
25. Hybridity (South/Southeast Asia). Javanese dance-opera *Langen Mandra Wanara* (late 19C; based on the Indian epic *Ramayana* [7C BCE– 3C CE]) [W27-8;1.12] [H828-34;“Southeast Asia”(IX)].
26. Colonization. Mongol empire to Mongolian court music in Qing dynasty China (17C to early 20C) [H275-6;“East Asia”(IV)]. Hawaii’s last queen, Lili’uokalani (*He mele lāhui Hawai’i*, 1866; and *Aloha ‘Oe*, 1878; adapted from Olivia Bloechl’s syllabus).
27. Diaspora. *Holehole bushi* canefield songs of Japanese migrant workers in Hawaii (late 19C to early 20C; adapted from Olivia Bloechl’s syllabus).
28. Gender and sexuality. Women’s Balinese gamelan ensemble *Mekar sari* (1980s) [M59-60]. Transgender *hijra* performance in India (19C). Cross-dressing singers who profess heterosexuality in 20C performance of Chinese opera (Li Yugang).

## APPENDIX 2. Global Music History Topics by Western Chronology

As can be seen from the five decolonial narratives in the syllabus in Appendix 1, global music history does not proceed along the unilinear temporality of Western music history, as implied in the chronological sequence of eras in most textbooks. Here, global music history topics are arranged according to Western chronology only for the practical reason of ease of use by instructors who are teaching Western music history and wish to incorporate some global elements

in their courses. Topics within sections are roughly arranged by geography: Europe and Middle East, Americas, Africa, Pacific islands, East/Southeast/South Asia. Topics are largely derived from Appendix 1 and are not intended to be exhaustive. Relevant resources are indicated in abbreviation as follows:

*DN1-5* – Specific decolonial narrative from the syllabus in Appendix 1. *DN1*: Multiple antiquities existed before 500 CE. *DN2*: Arabic and Persian music spread globally during the Islamic Golden Age (8–14C CE) and European medieval period (6–15C CE). *DN3*: European settler colonizers suppressed Indigenous and African musics (1500 ff.). *DN4*: Western music spread globally due to European colonization (1500ff.). *DN5*: There are music histories elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa and Asia-Pacific.

*BMH* – Gavin S. K. Lee, “Black Music History” resources <https://docs.google.com/document/d/14typjWas0V8gcIuXf4jxmjKP10XEIgfFW00UfReRuFeA/edit#heading=h.8eobtqk51wy>

*QT* – “QTBIPOC Composers Project” (QTBIPOC: queer and trans Black, Indigenous, People of Color), in Gavin S. K. Lee ed., “Global Musical Modernisms” HC website <https://hcommons.org/groups/global-musical-modernisms/docs/>

*SMH* – Gavin S. K. Lee, “Sinophone Music History” resources <https://docs.google.com/document/d/1gKcUeyFB96MCtRSCouDWdfHwe0OGfekW8aGN1IzqvI/edit>

*OB* – Olivia Bloech’s essay and syllabus in this special issue

*BGP* – Burkholder, Grout, and Palisca, *A History of Western Music*

*Antiquity and Medieval Period*

Multiple antiquities: China, Egypt, Greece (*DN1*)

Jewish and Byzantine chant (*BGP*)

Spanish *flamenco* dance; Roma migration from India to Spain in 800s–1300s CE (*DN2*)

Influence of Arabic poetry on troubadours

Global spread of Arabic music to East and South Asia (*DN2*)

Transculturation of Arab and Byzantine instruments (*DN2*)

Inspiration from Arab-Andalusian music in contemporary performance of medieval music (*DN2*)

Persian art music suite *dastgāh* (*DN2*)

Ottoman music (1200s CE ff.)

Mevlevi Sufi order in Turkey (DN2)

Musical migration within Africa and from Indonesia to Africa (DN2)

African archaeology: Nigerian *igbin* drums, 900s–1300s CE (DN5)

*Jalolu* professional musicians of West Africa (1200s CE ff.) (DN5)

Accounts of African musics from 1300s CE Arab travelers such as Ibn Baṭṭūṭah (OB)

East/Southeast Asian zithers (Chinese *guqin*, Japanese *koto*, Korean *kōmun'go*, Vietnamese *dan tranh*) (DN5)

Mongolian court tunes of the Chinese Yuan dynasty (1279–1368 CE) (DN5)

#### *Renaissance Period*

Jewish traditions in Europe (BGP)

Renaissance polyphony of Spanish composer Hernando Franco in the New World (DN3)

Destruction of Mayan civilization and musical re-education of Indigenous peoples in polyphony: e.g., Don Hernando Franco (DN4)

African archaeology: Beninese *dùndún* pressure drum, 1400s (DN5)

*Timbila* xylophone ensemble music of the Chopi chiefs in Mozambique (1500s ff.) (DN5)

#### *Baroque Period*

European dances from Latin America: chacona (Italian), sarabande (French suite) (BGP)

Jewish music: cantillation, polyphony (BGP)

African American field holler (DN3)

Spanish colonies: Central and South America (opera, zarzuela, sacred villancico) (BGP)

Baroque pipe organs in the Philippines (DN4)

African archaeology: ancient Zimbabwean lamellophones migrated northward (1600s–1700s) (DN5)

*Classic Period*

Handel and slavery<sup>43</sup>

New World: William Billings, Calvinists, Moravians (BGP)

Afro European composers: Joseph Bologne, Charles Ignatius Sancho (DN4)

*Romantic Period*

Exoticism: Bizet, *Carmen*; Borodin, *Prince Igor*; Rimsky-Korsakov, *Sheherazade*; Verdi, *Aida* (BGP)

Wagner's anti-Semitic polemic *Das Judentum in der Musik*<sup>44</sup>

Afro European composers: José White Lafitte (Cuba, France, 1838–1918), Samuel Coleridge-Taylor (UK, 1875–1912) (BMH)

Wagnerian cult in US<sup>45</sup>

Dvorák in the US (BGP)

US composers: Louis Moreau Gottschalk (1829–1869), John Knowles Paine (1839–1906), George Whitefield Chadwick (1854–1931), Horatio Parker (1863–1919), Edward MacDowell (1860–1908) (BGP)

US conductor Theodore Thomas (1835–1905) (BGP)

US church music and shape-note singing (BGP)

US operetta and vaudeville (BGP)

Wind band marches in the US by John Philip Sousa (1854–1932) (BGP)

Broadway (DN4)

US public school songs (DN4)

Texas prison farm work song (DN3)

African American musics: spirituals, ragtime, blues, jazz (BMH)

African American composers: Francis Johnson (1792–1844), Charles Lucien Lambert (1828–1896), Lucien-Léon Guillaume Lambert Jr. (1858–1945), John Thomas Douglass (1847–1886), Harry Burleigh (1866–1949), Will Marion Cook (1869–1944), Robert Nathaniel Dett (1882–1943), Gussie Lord Davis (1863–1899, Tin Pan Alley) (BMH)

43. Ellen T Harris, "Critical Exchanges: Handel and Slave-Trading Companies. Handel, a Salaried Composer: A Response to David Hunter," *Music and Letters* 103, no. 3 (2022): 541–548.

44. Richard Wagner, "Judaism in Music," in *Richard Wagner's Prose Works* volume 3 of 8, trans. William Ashton Ellis (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1894), 79–100.

45. Joseph Horowitz, "Finding a 'Real Self': American Women and the Wagner Cult of the Late Nineteenth Century," *The Musical Quarterly* 78, no. 2 (1994): 189–205.

Blackface minstrelsy (DN3)

Sioux national anthem (DN3)

Arapaho American Ghost Dance song (ca. 1889) and the end of Indigenous American armed resistance (DN3)

Brazilian opera composer Antonio Carlos Gomes (1836–1896) (BGP)

Italian opera by Mexican composer Cenobio Paniagua (1821–1882) (DN4)

Hymns influenced Zulu male a cappella choral singing *isicathamiya* in South Africa (late 1800s) (DN4)

Decolonial Christian hymns by black South African composer John Knox Bokwe (DN4)

Brass band in “island music” of Polynesia (DN4)

Hawaii’s last queen, Lili’uokalani (*He mele lāhui Hawai’i*, 1866; and *Aloha ‘Oe*, 1878) (OB)

Holehole *bushi canefield* songs of Japanese migrant workers in Hawaii (late 1800s to early 1900s) (OB)

State-led musical “modernization” in Japan during the Meiji restoration (1868–1889) (DN4)

Public school songs by Isawa Shuji (1851–1917, Japan) (DN4)

Performance of European quadrille dance in Singapore (British colony founded in 1819) (DN4)

Javanese dance-opera *Langen Mandra Wanara* (late 19C; based on the Indian epic *Ramayana* [600s BCE–200s CE]) (DN5)

Transgender *hijra* performance in India (DN5)

### *20th Century*

Cosmopolitan avant-gardist Ezequiel Menalled (b. Argentina, 1980) in the Netherlands (DN4)

Combination of Arabic *maqāmāt* with Western counterpoint by Hasan Rashid (1896–1969) in Egypt (DN4)

African American musics: gospel, jazz, blues, rhythm and blues, rock and roll, soul, rock, disco, funk, hip hop, rap (BMH)

White appropriation of black music (blues, gospel) in US rock and roll (DN3)

African American composers: Roland Hayes (1887–1977), Florence Price (1887–1953), William Grant Still (1895–1978), William Dawson (1899–1990),

Zenobia Powell Perry (1908–2004), Margaret Bonds (1913–1972), Ulysses Kay (1917–1995), Hale Smith (1925–2009, jazz), George Walker (1922–2018), Valerie Capers (b. 1935, jazz), Moses Hogan (1957–2003), William Banfield (b. 1961), Michael Abels (b. 1962), Terence Blanchard (b. 1962), Valerie Coleman (b. 1970), Xavier Dubois Foley (b. 1994), Undine Smith Moore (1904–1989), Julia Perry (1924–1979), Julius Eastman (1940–1990), Adolphus Hailstork (b. 1941), Daniel Bernard Roumain (b. 1971, post-tonal), Wynton Marsalis (b. 1961), Wilbert Roget, II (b. 1983, modernist), Omar Thomas (1984) (*BMH*)

QTBPOC composers in the US: Mari Esabel Valverde, Holland Andrews, Nebal Maysaud, Ahmed Al Abaca, James Vitz-Wong, Mária Grand (1992-), Janelle Lawrence, Melika M. Fitzhugh, and Spencer Arias (1990-)<sup>46</sup> (*QT*)

African composers: Thomas King Ekundayo Phillips (1884–1969, Nigeria), Fela Sowande (1905–1987, Nigeria), Samuel Akpabot (1932–2000, Nigeria), Akin Euba (1935–2020, Nigeria), Ayo Bankole (1935–1976, Nigeria), Laz Ekwueme (b. 1936, Nigeria), Joshua Uzoigwe (1946–2005, Nigeria), Ephraim Amu (1899–1995, Ghana), Philip Gbeho (1904–1976, Ghana) (*BMH*)

Conservatories, orchestras, and opera houses all over the world (*DN4*)

Zapatista movement for Mayans in Mexico (*DN3*)

British colonial music education in southern Africa (*DN4*)

Commercial popular music in Africa: guitar-based highlife in Ghana; *juju* and *fuji*, based on Yoruba drumming and praise singing in Nigeria and Benin; Nigerian Afrobeat; modern *taarab* in Tanzania and Kenya, a tradition of sung poetry now accompanied with electric guitars, basses, and accordions; Cuban-inspired, guitar-based popular music from the former Belgian Congo and French Congo capitals (*DN4*)

State-led musical “modernization” in China from May Fourth movement (1919) onward (*DN4*)

Public school songs by Shen Xingong (1870–1947, China) (*DN4*)

East Asian avant-garde composers:<sup>47</sup> Isang Yun, Unsuk Chin, Takemitsu, Chou Wenchung, Tan Dun, Zhou Long, Chen Yi, Bright Sheng, Lei Liang (*DN4*)

46. More information on these composers can be found on the Institute for Composer Diversity website. Dates of birth have been included where provided. Institute for Composer Diversity, accessed on May 2, 2024, <https://www.composerdiversity.com/composer-database>.

47. There are large numbers of Japanese and Korean composers, but that is beyond my range of expertise. Here are the other Chinese composers covered in *SMH*. From China: Xiao Youmei, Huang Zi, Xian Xinghai, He Lvting, Ma Sicong, Tan Xiaolin, Ding Shande, Qu Wei, Jiang Wenye, Jiang Dingxian, Ma Ke, Li Huanzhi, Zhao Yuanren, Zhu Jian'er, Sang Tong, Luo Zhongrong, Chen Mingzhi, Wu Zuqiang, Li Yinghai, Du Mingxin, Wang Lisan, Tian Feng,

K-pop, J-pop, C-pop (DN4)

Cross-dressing singers who profess heterosexuality in 20C performance of Chinese opera (Li Yugang) (DN5)

Shanghai jazz (DN4)

Japanese karaoke industry (DN4)

Indonesian popular music: *kroncong*, which was originally by Portuguese sailors and merchants (1600s) and later became the first pan-Indonesian popular music in the 20C; and *dang dut*, which combines *kroncong* with Malay-Arabic singing) (DN4)

Hymns influenced Indonesian pop music (DN4)

Women's Balinese gamelan ensemble *Mekar sari* (1980s) (DN5)

*Filmigāt* or film songs with Western orchestra in India by Naushad Ali (1919–2006) (DN4)

---

Li Zhongyong, Chen Gang, Wang Xilin, Huang Anlun, Jin Xiang, ChuWanghua, Gao Weijie, Xi Qiming, Cao Guangping, Zhao Xiaosheng, Yang Liqing, Qu Xiaosong, Zhang Xiaofu, Ye Xiaogang, Li Binyang, Guo Wenjing, Su Cong, Chen Yuanlin, Chen Xiaoyong, Yang Yong, Wang Fei, Mo Wuping, Xia Liang, Zhang Qianyi, Han Yong, Quan Jihao, Lu Pei, Liu Yuan, Luo Jingjing, Xu Jixing, Xu Yi, Cui Wenyu, Zhu Shirui, Jia Daqun, He Xuntian, Peng Zhimin, Zhang Dalong, Tang Jianping, Ge Ganru, Jia Guoping, and Qin Wenchen. From Hong Kong: Lin Sheng Shih, Doming Lam, Wong Yok Yee, Law Wing Fai, and Lam Bun Ching. From Taiwan: Lu Yen, Li Tai Hsiang, WuDinglian, PanShiji, DaiHongxuan, James Fei, Hsiao Ty Zen, and Lee Chih Chun. From Singapore: Leong Yoon Pin, Phoon Yew Tien, Tsao Chieh, Kelly Tang, Ho Chee Kong, Tan Chan Boon, Joyce Koh, Zechariah Goh, and Hoh Chung Shih. From Malaysia: Chong Kee Yong, Yii Kah Hoe, Ng Chong Lim, Teh Tze Siew, Chow Jun Yi, Chow Jun Yan, and Tan Zi Hua.

## Music and Empire: South & Southeast Asia, c. 1750-1950

KATHERINE BUTLER SCHOFIELD

**M***usic and Empire* is a single-semester module that currently focuses on South and Southeast Asia, especially the Indian subcontinent and the Malay world, in the transition to and through European colonialism c. 1750–1950. As a historian of music in Mughal India and the para-colonial Indian Ocean, I have taught this course in the Music Department at King’s College London in various iterations since 2011 (at the time of writing, it was last taught in Semester 2 of 2021/22). Its original concept and design was closely linked to the European Research Council (ERC) Starting Grant of which I was Principal Investigator 2011–15/16, “Musical Transitions to European Colonialism in the Eastern Indian Ocean” (MUSTECIO).<sup>1</sup>

Until the 2020/21 academic year, *Music and Empire* was taught solely as a graduate seminar option, taken for credit by Master of Music (MMus) students (as well as SOAS MMus students and KCL students from, e.g., the Departments of History, Comparative Literature, and Religious Studies) and audited by PhD students and postdoctoral fellows. But in the past two years it has been taught to both third-year undergraduates and graduate students, with a single joint lecture and separate seminars and assessments (the undergraduates have weekly quizzes, a coursework essay, and a 24-hour online open-book examination; the graduates have a verbal presentation and a coursework essay). The module

Acknowledgement of Country: I have lived and worked in the United Kingdom for the past quarter century, but I was fortunate to be born on Turrbal country in what is now called South East Queensland. As an Australian woman of white settler background, I wish to acknowledge the traditional owners of the land on which I was born and raised, the Turrbal people and the Gubbi Gubbi people, and I pay my respects to elders past, present, and emerging.

1. Katherine Butler Schofield, “Musical Transitions to European Colonialism in the Eastern Indian Ocean: Final Summary Report,” Project ID 263643; Principal Investigator Katherine Butler Schofield (European Research Council, 2016), <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/263643>.



generally attracts thirty to forty students in total each year. Annual cohorts frequently include students of South, Southeast, and East Asian heritages and other Global Majority students.

Students should emerge from this course with a sound, comparative understanding of the cultural history of music under empire in specific regions, with a focus on the interplay of Asian and European cultures in the context of asymmetrical power relations. This entails the ability to differentiate between a variety of European and Asian empires, as well as related historiographical paradigms and issues. Students should develop a wider ability to use evidence from studying the musical field to contribute to, challenge, and critique pre-existing historical paradigms, rather than merely interpreting musical culture through them. They acquire knowledge of musicological and ethnomusicological approaches, as well as a range of available sources in music research, in a module that emphasizes the study of music and empire in relation to social, political, mercantile, ideological, and music-specific issues.

The module is conceptually innovative, in that it is designed to remove the colonial-era split between musicology and ethnomusicology by focusing primarily on the histories of Asian and mixed-race performing arts, artists, and audiences in the eastern Indian Ocean and South China Sea, instead of on Orientalist representations of “Asia” in Western music or on European music in its Asian colonies. The second approach has, to date, dominated scholarship and teaching on this topic. Music and empire has customarily been taught in one of two ways. Either, and most commonly, it has been taught by “musicologists” as the history of music in/of Europe and its settler colonies, using European-language sources, with very little reference to the realities of musical lives and economies in the colonised world, and even less use, if any, of Asian source materials for the period. Alternatively, and more recently, “ethnomusicologists” have taught music and empire from a postcolonial ethnographic perspective, looking back at empire’s legacies from/in the long twentieth century, using Asian source materials but going back no further than the birth of the sound recording, c. 1890, an advent that occurred very late in colonial history.

Neither approach is able to tackle the question of how colonialism changed musical fields in South and Southeast Asia:<sup>2</sup> the first neglects, often to the point of ignoring, the colonised world; and the second does not go back remotely far enough.

This module aims to break down these conceptual, geographical, and chronological barriers by: (1) exploring historical work on the music, dance, and sound of the region under colonialism; (2) extending the time period from before European colonial rule to the point of decolonisation; and (3) using

2. Sheldon Pollock, “Forms of Knowledge in Early Modern South Asia: Introduction,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* 24, no. 2 (2004): 19–21, at 19.

relevant secondary literature from a range of disciplines that draws on Asian-language sources dating back as far as the seventeenth century, in parallel with relevant European-language sources.

In line with this approach, *Music and Empire* has long attempted to bring to the fore in its reading lists as many historical and contemporary voices as possible from South and Southeast Asia, especially citizen and diaspora scholars working on source materials in Asian languages and visual cultures. Scholars from the Global North working in Asian languages continue to feature inevitably; as you will see from the length of the current reading list, nobody and nothing has been “replaced.” One continuing obstacle to diversity and inclusion is that the module has to be taught in English, so readings on the formal syllabus are restricted to the English language.<sup>3</sup> But I encourage students to use any other languages they are able to work in, either of the region or of the relevant colonising powers, in their choice of sources for their essays, exams, and presentations.

The rationale behind these choices is threefold.

First, coloniality is fundamental to and inherent in the institutionalised split between musicology and ethnomusicology. I base my argument on the insights of two rather disparate scholars: Lydia Goehr and Walter D. Mignolo. Goehr argued in her seminal essay of 1992 that Western art music is, and is studied as, an imaginary museum of musical works; her insight largely remains true today.<sup>4</sup> I then build onto that Mignolo’s compelling observation that when Europeans devised the colonial-modern museum, they divided it into two kinds: the art museum, which focuses on the history of the “people with history,” i.e., Europeans, “us”; and the ethnological museum, which focuses on the “timeless” ethnography of the “people without history,” or those “outside ‘our’ history,” such as the Chinese.<sup>5</sup>

At the peak of European colonial power, as is well known, academic music studies were conceptually divided into the historical study of the music of the “people with history”—historical musicology—and the anthropological study of the “people without/outside ‘our’ history”—ethnomusicology (at the time called “comparative musicology”).<sup>6</sup> That original division has hardened into an institutionalised fissure that endures unrepaired to this day. The parallels with

3. I am indebted to current KCL PhD student Javier Rivas for this observation.

4. Lydia Goehr, *The Imagined Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992).

5. Walter D. Mignolo, “Museums in the Colonial Horizon of Modernity” (CIMAM annual conference, *Museums: Intersections in a Global Scene*, São Paulo, Brazil, Nov 21–22, 2005), [http://www.forumpermanente.org/en/events/meetings/reports/mignolo\\_texto](http://www.forumpermanente.org/en/events/meetings/reports/mignolo_texto).

6. Erica Muggleston, “Guido Adler’s ‘The Scope, Method, and Aim of Musicology’ (1885): An English Translation with an Historico-Analytical Commentary,” *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 13 (1981): 1–21.

Mignolo's art museum/ethnological museum division are blatantly clear, and they have serious implications for the entire discipline. Because of the split, neither musicology nor ethnomusicology has, until recently, been especially open to the fact that the "without/outside" cultures that are the customary remit of musical anthropologists have accessible and relevant histories, and that the sources that document those histories are plentiful, even via secondary literature, if we spread our interdisciplinary net wide enough.<sup>7</sup>

Such histories are not "decolonial," and studying them is not inherently "decolonising" work, a term I prefer to use solely for the processes of sovereign nations becoming independent from colonising powers. Decolonisation should never be a metaphor.<sup>8</sup> If music studies were to take its radical implications seriously, we would need to tear down the institutional silos of musicology and ethnomusicology altogether and start from undivided ground. I do not believe that is ever going to happen; it is an unrealisable utopian vision. But by insisting that we train our scholarly focus on the histories of performing arts under colonialism *in the region, from their own sources*, written by colonised peoples, we go some way towards at least tipping the balance.

Secondly, representation and citation practices matter. Because it has largely only been possible to pursue ethnomusicology professionally in certain institutions of the Global North, the canonical academic literature on South and Southeast Asian music and dance, including the small minority of publications of a historical nature, has historically tended to be written by Northern white authors (with noteworthy exceptions; see reading lists below). This is changing as a new generation of doctoral students from South and Southeast Asian heritages are filling academic ethnomusicology and global musicology jobs and publishing their research. But there is also a large amount of relevant work in several disciplines beyond music studies that expands, deepens, and challenges our narrow disciplinary perspectives of what performing-arts histories might be in the region. It takes sustained, regular revision and lateral thinking to move beyond the old favorites on a reading list and locate, read, and set work by junior and Global Majority scholars and by researchers in fields beyond card-carrying music studies. But a commitment to global equality, diversity, and inclusion requires such labor as an absolute minimum. (You will see from this syllabus that there is a long way to go.)

The final major rationale behind this module is to introduce students to our emerging theoretical work with the concept of the "paracolonial," as first

7. See the long reading lists below for literature that demonstrates the ample possibility of music history before the period of recorded sound in South and Southeast Asia.

8. Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, "Decolonization Is not a Metaphor," *Education and Society* 1, no. 1 (2012): 1–40.

articulated by Stephanie Newell.<sup>9</sup> Crucially, Asian-language and visual primary sources from the timeframe we conveniently mark off as the “colonial period” frequently give us entirely different perspectives (plural) than top-down models of European hegemony, built largely on colonial and privileged nationalist sources, allow. Paracolonial denotes “alongside” and “beyond” the colonial, and when applied to performing-arts histories it opens up revolutionary historical vistas, allowing for a range of subaltern and articulated voices to interact with each other in a variety of ways. My ERC team and I theorised the paracolonial in 2015–2017 to refer to systems of musical knowledge and practice that operated alongside and beyond the colonial state throughout this period. These systems were frequently facilitated by colonial infrastructures, technologies, and presence in South and Southeast Asia, such as railways, print, and the gramophone; but they were *not*, necessarily or indeed even often, dependent upon colonial epistemologies. Rather, they coexisted in differing relations and tensions with colonial thought and action regarding music, “noise,” and their place in society.<sup>10</sup>

Unlike much postcolonial historiography of Asian musics in the region to date, which takes the overpowering voices of the colonisers and their Western-educated nationalist mirror images at their own estimation, the paracolonial opens up much more room for the autonomous agency of South and Southeast Asian music makers and listeners within the conditions of possibility they were afforded in the transcolonial Indian Ocean c.1750–1950.

This syllabus is a work in progress and represents the state of the field in 2021–2022 in the no-doubt blinkered eyes of one particular historian of South and Southeast Asia. I look forward to it being superseded.

### Module Description

In this module, you will develop a deeper understanding of the diverse ways in which European imperialism and colonialism changed musical culture in South and Southeast Asia through a detailed, comparative examination of changing contexts for music making in the Indian Ocean region c. 1750–1950. We will focus mainly on British imperialism and colonialism in the Indian subcontinent and the Malay world; our major themes will be transition and interplay between cultures, over time, and geographically across the Indian Ocean. Topics to be covered may include, but are not restricted to, different approaches

9. Stephanie Newell, “Paracolonial’ Networks: Some Speculations on Local Readerships in Colonial West Africa,” *Interventions* 3 (2001): 336–54.

10. Schofield, “Musical Transitions to European Colonialism”; David Lunn and Julia Byl, “‘One Story Ends and Another Begins’: Reading the Syair Tabut of Encik Ali,” *Indonesia and the Malay World* 47, no. 133 (2017): 391–420, at 416–17.

to music and empire; postcolonial and paracolonial; Orientalism and race; circulation; musical knowledge; sound and affect; religion; gender and sexuality; sovereignty and decolonisation. Throughout, this module aims to bring ethnomusicological, musicological, and historical approaches to pre-colonial and colonial musical pasts back into creative dialogue, in order to consider how a more nuanced history of changing musical fields can contribute to the wider historical debate on European imperialism and colonialism.

### Student Outcomes

By the end of the module, the students will be able to demonstrate:

- a sound, comparative understanding of the cultural history of music under empire in specific regions, with a focus on the interplay of European and Asian cultures in the context of asymmetrical power relations.
- a detailed knowledge of musicological and ethnomusicological approaches to music and empire.
- a detailed knowledge of the available sources for the study of music and empire, and an understanding of how to read them.
- an ability to differentiate between different kinds of European and Asian empires and to apply that understanding to musical contexts.
- an ability to differentiate between and to critique different historiographical paradigms and issues in relation to specific European and extra-European empires.
- an ability to discuss aspects of musical culture within the framework of these issues and paradigms, including but not restricted to social, political, mercantile, ideological, and music-specific issues.
- a wider ability to use evidence from studying the musical field to contribute to, challenge, and critique pre-existing historical paradigms, rather than merely interpreting musical culture through them.
- all these skills in written argument and seminar discussions.

### Seminar Topics

Seminar 1	Music, Empire, Entangled Histories
Seminar 2	Paracolonial contexts 1: South Asia
Seminar 3	Paracolonial contexts 2: Southeast Asia
Seminar 4	Orientalism and Race
Seminar 5	Circulation

<i>Reading Week</i>	<i>(no seminar)</i>
Seminar 6	Knowledge
Seminar 7	Sound and Affect
Seminar 8	Religion
Seminar 9	Gender and Sexuality
Seminar 10	Sovereignty and Decolonisation

[Here follows practical information on weekly assignments, assessment, faculty word length and plagiarism policy, office hours, email policy, etc.]

### Assigned Weekly Readings

These must be read before each seminar; undergraduates only have to read the starred readings; MMus students must read all of them. You may choose which supplementary readings (beginning on p. X below) you wish to read, and may read them at your own pace.

#### *Seminar 1. Music, Empires, Entangled Histories*

\*\*Bose, Sugata, "Space and Time on the Indian Ocean Rim." In *Modernity and Culture: From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean*, edited by L. T. Fawaz and C. A. Bayly, 365–88. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

\*\*Schofield, Katherine Butler, "Archives Differing: Global Music Histories and the Paracolonial Indian Ocean, c. 1760–1860," essay in progress.

\*\*Newell, Stephanie, "'Paracolonial' Networks: Some Speculations on Local Readerships in Colonial West Africa." *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies* 3, no. 3 (2011): 336–54.

Subrahmanyam, Sanjay, "Introduction: Revisiting Empires and Connecting Histories." In *Empires between Islam and Christianity, 1500–1800*, by Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 1–25. Albany: SUNY Press: 2019.

Rempe, Martin, and Claudius Torp. "Cultural Brokers and the Making of Glocal Soundscapes, 1880s to 1930s." *Itinerario* 41, no. 2 (2017): 223–33.

#### *Seminar 2. Paracolonial Contexts 1: South Asia*

\*\*Bakhle, Janaki. *Two Men and Music: Nationalism in the Making of an Indian Classical Tradition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. pp. 20–95.

\*\*Walker, Margaret E. "National Purity and Postcolonial Hybridity in India's Kathak Dance Revival." In *Oxford Handbook of Music Revival*, edited by Caroline Bithell and Juniper Hill, 205–27. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Schofield, Katherine Butler. "The Orpheus of Delhi: The Maestro Khushhal Khan and the Mughal War of Succession, 1657–1658." Podcast. Soundcloud, 2018. <https://soundcloud.com/user-513302522/the-orpheus-of-delhi-the-maestro-khushhal-khan-and-the-mughal-war-of-succession-1657-8>; and contextual essay "Canonical Hindustani Music Treatises of Aurangzeb 'Alamgir's Reign." British Library Asian and African Studies Blog (blog). March 28, 2018. <http://blogs.bl.uk/asian-and-african/2018/03/canonical-hindustani-music-treatises-of-aurangzeb-alamgirs-reign.html>.

Soneji, Davesh. *Unfinished Gestures: Devadasis, Memory, and Modernity in South India*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012. pp. 27–69.

### *Seminar 3. Paracolonial Contexts 2: Southeast Asia*

\*\*Sumarsam. "Chapter 1: Performing Colonialism." In *Javanese Gamelan and the West*, by Sumarsam. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2013.

\*\*Lunn, David, and Julia Byl. "'One Story Ends and Another Begins': Reading the Syair Tabut of Encik Ali." *Indonesia and the Malay World* 45, no. 133 (2017): 391–420.

Byl, Julia, Raja Iskandar bin Raja Halid, David Lunn, and Jenny McCallum. "The Syair Tabut of Encik Ali: A Malay Account of Muharram at Singapore, 1864." *Indonesia and the Malay World* 45, no. 133 (2017): 421–38.

Cohen, Matthew Isaac. "On the Origin of the Komedie Stamboel: Popular Culture, Colonial Society, and the Parsi Theatre Movement." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 157, no. 2 (2001): 313–57.

### *Seminar 4. Orientalism and Race*

\*\*Head, Matthew. "Musicology on Safari: Orientalism and the Spectre of Postcolonial Theory." *Music Analysis* 22, no. 1-2 (2003): 211–30.

\*\*Cohen, Brigid, et al. "Round Table: Edward Said and Musicology Today." *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 141, no. 1 (2016): 203–32.

Ghuman, Nalini. "Elephants and Mughals." In *Resonances of the Raj: India in the English Musical Imagination, 1897–1947*, by Ghuman, 53–104. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Radano, Ronald, and Philip V Bohlman, eds. *Music and the Racial Imagination*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2000. pp. 1–56.

### *Seminar 5. Circulation*

\*\*Weidman, Amanda. "Gone Native? Travels of the Violin in South India." In *Singing the Classical, Voicing the Modern: The Postcolonial Politics of Music*

*in South India*, by Weidman, 25–58. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006.

\*\*Hilarian, Larry Francis. “The Structure and Development of the Gambus (Malay-Lutes).” *The Galpin Society Journal* 58 (2005): 66–82, 215–16.

meLê yamomo, “Global Currents, Musical Streams: European Opera in Colonial Southeast Asia.” *Nineteenth Century Theatre and Film* 44, no. 1 (2017): 54–74.

Van Der Putten, Jan. “Wayang Parsi, Bangsawan and Printing: Commercial Cultural Exchange between South Asia and the Malay World.” In *Islamic Connections: Studies of Muslim South and Southeast Asia*, edited by Michael Feener and Terenjit Sevea, 86–108. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2009.

Cohen, Matthew Isaac. “Greater India.” In *Performing Otherness: Java and Bali on International Stages, 1905–1952*, by Cohen, 153–74. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

#### *Seminar 6. Knowledge*

\*\*Sumarsam. *Gamelan: Cultural Interaction and Musical Development in Central Java*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1995. pp. 41–130.

\*\*Schofield, Katherine Butler. “Reviving the Golden Age Again: ‘Classicization,’ Hindustani Music, and the Mughals.” *Ethnomusicology* 54, no. 3 (2010): 484–517.

Atarhi, Sagnik. “Whither Musicology? Amateur Musicologists and Music Writing in Bengal.” *Ethnomusicology Forum* 26, no. 2 (2017): 247–68.

Goodman, Glenda. “Sounds Heard, Meaning Deferred: Music Transcription as Imperial Technology.” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 52, no. 1 (2018): 39–45.

#### *Seminar 7. Sound and Affect*

\*\*McCallum, Jenny. “Beguiling Voices: Traces of Vocality in the Malay Literary Tradition of the Riau Islands.” *Ethnomusicology Forum* 26, no. 1 (2017): 93–115.

\*\*Sykes, Jim. “Sound as Promise and Threat: Drumming, Collective Violence and Colonial Law in British Ceylon.” In *Cultural Histories of Noise, Sound and Listening in Europe, 1300–1918*, edited by Ian Biddle and Kirsten Gibson, 127–151. London: Routledge, 2016.

Andaya, Barbara. “Audible Pasts: History, Sound and Human Experience in Southeast Asia.” *KEMANUSIAAN* 25, no. 1 (2018): 1–19.



Das, Santanu. *India, Empire, and First World War Culture: Writings, Images, and Songs*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018. pp. 4–11, 203–38.

*Seminar 8. Religion*

\*\*Kapurja, Radha. "Music and Its Many Memories: Complicating 1947 for the Punjab." In *Partition and the Practice of Memory*, edited by Charnjeet Mahn and Anne Murphy, 17–42. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

\*\*Van Der Putten, Jan. "Woe from Wit: Burlesquing Muharram Processions into Carnavalesque Boria." In *Mengharungi Laut Sastera Melayu. Kumpulan Esei Penghargaan Profesor V.I. Braginsky. – Crossing The Sea Of Malay Literature. A Collection Of Essays In Honour Of Professor V.I. Braginsky*, edited by Jelani Harun and Ben Murtagh, 533–61. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 2011.

Hughes, Stephen. "Play it Again Saraswathi: Gramophone, Religion, and Devotional Music in Colonial South India." In *More than Bollywood: Studies in Indian popular music*, edited by Gregory D. Booth and Bradley Shope, 114–41. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Sumarsam. "Past and Present Issues of Islam within the Central Javanese Gamelan and Wayang Kulit." In *Divine Inspirations: Music and Islam in Indonesia*, edited by David Harnish and Anne K Rasmussen, 45–79. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

*Seminar 9. Gender and Sexuality*

\*\*Soneji, Davesh. *Unfinished Gestures: Devadasis, Memory, and Modernity in South India*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2012. pp. 112–60.

\*\*Lim, Eng-Beng. "A Colonial Dyad in Balinese Performance." In *Brown Boys and Rice Queens*, by Lim, 41–90. New York: New York University Press, 2014.

Tan Sooi Beng. "Breaking Tradition: Women Stars of Bangsawan Theatre." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 151, no. 4 (1995): 602–16.

Hinchy, Jessica. "Obscenity, Moral Contagion and Masculinity: Hijras in Public Space in Colonial North India." *Asian Studies Review* 38, no. 2 (2014): 274–94.

Afzal-Khan, Fawzia. "The Respectable Courtesan: Malka Pukhraj, Music and the Postcolonial Nation." *Performing Islam* 6, no. 1 (2017): 41–59.

*Seminar 10. Sovereignty and Decolonisation*

\*\*Andaya, Barbara. "Distant Drums and Thunderous Cannon: Affirming Identity and Sounding Authority in Traditional Malay Society." *International Journal of Asian and Pacific Studies* 7, no. 2 (2011): 19–35.

\*\*Johan, Adil. "Scoring Tradition, Making Tation: Zubir Said's Traditionalised Film Music for Dang Anom." *Malaysian Journal of Music* 6, no. 1 (2017): 50–72.

\*\*Ramnarine, Tina K. "Dance, Music and Cultures of Decolonisation in the Indian Diaspora: Towards a Pluralist Reading." *South Asian Diaspora* 11, no. 2 (2019): 109–25.

\*\*Chávez, Luis, and Russell P Skelchy. "Decolonization for Ethnomusicology and Music Studies in Higher Education." *Action, Criticism, and Theory for Music Education* 18, no. 3 (2019): 115–43.

**Supplementary Readings by Topic***Music, Empires, Entangled Histories*

Amrith, Sunil. "Tamil Diasporas across the Bay of Bengal." *The American Historical Review* 114, no. 3 (2009): 547–72.

Amrith, Sunil S. *Crossing the Bay of Bengal: The Furies of Nature and the Fortunes of Migrants*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013.

Andaya, Barbara. "Oceans Unbounded: Transversing Asia across 'Area Studies.'" *Journal of Asian Studies* 65, no. 4 (2006): 669–90.

Banfield, Stephen. "Towards a History of Music in the British Empire: Three Export Studies." In *Britishness Abroad: Transnational Movements and Imperial Cultures*, edited by Kate Darian-Smith and Stuart Macintyre, 63–89. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2007.

Bayly, C. A. *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914: Global Connections and Comparisons*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2004.

Bentley, Jerry H, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, and Merry Wiesner-Hanks, eds. *The Cambridge World History*. Vol. 6, parts 1 and 2, *The Construction of a Global World, 1400–1800 CE*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Bose, Sugata. *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006.

Chien-Chang Yang and Tobias Janz, eds. *Decentering Musical Modernity: Perspectives on East Asian and European Music History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2019.

- Clayton, Martin, and Bennett Zon, eds. *Music and Orientalism in the British Empire, 1780-1940s*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2007.
- Green, Nile. *Bombay Islam*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Harper, Timothy N., and Sunil S Amrith. *Sites of Asian Interaction: Ideas, Networks and Mobility*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Engsing Ho. "Empire Through Diasporic Eyes: A View from the Other Boat." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 46, no. 2 (2004): 210–46.
- Hall, Kenneth. "Ports of Trade, Maritime Diasporas, and Networks of Trade and Cultural Integration in the Bay of Bengal Region of the Indian Ocean: c. 1300-1500." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 53 (2010): 109–45.
- Irving, David R. M. "Music and Empire," In *The Encyclopedia of Empire*, edited by John Mackenzie. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2016. <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/9781118455074.wbeoe181>.
- . "Music and Cosmopolitanism in the Early Modern Lusophone World." In *Cosmopolitanism in the Portuguese-Speaking World*, edited by Francisco Bethencourt, 109–31. Leiden: Brill, 2018.
- Joyce, John. "The Globalization of Music: Expanding Spheres of Influence." In *The Global History Reader*, edited by B. Mazlish and A. Iriye, 222–31. London: Routledge, 2005.
- Liebersohn, Harry. *Music and the New Global Culture: From the Great Exhibitions to the Jazz Age*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019.
- Lubinski, Christina, and Andrea Sten. "Traveling Entrepreneurs, Traveling Sounds: The Early Gramophone Business in India and China." *Itinerario* 41, no. 2 (2017): 275–303.
- Moro, Pamela. "Constructions of Nation and the Classicisation of Music." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 35, no. 2 (2004): 187–211.
- Osterhammel, Jürgen. "Globale Horizonte europäischer Kunstmusik, 1860–1930." *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 38, no. 1 (2012): 86–132.
- Pernau, Margrit. "Whither Conceptual History? From National to Entangled Histories." *Contributions to the History of Concepts* 7, no. 1 (2012): 1–11.
- Potter, Simon J. Broadcasting Empire: The Schofield, Katherine Butler. "Musical Transitions to European Colonialism in the Eastern Indian Ocean," unpublished grant proposal, European Research Council, 2010.
- Sheriff, Abdul. *Dhow Cultures of the Indian Ocean*. London: Hurst, 2010.

- Sheriff, Abdul, and Engseong Ho, eds. *The Indian Ocean: Oceanic Connections and the Creation of New Societies*. London: Hurst, 2014.
- Sivasundaram, Sujit. *Waves across the South: A New History of Revolution and Empire*. London: William Collins, 2020.
- Solis, Gabriel. "Transpacific Excursions: Multi-Sited Ethnomusicology, the Black Pacific, and Nettle's Comparative (Method)." In *This Thing Called Music: Essays in Honor of Bruno Nettl*, edited by Victoria Lindsay Levine and Philip V. Bohlman, 354-365. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015.
- Smith, David. "Colonial Encounters through the Prism of Music." *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 33, no. 1 (2002): 31-55.
- Van Der Linden, Bob. *Music and Empire in Britain and India: Identity, Internationalism, and Cross-Cultural Communication*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Western, Tom. "National Phonography in the Musical Past: Empire, Archive, and Overlapping Musical Migrations in Britain." In *Confronting the National in the Musical Past*, edited by Elaine Kelly, Markus Mantere, and Derek Scott, 124-137. London: Routledge, 2018.
- meLê yamomo. "Global Currents, Musical Streams: European Opera in Colonial Southeast Asia." *Nineteenth Century Theatre and Film* 44, no. 1 (2017): 54-74.

*Paracolonial Contexts 1: South Asia*

- Allen, Matthew Harp. "Rewriting the Script for South Indian Dance." *Drama Review* 41, no. 3 (1997): 63-100.
- Atarhi, Sagnik. "Whither Musicology? Amateur Musicologists and Music Writing in Bengal." *Ethnomusicology Forum* 26, no. 2 (2017): 247-68.
- Bakhle, Janaki. *Two Men and Music: Nationalism in the Making of an Indian Classical Tradition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Barlow, Jon, and Lakshmi Subramanian. "Music and Society in North India: From the Mughals to the Mutiny." *Economic and Political Weekly* 42, no. 19 (May 12, 2007): 1779-87.
- Bayly, C. A. *Empire and Information*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Becker, Tobias. "Entertaining the Empire: Theatrical Touring Companies and Amateur Dramatics in Colonial India." *Historical Journal* 57, no. 3 (2014): 699-725.
- Bor, Joep, et al., eds. *Hindustani Music: Thirteenth to Twentieth Centuries*. New Delhi: Manohar, 2010.

Brown [Schofield], Katherine Butler. "If Music Be the Food of Love: Masculinity and Eroticism in the Mughal Mehfil." In *Love in South Asia: A Cultural History*, edited by Francesca Orsini, 61–86. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Capwell, Charles. "Musical Life in Nineteenth-Century Calcutta as a Component in the History of a Secondary Urban Center." *Asian Music* 18, no. 1 (1986): 139–63.

Dalrymple, William. *The Anarchy: The Relentless Rise of the East India Company*. London: Bloomsbury, 2019.

Das, Santanu. *India, Empire, and First World War Culture: Writings, Images, and Songs*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Das Gupta, Ashin. "India and the Indian Ocean in the Eighteenth Century." In *India and the Indian Ocean, 1500-1800*, edited by Ashin Das Gupta and M. N. Pearson, 131-161. Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Deshpande, G. P. "Dialectics of Defeat: Some Reflections on Literature, Theatre, and Music in Colonial India." *Economic and Political Weekly* 22, no. 50 (Dec 12, 1987): 2170–6.

Dirks, Nicholas. *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Farrell, Gerry. *Indian Music and the West*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.

Fernandes, Naresh. *Taj Mahal Foxtrot: The Story of Bombay's Jazz Age*. New Delhi: Roli, 2017.

Field, Garrett. *Modernizing Composition: Sinhala Song, Poetry, and Politics in Twentieth-Century Sri Lanka*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2017.

Ghuman, Nalini. *Resonances of the Raj: India in the English Musical Imagination, 1897–1947*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Head, Raymond. "Corelli in Calcutta: Colonial Music-Making in India during the 17th and 18th Centuries." *Early Music* 13, no. 4 (1985): 548–53.

Hansen, Kathryn. "Parsi Theatre and the City: Locations, Patrons, Audiences." *Sarai Reader 2002: The Cities of Everyday Life* (2002): 40–48.

Kapurja, Radha. "Rethinking Musical Pasts: The Harballabh Festival of Punjab, c. 1875–1950." *Social Scientist* 43, no. 5-6 (2015): 77–91.

Katz, Max. *Lineage of Loss: Counternarratives of North Indian Music*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2017.

Kosambi, Meera. *Gender, Culture, and Performance: Marathi Theatre and Cinema before Independence*. London: Routledge, 2015.

Lelyveld, David. "Upon the Subdominant: Administering Music on All-India Radio." *Social Text* 39 (1994): 111–27.

Lunn, David, and Katherine Butler Schofield. "Desire, Devotion, and the Music of the Monsoon at the Court of the Emperor Shah Alam II." In *Monsoon*

*Feelings: A History of Emotions in the Rain*, edited by Imke Rajamani, Margrit Pernau, and Katherine Butler Schofield, 220–54. New Delhi: Niyogi, 2018.

Niranjana, Tejaswini. “Musicophilia and the Lingua Musica in Mumbai.” *Cultural Studies* 32, no. 2 (2017): 261–85.

Niranjana, Tejaswini. *Music, Modernity, and Publicness in India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020.

O’Hanlon, Rosalind, and David Washbrook. “Histories in Transition.” *History Workshop Journal* 32, no. 1 (1991): 110–27.

Orsini, Francesca, *Print and pleasure: popular literature and entertaining fictions in colonial North India* (2017).

Orsini, Francesca, and Katherine Butler Schofield, eds. *Tellings and Texts: Music, Literature, and Performance in North India*. Cambridge: Open Book, 2015.

Ranade, Ashok D. *Stage Music of Maharashtra*. New Delhi: Sangeet Natak Akademi, 1986.

Roy, Tirthankar. “Music and Society in Late Colonial India: A Study of Esraj in Gaya.” *Journal of Asian Studies* 79, no. 1 (2020): 25–49.

Ruckert, George E. *Music in North India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Saha, Poulomi. “Singing Bengal into a Nation: Tagore the Colonial Cosmopolitan?” *Journal of Modern Literature* 36, no. 2 (2013): 1–24.

Schofield, Katherine Butler. “Learning to Taste the Emotions: The Mughal Rasika.” In *Tellings and Texts: Music, Literature, and Performance in North India*, edited by Francesca Orsini and Katherine Butler Schofield, 407–22. Cambridge: Open Book, 2015.

———. “Words without Songs’: The Social History of Hindustani Song Collections in India’s Muslim Courts c. 1770–1830.” In *Theory and Practice in the Music of the Islamic World*, edited by Rachel Harris and Martin Stokes, 407–22. London: Routledge, 2018.

———. “Histories of the Ephemeral.” Podcast. Soundcloud, 2018–2019. <https://soundcloud.com/user-513302522>.

Shope, Bradley. *American Popular Music in Britain’s Raj*. Eastman Studies in Music 131. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2016.

———. “The Public Consumption of Western Music in Colonial India.” *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 31, no. 2 (2008): 271–89.

Sykes, Jim. “Sound as Promise and Threat: Drumming, Collective Violence and Colonial Law in British Ceylon.” In *Cultural Histories of Noise, Sound, and Listening in Europe, 1300–1918*, edited by Ian Biddle and Kirsten Gibson, 127–151. London: Routledge, 2016.

Subramanian, Lakshmi. *From the Tanjore Court to the Madras Music Academy: A Social History of Music in South India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

———. *Singing Gandhi's India: Music and Sonic Nationalism*. New Delhi: Roli, 2020.

Van Der Linden, Bob. *Music and Empire in Britain and India: Identity, Internationalism, and Cross-Cultural Communication*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

———. *Arnold Bake: A Life with South Asian Music*. London: Routledge, 2018.

Vanita, Ruth. *Dancing with the Nation: Courtesans in Bombay Cinema*. London: Bloomsbury, 2018.

Viswanathan, T., and Matthew Allen. *Music in South India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Walker, Margaret E. *India's Kathak Dance in Historical Perspective*. London: Routledge, 2014.

Weidman, Amanda J. *Singing the Classical, Voicing the Modern: The Postcolonial Politics of Music in South India*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006.

Wilson, Jon E. *India Conquered: Britain's Raj and the Chaos of Empire*. London: Simon and Schuster, 2016.

———. "Early Colonial India beyond Empire." *Historical Journal* 50, no. 4 (2007): 951–70.

Woodfield, Ian. *Music of the Raj*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

*Paracolonial Contexts 2: Southeast Asia*

Aljunied, Syed Muhd Khairudin. "A Theory of Colonialism in the Malay World." *Postcolonial Studies* 14, no. 1 (2011): 7–21.

Andaya, Barbara Watson. "Distant Drums and Thunderous Cannon: Affirming Identity and Sounding Authority in Traditional Malay Society." *International Journal of Asian and Pacific Studies* 7, no. 2 (2011): 19–35.

———. *A History of Early Modern Southeast Asia, 1400–1830*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

———. "Audible Pasts: History, Sound, and Human Experience in Southeast Asia." *KEMANUSIAAN* 25, no. 1 (2018): 1–19.

Barandregt, Bart A., ed. *Sonic Modernities in the Malay World: A History of Popular Music, Social Distinction, and Novel Lifestyles (1930s–2000s)*. Leiden: Brill, 2014.

- Barandregt, Bart A., and Els Bogaerts, eds. *Recollecting Resonances: Indonesian–Dutch Musical Encounters*. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Barendregt, Bart A., Peter Keppy, and Henk Schulte Nordholt, eds. *Popular Music in Southeast Asia: Banal Beats, Muted Histories*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017.
- Brinner, Benjamin, et al. *Music in Central Java*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Byl, Julia. *Antiphonal Histories: Resonant Pasts in the Toba Batak Musical Present*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2014.
- Cohen, Matthew Isaac. *Performing Otherness: Java and Bali on International Stages, 1905–1952*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- . *Inventing the Performing Arts: Modernity and Tradition in Colonial Indonesia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016.
- Finnegan, Ruth. *The Travels and Travails of Music*, Lulu.com. 2016.
- Irving, David R. M. *Colonial Counterpoint: Music in Early Modern Manila*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- . “Trading Tunes: Thomas Forrest, Malay Songs, and Musical Exchange in the Malay Archipelago, 1774–84.” In *Intercultural Exchange in Southeast Asia: History and Society in the Early Modern World*, edited by Tara Alberts and David R. M. Irving, 203–235. London: I. B. Tauris, 2013.
- . “Hybridity and Harmony: Nineteenth-Century British Discourse on Syncretism and Intercultural Compatibility in Malay Music.” *Indonesia and the Malay World* 42, no. 123 (2014): 197–221.
- . “The Genevan Psalter in Eighteenth-Century Indonesia and Sri Lanka.” *Eighteenth-Century Music* 11, no. 2 (2014): 235–55.
- Johan, Adil. “Scoring Tradition, Making Nation: Zubir Said’s Traditionalised Film Music for Dang Anom.” *Malaysian Journal of Music* 6, no. 1 (2017): 50–72.
- . *Cosmopolitan Intimacies: Malay Film Music of the Independence Era*. Singapore: NUS, 2018.
- Johan, Adil, and Mayco A Santaella, eds. *Made in Nusantara: Studies in Popular Music*. London: Routledge, 2021.
- Kartomi, Margaret. “A Malay-Portuguese Synthesis on the West Coast of North Sumatra.” In *Portugal and the World: The Encounter of Cultures in Music*, edited by Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco, 289–321. Lisbon: Publicações Dom Quixote, 1997.



- . “Some Implications of Local Concepts of Space in the Dance, Music, and Visual Arts of Aceh.” *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 36 (2004): 1–49.
- . “Music in 19th Century Java.” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 21, no. 1 (1990): 1–34.
- . “Traditional Music Weeps.” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 26, no. 2 (1995): 366–400.
- . “The Royal Nobat Ensemble of Indragiri in Riau, Sumatra, in Colonial and Post-Colonial Times.” *Galpin Society Journal* 50 (1997): 3–15.
- . “Indonesian-Chinese Oppression and the Musical Outcomes in the Netherlands East Indies.” In *Music and the Racial Imagination*, edited by R. Radano and P. V. Bohlman, 271–317. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- Keppy, Peter. “Southeast Asia in the Age of Jazz: Locating Popular Culture in the Colonial Philippines and Indonesia.” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 44, no. 3 (2013): 444–64.
- . *Tales of the Southeast Asia’s Jazz Age: Filipinos, Indonesians, and Popular Culture, 1920–1936*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019.
- Liew Kai Khiun, and Brenda Chan. “Vestigial Pop: Hokkien Popular Music and the Cultural Fossilization of Subalternity in Singapore.” *Sojourn* 28, no. 2 (2013): 272–98.
- Eng-beng Lim. *Brown Boys and Rice Queens: Spellbinding Performance in the Asias*. New York: New York University Press, 2014.
- Chua Ai Lin. “‘The Modern Magic Carpet’: Wireless Radio in Interwar Colonial Singapore.” *Modern Asian Studies* 46, no. 1 (2012): 167–91.
- Matusky, Patricia, and Tan Sooi Beng. *The Music of Malaysia*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2004.
- McCallum, Jenny. “Conflict and Compromise over Processional Sound in Nineteenth-Century Singapore.” *Indonesia and the Malay World* 45, no. 133 (2017): 315–33.
- . “Beguiling Voices: Traces of Vocality in the Malay Literary Tradition of the Riau Islands.” *Ethnomusicology Forum* 26, no. 1 (2017): 93–115.
- Proudfoot, Ian. “From Recital to Sight-Reading: The Silencing of Texts in Malaysia.” *Indonesia and the Malay World* 30, no. 87 (2002): 117–44.
- Ricklefs, Merle C. “Music and Dance Go to War in Java.” *Archipel* 99 (2020): 143–51.

- Sarkissian, Margaret. *D'Albuquerque's Children: Performing Tradition in Malaysia's Portuguese Settlement*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2000.
- Schechner, Richard. "Wayang Kulit in the Colonial Margin." *The Drama Review* 34, no. 2 (1990): 25–61.
- Selth, Andrew. *Burma, Kipling and Western Music: The Riff from Mandalay*. New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Spiller, Henry. *Javaphilia: American Love Affairs with Javanese Music and Dance*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2017.
- Sumarsam. *Javanese Gamelan and the West*. Rochester, NY: Rochester University Press, 2013.
- Sugiyama, Akiko. "Maritime Journeys of European Opera in the Indonesian Archipelago, 1835–1869." *International Journal of Maritime History* 31, no. 2 (2019): 248–62.
- Sykes, Jim. "Sound Studies, Religion, and Urban Space: Tamil Music and the Ethical Life in Singapore." *Ethnomusicology Forum* 24, no. 3 (2015): 380–413.
- . "Towards a Malayan Indian Sonic Geography: Sound and Social Relations in Colonial Singapore." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 46, no. 3 (2015): 485–513.
- Talusan, Mary. *Instruments of Empire: Filipino Musicians, Black Soldiers, and Military Band Music during US Colonization of the Philippines*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2021.
- Tan Sooi Beng. *Bangsawan: A Social and Stylistic History of Popular Malay Opera*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- . "From Popular to 'Traditional Theater': The Dynamics of Change in Bangsawan of Malaysia." *Ethnomusicology* 33, no. 2 (1989): 229–74.
- . "The 78 rpm Record Industry in Malaya Prior to World War II." *Asian Music* 28, no. 1 (1996): 1–41.
- . "Cosmopolitan Identities: Evolving Musical Cultures of the Straits-Born Chinese of Pre-World War II Malaya." *Ethnomusicology Forum* 25, no. 1 (2016): 35–57.
- Thorpe, Ashley. *Performing China on the London Stage: Chinese Opera and Global Power, 1759–2008*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.
- Tong Soon Lee. *Chinese Street Opera in Singapore*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2009.

- Wang Ying-fen. "The Transborder Dissemination of Nanguan in the Hokkien Quadrangle before and after 1945." *Ethnomusicology Forum* 25, no. 1 (2016): 58–85.
- Webb, Michael, and Steven Gagau. "'Music between the Volcanoes': Notes on Developing a Collaborative Local Performance History of a Colonial Port Town in the South Pacific." *Pacific Dynamics* 4, no. 2 (2020): 1–12.
- Weintraub, Andrew N. *Dangdut Stories: A Social and Musical History of Indonesia's Most Popular Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- meLê yamomo. "Global Currents, Musical Streams: European Opera in Colonial Southeast Asia." *Nineteenth Century Theatre and Film* 44, no. 1 (2017): 54–74.
- . *Theatre and Music in Manila and the Asia Pacific, 1869–1946: Sounding Modernities*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.
- Yampolsky, Philip. "Three Genres of Indonesian Popular Music: Their Trajectories in the Colonial Era and after." *Asian Music* 44, no. 2 (2013): 24–80.
- . "Music and Media in the Dutch East Indies: Gramophone Records and Radio in the Late Colonial Era, 1903–1942." PhD diss., University of Washington, 2013.

#### *Orientalism and Race*

- Bellman, Jonathan, ed. *The Exotic in Western Music*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998.
- Bloechl, Olivia, Melanie Low, and Jeffrey Kallberg, eds. *Rethinking Difference in Music Scholarship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Born, Georgina, and David Hesmondhalgh, eds. *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2000.
- Clayton, Martin, and Bennett Zon, eds. *Music and Orientalism in the British Empire, 1780–1940s: Portrayal of the East*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2007.
- Eng-beng Lim. *Brown Boys and Rice Queens: Spellbinding Performance in the Asias*. New York: NYU Press, 2014.
- Elmarsafy, Ziad, Anna Bernard, and David Attwell, eds. *Debating Orientalism*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Farrell, Gerry. *Indian Music and the West*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.
- Fausser, Annegret. *Musical Encounters at the 1889 Paris World's Fair*. Rochester: University of Rochester, 2005.

- Gould, Clarissa. "An Inoffensive Thing': Edward Elgar, *The Crown of India*, and Empire." In *Music and Orientalism in the British Empire, 1780–1940s: Portrayal of the East*, edited by Martin Clayton and Bennett Zon, 147–164. Farnham: Ashgate, 2007.
- Kartomi, Margaret. "Indonesian-Chinese Oppression and the Musical Outcomes in the Netherlands East Indies." In *Music and the Racial Imagination*, edited by R. Radano and P. V. Bohlman, 271–317. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- Linhart-Wood, Jennifer. *Sounding Otherness in Early Modern Drama and Travel: Uncanny Vibrations in the English Archive. New Transculturalisms, 1400–1800*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.
- Locke, Ralph P. *Music and the Exotic from the Renaissance to Mozart*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- . "Aida and Nine Readings of Empire." *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 3, no. 1 (2006): 45–72.
- Pritchard, Matthew. "Cultural Autonomy and the 'Indian Exception': Debating the Aesthetics of Indian Classical Music in Early 20th-Century Calcutta." In *Studies on a Global History of Music: A Balzan Musicology Project*, edited by Reinhard Strohm, 256–273. Abingdon: Routledge, 2018.
- Ramachandran, Aishwarya. "Music and Movement, Ragas, and Dances: Orientalism, 'Jugalbandhi' and the Shankar Brothers." *Popular Music and Society* 43, no. 5 (2020): 523–34. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03007766.2019.1636172>.
- Selth, Andrew. "The Road to Mandalay: Orientalism, 'Burma Girls,' and Western Music." *Journal of Research in Gender Studies* 6, no. 1 (2016): 159–91.
- . *Burma, Kipling, and Western Music: The Riff from Mandalay*. New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Sen, Suddhasheel. "Orientalism and beyond: Tagore, Foulds, and Cross-Cultural Exchanges between Indian and Western Musicians." In *Studies on a Global History of Music: A Balzan Musicology Project*, edited by Reinhard Strohm, chapter 14. Abingdon: Routledge, 2018.
- Spiller, Henry. *Javaphilia: American Love Affairs with Javanese Music and Dance*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2017.
- Subramanian, Lakshmi. "Negotiating Orientalism: The Kaccheri and the Critic in Colonial South India." In *Music and Orientalism in the British Empire 1780s–1940s*, edited by Martin Clayton and Bennett Zon, 189–208. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.

Sumarsam. *Javanese Gamelan and the West*. Rochester, NY: Rochester University Press, 2013.

Taylor, Timothy. *Beyond Exoticism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007.

Van Der Linden, Bob. "Music, Theosophical Spirituality, and Empire: The British Modernist Composers Cyril Scott and John Foulds." *Journal of Global History* 3 (2008): 163–82.

Willson, Rachel Beckles. *Orientalism and Musical Mission: Palestine and the West*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

### *Circulation*

Arrighi, Gillian. "The Controversial 'Case of the Opera Children in the East': Political Conflict between Popular Demand for Child Actors and Modernizing Cultural Policy on the Child." *Theatre Journal* 69, no. 2 (2017): 153–73.

Becker, Tobias. "Entertaining the Empire: Theatrical Touring Companies and Amateur Dramatics in Colonial India." *Historical Journal* 57, no. 3 (2014): 699–725.

Bohlman, Philip V. "Representation and Cultural Critique in the History of Ethnomusicology." In *Comparative Musicology and Anthropology of Music*, edited by Bruno Nettl and Philip V. Bohlman, 131–51. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991.

Bor, Joep. "Mamia, Ammani and Other Bayadères: Europe's Portrayal of India's Temple Dancers." In *Music and Orientalism in the British Empire 1780s–1940s*, edited by Martin Clayton and Bennett Zon, 39–70. Farnham: Ashgate, 2007.

De Bruijn, Thomas, and Allison Busch, eds. *Culture and Circulation: Literature in Motion in Early Modern India*. Leiden: Brill, 2014.

Capwell, Charles. "Contemporary Manifestations of Yemeni-Derived Song and Dance in Indonesia." *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 27 (1995): 76–89.

Cohen, Matthew Isaac. *Performing Otherness: Java and Bali on International Stages, 1905–1952*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Dodson, Michael S., and Brian A. Hatcher, eds. *Trans-Colonial Modernities in South Asia*. London: Routledge, 2012.

Farrell, Gerry. "The Early Days of the Gramophone Industry in India: Historical, Social, and Musical Perspectives." *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 2 (1993): 31–53.

Finnegan, Ruth. *The Travels and Travails of Music*. Lulu.com, 2016.

- Gelvin, James L., and Nile Green, eds. *Global Muslims in the Age of Steam and Print*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2014.
- Green, Nile, ed. *Terrains of Exchange: Religious Economies of Global Islam*. London: Hurst, 2015.
- Gronow, Pekka. "The Record Industry Comes to the Orient." *Ethnomusicology* 25, no. 2 (1981): 251–84.
- Harper, Timothy N., and Sunil S. Amrith. *Sites of Asian Interaction: Ideas, Networks, and Mobility*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Harrison, Frank. *Time, Place and Music: An Anthology of Ethnomusicological Observation c.1550 to c.1800*. Amsterdam: Frits Knuf, 1973.
- Hijleh, Mark. *Towards a Global Music History: Intercultural Convergence, Fusion, and Transformation in the Human Musical Story*. London: Routledge, 2018.
- Hilarian, Larry Francis. "The Structure and Development of the Gambus (Malay-Lutes)." *The Galpin Society Journal* 58 (2005): 66–82, 215–16.
- Ho, Engseeng. *The Graves of Tarim: Genealogy and Mobility across the Indian Ocean*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2006.
- Hofmeyr, Isabel. "The Black Atlantic Meets the Indian Ocean: Forging New Paradigms of Transnationalism for the Global South—Literary and Cultural Perspectives." *Social Dynamics* 33, no. 2 (2007): 3–32.
- Irving, David R. M. "Comparative Organography in Early Modern Empires." *Music & Letters* 90, no. 3 (2009): 372–98.
- . "Trading Tunes: Thomas Forrest, Malay Songs, and Musical Exchange in the Malay Archipelago, 1774–84." In *Intercultural Exchange in Southeast Asia: History and Society in the Early Modern World*, edited by Tara Alberts and David R. M. Irving, 203–235. I. B. Tauris, 2013.
- . "Hybridity and Harmony: Nineteenth-Century British Discourse on Syncretism and Intercultural Compatibility in Malay Music." *Indonesia and the Malay World* 42, no. 123 (2014): 197–221.
- . "The Genevan Psalter in Eighteenth-Century Indonesia and Sri Lanka." *Eighteenth-Century Music* 11, no. 2 (2014): 235–55.
- Keppy, Peter. "Southeast Asia in the Age of Jazz: Locating Popular Culture in the Colonial Philippines and Indonesia." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 44, no. 3 (2013): 444–64.
- Laffan, Michael, ed. *Belonging across the Bay of Bengal: Religious Rites, Colonial Migrations, National Rights*. London: Bloomsbury, 2017.

- Liebersohn, Harry. *Music and the New Global Culture: From the Great Exhibitions to the Jazz Age*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019.
- Lubinski, Christina, and Andrea Sten. "Traveling Entrepreneurs, Traveling Sounds: The Early Gramophone Business in India and China." *Itinerario* 41, no. 2 (2017): 275–303.
- Lin, Chua Ai. "'The Modern Magic Carpet': Wireless Radio in Interwar Colonial Singapore." *Modern Asian Studies* 46, no. 1 (2012): 167–91.
- Orsini, Francesca. "Songbooks in Print." In *Print and Pleasure: Popular Literature and Entertaining Fictions in Colonial North India*, by Orsini, 81–105. Hyderabad: Orient Blackswan, 2009.
- Orsini, Francesca, Sara Marzagora, and Karima Laachir. "Multilingual Locals and Textual Circulation before Colonialism." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* 39, no. 1 (2019): 63–7.
- Osterhammel, Jürgen. "Globale Horizonte europäischer Kunstmusik, 1860–1930." *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 38, no. 1 (2012): 86–132.
- Pearson, M. N. "Littoral Society: The Concept and the Problems." *Journal of World History* 17, no. 4 (2005): 353–73.
- Ramnarine, Tina K., ed. *Global Perspectives on Orchestras: Collective Creativity and Social Agency*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Ray, Rajat Kanta. "Asian Capital in the Age of European Expansion: The Rise of the Bazaar, 1800–1914." *Modern Asian Studies* 29, no. 3 (1995): 553–54.
- Reily, Suzel Ana, and Katherine Brucher, eds. *Brass Bands of the World: Militarism, Colonial Legacies, and Local Music Making*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013.
- Ricci, Ronit. *Islam Translated: Literature, Conversion, and the Arabic Cosmopolis of South and Southeast Asia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.
- Sachdeva-Jha, Shweta. "Eurasian Women as Tawa'if Singers and Recording Artists: Entertainment and Identity-Making in Colonial India." *African and Asian Studies* 8 (2009): 268–87.
- Schenker, Frederick J. "Empire of Syncopation: Music, Race, and Labor in Colonial Asia's Jazz Age." PhD diss., University of Wisconsin–Madison, 2016.
- Sheeran, Anne. "Baila Music: European Modernity and Afro-Iberian Popular Music in Sri Lanka." In *The Hybrid Island: Culture Crossings and the Invention of Identity in Sri Lanka*, edited by Neluka Silva, 146–170. London: Bloomsbury, 2002.

- Sheriff, Abdul, and Engseeng Ho. *The Indian Ocean: Oceanic Connections and the Creation of New Societies*. London: Hurst, 2014.
- Shope, Bradley. "Anglo-Indian Identity, Knowledge, and Power: Western Ballroom Music in Lucknow." *Drama Review* 48, no. 4 (2004): 167–82.
- Solis, Gabriel. "Transpacific Excursions: Multi-Sited Ethnomusicology, the Black Pacific, and Nettle's Comparative (Method)." In *This Thing Called Music: Essays in Honor of Bruno Nettl*, edited by Victoria Lindsay Levine and Philip V Bohlman, 354–365. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015.
- Stratton, Jon. *When Music Migrates: Crossing British and European Racial Faultlines, 1945–2010*. London: Routledge, 2014.
- Sugiyama, Akiko. "Maritime Journeys of European Opera in the Indonesian Archipelago, 1835–1869." *International Journal of Maritime History* 31, no. 2 (2019): 248–62.
- Tagliacozzo, Eric. "An Urban Ocean: Notes on the Historical Evolution of Coastal Cities in Greater Southeast Asia." *Journal of Urban History* 33 (2007): 911.
- Tan Sooi Beng. *Bangsawan: A Social and Stylistic History of Popular Malay Opera*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Thorpe, Ashley. *Performing China on the London Stage: Chinese Opera and Global Power, 1759–2008*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.
- Van Der Linden, Bob. "Non-Western National Music and Empire in Global History: Interactions, Uniformities, and Comparisons." *Journal of Global History* 10, no. 3 (2015): 431–56.
- Wang Ying-fen. "The Transborder Dissemination of *Nanguan* in the Hokkien Quadrangle before and after 1945." *Ethnomusicology Forum* 25, no. 1 (2016): 58–85.
- Western, Tom. "National Phonography in the Musical Past: Empire, Archive, and Overlapping Musical Migrations in Britain." In *Confronting the National in the Musical Past*, edited by Elaine Kelly, Markus Mantere, and Derek Scott, 124–137. London: Routledge, 2018.
- Woodfield, Ian. *English Musicians in the Age of Exploration*. Hillsdale: Pendragon, 1995.
- yamomo, meLê. "Global Currents, Musical Streams: European Opera in Colonial Southeast Asia." *Nineteenth Century Theatre and Film* 44, no. 1 (2017): 54–74.



———. *Theatre and Music in Manila and the Asia Pacific, 1869–1946: Sounding Modernities*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.

*Knowledge*

Agnew, Vanessa. “The Colonialist Beginnings of Comparative Musicology.” In *Germany’s Colonial Pasts*, edited by Eric Ames, Marcia Klotz, and Lora Wildenthal, 41–60. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005.

Atarhi, Sagnik. “Whither Musicology? Amateur Musicologists and Music Writing in Bengal.” *Ethnomusicology Forum* 26, no. 2 (2017): 247–68.

Bakhle, Janaki. *Two Men and Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Bayly, C. A. *Empire and Information*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Bohlman, Philip V., ed. *The Cambridge History of World Music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Brinner, Benjamin. “A Musical Time Capsule from Java.” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 46, no. 2 (1993): 221–60.

Capwell, Charles. “Marginality and Musicology in Nineteenth-Century Calcutta: The Case of Sourindro Mohun Tagore.” In *Comparative Musicology and Anthropology of Music*, edited by Bruno Nettl and Philip V. Bohlman, 228–43. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Clayton, Martin, and Bennett Zon, eds. *Music and Orientalism in the British Empire, 1780–1940s: Portrayal of the East*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2007.

Cohen, Matthew Isaac. *Inventing the Performing Arts: Modernity and Tradition in Colonial Indonesia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2016.

Dirks, Nicholas. *Castes of Mind*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Field, Garrett. *Modernizing Composition: Sinhala Song, Poetry, and Politics in Twentieth-Century Sri Lanka*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2017.

Irving, David R. M. “The British Historiography of Malay Music in the Nineteenth Century.” In *Proceedings of the Penang and the Indian Ocean Conferences*, Sept 16–18, 2011. George Town, Penang: Think City, 2012.

———. “Hybridity and Harmony: Nineteenth-Century British Discourse on Syncretism and Intercultural Compatibility in Malay Music.” *Indonesia and the Malay World* 42, no. 123 (2014): 197–221.

- Johan, Adil. "Scoring Tradition, Making Nation: Zubir Said's Traditionalised Film Music for Dang Anom." *Malaysian Journal of Music* 6, no. 1 (2017): 50–72.
- Katz, Max. *Lineage of Loss: Counternarratives of North Indian Music*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2017.
- McCallum, Jenny. "Beguiling Voices: Traces of Vocality in the Malay Literary Tradition of the Riau Islands." *Ethnomusicology Forum* 26, no. 1 (2017): 93–115.
- Moyn, Samuel, and Andrew Sartori, eds. *Global Intellectual History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2013.
- Niranjana, Tejaswini. "Musicophilia and the Lingua Musica in Mumbai." *Cultural Studies* 32, no. 2 (2017): 261–85.
- Orsini, Francesca, and Katherine Butler Schofield, eds. *Tellings and Texts: Music, Literature, and Performance in North India*. Cambridge: Open Book, 2015.
- Peabody, Norbert. "Cents, Sense, Census." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 43, no. 4 (2001): 819–50.
- Pollock, Sheldon. *Forms of Knowledge in Early Modern Asia*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2011.
- Powers, Harold. "Classical Music, Cultural Roots, and Colonial Rule: An Indic Musicologist Looks at the Muslim World." *Asian Music* 12, no. 1 (1980): 5–39.
- Saha, Poulomi. "Singing Bengal into a Nation: Tagore the Colonial Cosmopolitan?" *Journal of Modern Literature* 36, no. 2 (2013): 1–24.
- Schofield, Katherine Butler. "'Words without Songs': The Social History of Hindustani Song Collections in India's Muslim Courts c. 1770–1830." In *Theory and Practice in the Music of the Islamic World*, edited by Rachel Harris and Martin Stokes, 173–198. London: Routledge, 2018.
- Walker, Margaret E. "The 'Nautch' Reclaimed: Women's Performance Practice in Nineteenth-Century North India." *South Asia* 37, no. 4 (2014): 551–67.
- Weidman, Amanda J. *Singing the Classical, Voicing the Modern: The Postcolonial Politics of Music in South India*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.
- Winichakul, Thongchai. *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1997.
- Zon, Bennett. *Representing Non-Western Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2007.

———. *Evolution and Victorian Musical Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

*Sound and Affect*

Barandregt, Bart A., ed. *Sonic Modernities in the Malay World: A History of Popular Music, Social Distinction and Novel Lifestyles (1930s–2000s)*. Leiden: Brill, 2014.

Byl, Julia. *Antiphonal Histories: Resonant Pasts in the Toba Batak Musical Present*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan, 2014.

Dillon, Emma. *The Sense of Sound: Musical Meaning in France, 1260–1330*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Erlmann, Veit, ed. *Hearing Cultures: Essays on Sound, Listening and Modernity*. Oxford: Berg, 2004.

———. *Reason and Resonance: A History of Modern Aurality*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2010.

Fahmy, Ziad. “Coming to Our Senses: Historicizing Sound and Noise in the Middle East.” *History Compass* 11, no. 4 (2003): 305–15.

Frishkopf, Michael. “Globalizing the Soundworld: Islam and Sufi Music in the West.” In *Sufis in Western Society: Global Networking and Locality*, edited by M. Dressler et al., 46–76. London: Routledge, 2008.

Gibson, Kirsten, and Ian Biddle, eds. *Cultural Histories of Noise, Sound, and Listening in Europe, 1300–1918*. London: Routledge, 2017.

Hacke, Daniela, and Paul Musselwhite. *Empire of the Senses: Sensory Practices of Colonialism in Early America*. Leiden: Brill, 2017.

Irvine, Thomas. *Listening to China: Sound and the Sino-Western Encounter, 1770–1839*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019.

Jouili, Jeanette S., and Annelies Moors. “Introduction: Islamic Sounds and the Politics of Listening.” *Anthropological Quarterly* 87, no. 4 (2014): 977–88.

Linhart-Wood, Jennifer. *Sounding Otherness in Early Modern Drama and Travel: Uncanny Vibrations in the English Archive. New Transculturalisms, 1400–1800*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.

Lubinski, Christina, and Andrea Steen. “Traveling Entrepreneurs, Traveling Sounds: The Early Gramophone Business in India and China.” *Itinerario* 41, no. 2 (2017): 275–303.

McCallum, Jennifer. “Conflict and Compromise over Processional Sound in Nineteenth-Century Singapore.” *Indonesia and the Malay World* 45, no. 133 (2017): 315–33.

- Ochoa Gautier, Ana Maria. *Aurality: Listening and Knowledge in Nineteenth-Century Colombia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014.
- Orsini, Francesca, and Katherine Butler Schofield, eds. *Tellings and Texts: Music, Literature, and Performance in North India*. Cambridge: Open Book, 2015.
- Proudfoot, Ian. "From Recital to Sight-Reading: The Silencing of Texts in Malaysia." *Indonesia and the Malay World* 30, no. 87 (2002): 117–44.
- Radano, Ronald, and Tejumola Olaniyan, eds. *Audible Empire: Music, Global Politics, Critique*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2016.
- Samuels, David W., Louise Meintjes, Ana Maria Ochoa, and Thomas Porcello. "Soundscapes: Towards a Sounded Anthropology." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 39 (2010): 329–45.
- Schofield, Katherine Butler. "Learning to Taste the Emotions: The Mughal *Rasika*." In *Tellings and Texts: Music, Literature, and Performance in North India*, edited by Francesca Orsini and Katherine Butler Schofield, 407–22. Cambridge: Open Book, 2015.
- Steingo, Gavin, and Jim Sykes. *Remapping Sound Studies*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2019.
- Sterne, Jonathan. *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Production*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.
- , ed. *The Sound Studies Reader*. London: Routledge, 2012.
- Sykes, Jim. "Sound Studies, Religion, and Urban Space: Tamil Music and the Ethical Life in Singapore." *Ethnomusicology Forum* 24, no. 3 (2015): 380–413.
- . "Towards a Malayan Indian Sonic Geography: Sound and Social Relations in Colonial Singapore." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 46, no. 3 (2015): 485–513.
- Tomlinson, Gary. *The Singing of the New World: Indigenous Voice in the Era of European Contact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Williams, Richard David. "Music, Lyrics, and the Bengali Book: Hindustani Musicology in Calcutta, 1818–1905." *Music and Letters* 97, no. 3 (2016): 465–95.

### *Religion*

- Andaya, Barbara. "Between Empires and Emporia: The Economics of Christianization in Early Modern Southeast Asia." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 53 (2010): 357–92.

- Ahmed, Shahab. *What is Islam? The Importance of Being Islamic*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016.
- Bakhle, Janaki. *Two Men and Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. pp. 96–136.
- Bose, Sugata, and Ayesha Jalal. *Oceanic Islam: Muslim Universalism and European Imperialism*. London: Bloomsbury, 2020.
- Byl, Julia, Raja Iskandar bin Raja Halid, David Lunn, and Jenny McCallum. “The *Syair Tabut* of Encik Ali: A Malay Account of Muharram at Singapore, 1864.” *Indonesia and the Malay World* 45, no. 133 (2017): 421–38.
- Gelvin, James L., and Nile Green, eds. *Global Muslims in the Age of Steam and Print*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2014.
- Green, Nile, ed. *Terrains of Exchange: Religious Economies of Global Islam*. London: Hurst, 2015.
- Guenther, Alan M. “*Ghazals, Bhajans* and Hymns: Hindustani Christian Music in Nineteenth-Century North India.” *Studies in World Christianity* 25, no. 2 (2019): 145–65.
- Harnish, David, and Anne K. Rasmussen, eds. *Divine Inspirations: Music and Islam in Indonesia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. pp. 45–79.
- Irving, David R. M. “The Genevan Psalter in Eighteenth-Century Indonesia and Sri Lanka.” *Eighteenth-Century Music* 11, no. 2 (2014): 235–55.
- Manuel, Peter. “Music, the Media and Communal Relations in North India, Past and Present.” In *Making India Hindu: Religion, Community, and the Politics of Democracy in India*, edited by David Ludden, chapter 5. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Laffan, Michael, ed. *Belonging across the Bay of Bengal: Religious Rites, Colonial Migrations, National Rights*. London: Bloomsbury, 2017.
- Lunn, David, and Julia Byl. “‘One Story Ends and Another Begins’: Reading the *Syair Tabut* of Encik Ali.” *Indonesia and the Malay World* 45, no. 133 (2017): 391–420.
- McCallum, Jenny. “Conflict and Compromise over Processional Sound in Nineteenth-Century Singapore.” *Indonesia and the Malay World* 45, no. 133 (2017): 315–33.
- Qureshi, Regula. “‘Muslim Devotional’: Popular Religious Music and Muslim Identity under British, Indian, and Pakistani Hegemony.” *Asian Music* 24, no. 1 (1992–1993): 111–21.
- Ricci, Ronit. *Islam Translated: Literature, Conversion, and the Arabic Cosmopolis of South and Southeast Asia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.

- Risso, Patricia. *Merchants and Faith: Muslim Commerce and Culture in the Indian Ocean*. Boulder, CO: Westview, 1995.
- Sarkissian, Margaret. "Religion Never Had It so Good': Contemporary Nasyid and the Growth of Islamic Popular Music in Malaysia." *Yearbook for Traditional Music* (2005): 124–52.
- Sykes, Jim. "Sound Studies, Religion and Urban Space: Tamil Music and the Ethical Life in Singapore." *Ethnomusicology Forum* 24, no. 3 (2015): 380–413.
- . "Sound as Promise and Threat: Drumming, Collective Violence and Colonial Law in British Ceylon." In *Cultural Histories of Noise, Sound, and Listening in Europe, 1300–1918*, edited by Ian Biddle and Kirsten Gibson, 127–151. London: Routledge, 2016.
- Sumarsam. "Past and Present Issues of Islam within the Central Javanese Gamelan and Wayang Kulit." In *Divine Inspirations: Music and Islam in Indonesia*, edited by David Harnish and Anne K Rasmussen, 45–79. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Tschacher, Torsten. "From Local Practice to Transnational Network—Saints, Shrines, and Sufis among Tamil Muslims in Singapore." *Asian Journal of Social Science* 34, no. 2 (2006): 225–42.
- Van Der Linden, Bob. "Music, Theosophical Spirituality, and Empire: The British Modernist Composers Cyril Scott and John Foulds." *Journal of Global History* 3 (2008): 163–82.
- Wendt, Reinhard. "Philippine Fiesta and Colonial Culture." *Philippine Studies* 46, no. 1 (1998): 3–23.

#### *Gender and Sexuality*

- Afzal-Khan, Fawzia. "The Respectable Courtesan: Malka Pukhraj, Music, and the Postcolonial Nation." *Performing Islam* 6, no. 1 (2017): 41–59.
- . "Roshan Ara Begum: Performing Classical Music, Gender, and Muslim Nationalism in Pakistan." *Drama Review* 62, no. 4 (2018): 8–22.
- Andaya, Barbara Watson. *The Flaming Womb: Repositioning Women in Southeast Asian History*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006.
- Appadurai, Arjun et al., eds. *Gender, Genre and Power in South Asian Expressive Traditions*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991.
- Bor, Joep. "The Voice of the Sarangi." *Quarterly Journal of the NCPA* 15–16 (1986–1987): <http://sarangi.info/2006/09/13/the-voice-of-the-sarangi-by-joep-bor/>.

- Brown [Schofield], Katherine Butler. "If Music Be the Food of Love: Masculinity and Eroticism in the Mughal *Mehfil*." In *Love in South Asia: A Cultural History*, edited by Francesca Orsini, 61–83. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Das Gupta, Amlan. "Women and Music: The Case of North India." In *Women of India: Colonial and Post-Colonial Periods. History of Science, Philosophy, and Culture in Indian Civilization* Vol. 9, part 3, edited by Bharati Ray, 454–484. New Delhi: Sage, 2005.
- Dewan, Saba. *Tawaifnama*. Chennai: Westland, 2019.
- Du Perron, Lalita. "'Thumri': A Discussion of the Female Voice of Hindustani Music." *Modern Asian studies* 36, no. 1 (2002): 173–93.
- Hansen, Kathryn. "Making Women Visible: Gender and Race Cross-Dressing in the Parsi Theatre." *Theatre Journal* 51, no. 2 (1999): 127–47.
- Hinchy, Jessica. *Governing Gender and Sexuality in Colonial India: The Hijra, c. 1850–1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.
- Indraganti, Kiranmayi. *Her Majestic Voice: South Indian Female Playback Singers and Stardom, 1945–1955*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Kapuria, Radha. "Of Music and the Maharaja: Gender, Affect, and Power in Ranjit Singh's Lahore." *Modern Asian Studies* 54, no. 4 (2020): 654–90.
- Kosambi, Meera. *Gender, Culture, and Performance: Marathi Theatre and Cinema before Independence*. London: Routledge, 2015.
- Lim, Eng-beng. *Brown Boys and Rice Queens: Spellbinding Performance in the Asias*. New York: NYU Press, 2014.
- Morcom, Anna. *Illicit Worlds of Indian Dance: Cultures of Exclusion*. London: Hurst, 2013.
- Oldenburg, Veena. "Lifestyle as Resistance? The Case of the Courtesans of Lucknow." *Feminist Studies* 16 (1990): 259–87.
- Parker, Kunal. "'A Corporation of Superior Prostitutes': Anglo-Indian Legal Conceptions of Temple Dancing Girls, 1800–1914." *Modern Asian Studies* 32, no. 3 (1998): 559–663.
- Sachdeva-Jha, Shweta. "Eurasian Women as *Tawaif* Singers and Recording Artists: Entertainment and Identity Making in Colonial India." *African and Asian Studies* 8 (2009): 268–87.
- Schofield, Katherine Butler. "The Courtesan Tale: Female Musicians and Dancers in Mughal Historical Chronicles, c. 1556–1748." *Gender & History* 24, no. 1 (2012): 150–71.

- Srinivasan, Amrit. "Reform and Revival: The Devadasi and Her Dance." *Economic and Political Weekly* 20, no. 44 (1985): 1869–76.
- Tula, Meenal. "Gentrified Fantasies: Women Singers on the Gramophone in Late Colonial India." *Women's History Review* 30, no. 7 (2021): 1119–40.
- Vanita, Ruth. *Dancing with the Nation: Courtesans in Bombay Cinema*. London: Bloomsbury, 2018.
- Waheed, Sarah. "Women of 'Ill Repute': Ethics and Urdu Literature in Colonial India." *Modern Asian Studies* 48, no. 4 (2014): 986–1023.
- Walker, Margaret E. *India's Kathak Dance in Historical Perspective*. London: Routledge, 2014.
- . "National Purity and Postcolonial Hybridity in India's Kathak Dance Revival." In *Oxford Handbook of Music Revival*, edited by Caroline Bithell and Juniper Hill, 205–227. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- . "The 'Nautch' Reclaimed: Women's Performance Practice in Nineteenth-Century North India." *South Asia* 37, no. 4 (2014): 551–67.
- Weidman, Amanda. "Gender and the Politics of Voice: Colonial Modernity and Classical Music in South India." *Cultural Anthropology* 18, no. 2 (2003): 194–232.
- Williams, Richard David. "Songs between Cities: Listening to Courtesans in Colonial North India." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 27, no. 4 (2017): 591–610.
- Sovereignty and Decolonisation*
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso, 2006.
- Capwell, Charles. "Sourindro Mohun Tagore and the National Anthem Project." *Ethnomusicology* 31, no. 3 (1987): 407–30.
- Chopyak, James D., "The Role of Music in Mass Media, Public Education, and the Formation of a Malaysian National Culture." *Ethnomusicology* 31, no. 3 (1987): 431–54.
- Cohn, Bernard S. *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Farrell, Gerry. *Indian Music and the West*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997. pp. 45–76.
- Field, Garrett. *Modernizing Composition: Sinhala Song, Poetry, and Politics in Twentieth-Century Sri Lanka*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2017.



- Johan, Adil. "Scoring Tradition, Making Nation: Zubir Said's Traditionalised Film Music for Dang Anom." *Malaysian Journal of Music* 6, no. 1 (2017): 50–72.
- . *Cosmopolitan Intimacies: Malay Film Music of the Independence Era*. Singapore: NUS, 2018.
- Lunn, David, and Katherine Butler Schofield. "Desire, Devotion, and the Music of the Monsoon at the Court of the Emperor Shah Alam II." In *Monsoon Feelings: A History of Emotions in the Rain*, edited by Imke Rajamani, Margrit Pernau, and Katherine Butler Schofield, 220–54. New Delhi: Niyogi, 2018.
- Mitter, Partha. *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India, 1850–1922: Occidental Orientations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Pemberton, John. *On the Subject of 'Java.'* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994.
- Reid, Anthony. "Cosmopolis and Nation in Central Southeast Asia." *Asia Research Institute Working Paper Series* 22 (2004).
- Ramnarine, Tina K. "Orchestral Connections in the Cultures of Decolonization: Reflections on British, Caribbean, and Indian Contexts." In *Global Perspectives on Orchestras: Collective Creativity and Social Agency*, edited by Ramnarine, 324–350. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Poulomi, Saha. "Singing Bengal into a Nation: Tagore the Colonial Cosmopolitan?" *Journal of Modern Literature* 36, no. 2 (2013): 1–24.
- Sen, Sudipta. *Distant Sovereignty: National Imperialism and the Origins of British India*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Stokes, Martin. "Music and the Global Rrder." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33 (2004): 47–72.
- Tan, Shzr Ee, ed. "Decolonising Music and Music Studies." Special issue of *Ethnomusicology Forum* 30, no. 1 (2021).
- . "Whose Decolonisation? Checking for Intersectionality, Lane-Policing and Academic Privilege from a Transnational (Chinese) Vantage Point." *Ethnomusicology Forum* 30, no. 1 (2021): 140–62.
- Tuck, Eve, and K. Wayne Yang. "Decolonization Is not a Metaphor." *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education, & Society* 1, no. 1 (2012): 1–40.
- Turnbull, C. M. "British Colonialism and the Making of the Modern Johor Monarchy." *Indonesia and the Malay World* 37, no. 109 (2009): 227–48.
- Van Der Linden, Bob. "Non-Western National Music and Empire in Global History: Interactions, Uniformities, and Comparisons." *Journal of Global History* 10, no. 3 (2015): 431–56.

- Walker, Margaret. "National Purity and Postcolonial Hybridity in India's *Kathak* Dance Revival." In *Oxford Handbook of Music Revival*, edited by Caroline Bithell and Juniper Hill, 205–227. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Western, Tom. "National Phonography in the Musical Past: Empire, Archive, and Overlapping Musical Migrations in Britain." In *Confronting the National in the Musical Past*, edited by Elaine Kelly, Markus Mantere, and Derek Scott, 124–137. London: Routledge, 2018.
- White, Timothy R. "Historical Poetics, Malaysian Cinema, and the Japanese Occupation." *Kinema: A Journal for Film and Audiovisual Media* (fall 1996).

### General Bibliography

#### *General History Books*

- Abu Lughod, Janet. *Before European Hegemony: The World System, AD 1250–1350*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Ahmed, Shahab. *What is Islam? The Importance of Being Islamic*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016.
- Alpers, Edward A. *The Indian Ocean in World History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Amrith, Sunil S. *Crossing the Bay of Bengal: The Furies of Nature and the Fortunes of Migrants*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013.
- Andaya, Barbara Watson. *A History of Early Modern Southeast Asia, 1400–1830*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Armitage, David, Alison Bashford, and Sujit Sivasundaram, eds. *Oceanic Histories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Bayly, C. A. *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780–1830*. London: Routledge, 1989.
- . *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914: Global Connections and Comparisons*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2004.
- Bentley, Jerry H., Sanjay Subrahmanyam, and Merry Wiesner-Hanks, eds. *The Cambridge World History*. Vol. 6, parts 1 and 2, *The Construction of a Global World, 1400–1800 CE*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Bose, Sugata. *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006.
- Bose, Sugata, and Ayesha Jalal. *Oceanic Islam: Muslim Universalism and European Imperialism*. London: Bloomsbury, 2020.

- Chaudhuri, K. N. *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Dalrymple, William. *White Mughals: Love and Betrayal in Eighteenth-Century India*. London: Bloomsbury, 2004.
- . *The Anarchy: The Relentless Rise of the East India Company*. London: Bloomsbury, 2019.
- Das, Santanu. *India, Empire, and First World War Culture: Writings, Images, and Songs*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Das Gupta, Ashin, and M. N. Pearson, eds. *India and the Indian Ocean, 1500–1800*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- De Bruijn, Thomas, and Allison Busch, eds. *Culture and Circulation: Literature in Motion in Early Modern India*. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- Dodson, Michael S., and Brian A. Hatcher, eds. *Trans-Colonial Modernities in South Asia*. London: Routledge, 2012.
- Dutta, Sutapa, and Nilanjana Mukherjee, eds. *Mapping India: Transitions and Transformations, 18th–19th Century*. London: Routledge, 2019.
- Elmarsafy, Ziad, Anna Bernard, and David Attwell, eds. *Debating Orientalism*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Fawaz, L. T., and C A Bayly, eds. *Modernity and Culture: From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.
- Frankopan, Peter. *The Silk Roads: A New History of the World*. London: Bloomsbury, 2015.
- Freitag, Ulrike, and W. G. Clarence-Smith. *Hadhrami Traders, Scholars, and Statesmen in the Indian Ocean, 1750s–1960s*. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- Gelvin, James L., and Nile Green, eds. *Global Muslims in the Age of Steam and Print*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2014.
- Green, Nile, *Bombay Islam*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- , ed. *Terrains of Exchange: Religious Economies of Global Islam*. London: Hurst, 2015.
- Harper, Timothy N., and Sunil S. Amrith. *Sites of Asian Interaction: Ideas, Networks and Mobility*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Hellwig, Timeke, and Eric Tagliacozzo, eds. *The Indonesia Reader*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2009.
- Hoerder, Dirk. *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.

- Khafipour, Hani, ed. *The Empires of the Near East and India: Source Studies of the Safavid, Ottoman, and Mughal Literate Communities*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2019.
- Kulke, Hermann, and Dietmar Rothermund. *A History of India*. 4th ed. London: Routledge, 2004.
- Laffan, Michael, ed. *Belonging across the Bay of Bengal: Religious Rites, Colonial Migrations, National Rights*. London: Bloomsbury, 2017.
- Metcalf, Barbara D., and Thomas R. Metcalf. *A Concise History of Modern India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Marshall, Peter J., ed. *The Cambridge Illustrated History of the British Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Moyn, Samuel, and Andrew Sartori, eds. *Global Intellectual History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2013.
- Orsini, Francesca, ed. *The History of the Book in South Asia*. London: Routledge, 2016.
- Potter, Simon J. *Broadcasting Empire: The BBC and the British World, 1922–1970*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Ricci, Ronit. *Islam Translated: Literature, Conversion, and the Arabic Cosmopolis of South and Southeast Asia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.
- Richards, John F. *The Mughal Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin, 1978.
- Sivasundaram, Sujit. *Waves across the South: A New History of Revolution and Empire*. London: William Collins, 2020.
- Sheriff, Abdul. *Dhow Cultures of the Indian Ocean*. London: Hurst, 2010.
- Sheriff, Abdul, and Engseong Ho, eds. *The Indian Ocean: Oceanic Connections and the Creation of New Societies*. London: Hurst, 2014.
- Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. *Explorations in Connected History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Tarling, Nicholas. *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Wilson, Jon E. *India Conquered: Britain's Raj and the Chaos of Empire*. London: Simon & Schuster, 2016.

*General Music/Sound Books*

Music of the Indian Ocean website: <https://sites.google.com/site/musicofthe->

[indianocean/](#).

Articles on India, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Malaysia, and Indonesia in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*.

Articles on India, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Malaysia, and Indonesia in the *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*.

*Pacific*

Agnew, Vanessa. *Enlightenment Orpheus*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Finnegan, Ruth. *The Travels and Travails of Music*. Lulu.com, 2016.

*South Asia*

Bakhle, Janaki. *Two Men and Music: Nationalism in the Making of an Indian Classical Tradition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Dewan, Saba. *Tawaifnama*. Chennai: Westland, 2019.

Farrell, Gerry. *Indian Music and the West*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.

Fernandes, Naresh. *Taj Mahal Foxtrot: The Story of Bombay's Jazz Age*. New Delhi: Roli, 2017.

Field, Garrett. *Modernizing Composition: Sinhala Song, Poetry, and Politics in Twentieth-Century Sri Lanka*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2017.

Ghuman, Nalini. *Resonances of the Raj: India in the English Musical Imagination, 1897–1947*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Hinchy, Jessica. *Governing Gender and Sexuality in Colonial India: The Hijra, c. 1850–1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Katz, Max. *Lineage of Loss: Counternarratives of North Indian music*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2017.

Kosambi, Meera. *Gender, Culture, and Performance: Marathi Theatre and Cinema before Independence*. London: Routledge, 2015.

Miner, Allyn. *Sitar and Sarod in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1993.

Morcom, Anna. *Illicit Worlds of Indian Dance: Cultures of Exclusion*. London: Hurst, 2013.

Neuman, Daniel M. *Life of Music in North India*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.

Niranjana, Tejaswini. *Music, Modernity, and Publicness in India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020.

- Orsini, Francesca. *Print and Pleasure: Popular Literature and Entertaining Fictions in Colonial North India*. Hyderabad: Orient Blackswan, 2017.
- Orsini, Francesca, and Katherine Butler Schofield, eds. *Tellings and Texts: Music, Literature, and Performance in North India*. Cambridge: Open Book, 2015.
- Rajamani, Imke, Margrit Pernau, and Katherine Butler Schofield, eds. *Monsoon Feelings: A History of Emotions in the Rain*. New Delhi: Niyogi, 2018.
- Ruckert, George E. *Music in North India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Shope, Bradley. *American Popular Music in Britain's Raj*. Vol. 131, Eastman Studies in Music. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2016.
- Subramanian, Lakshmi. *From the Tanjore Court to the Madras Music Academy: A Social History of Music in South India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- . *New Mansions for Music: Performance, Pedagogy and Criticism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- . *Singing Gandhi's India: Music and Sonic Nationalism*. New Delhi: Roli, 2020.
- Van Der Linden, Bob. *Music and Empire in Britain and India: Identity, Internationalism, and Cross-Cultural Communication*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- . *Arnold Bake: A Life with South Asian Music*. London: Routledge, 2018.
- Vanita, Ruth, ed. *Queering India: Same-Sex Love and Eroticism in Indian Culture and Society*. London: Routledge, 2001.
- . *Dancing with the Nation: Courtesans in Bombay Cinema*. London: Bloomsbury, 2018.
- Viswanathan, T., and Matthew Harp Allen. *Music in South India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Weidman, Amanda J. *Singing the Classical, Voicing the Modern: The Postcolonial Politics of Music in South India*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.
- Walker, Margaret E. *India's Kathak Dance in Historical Perspective*. London: Routledge, 2014.
- Woodfield, Ian. *Music of the Raj*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

*Southeast Asia*

- Barandregt, Bart A., ed. *Sonic Modernities in the Malay World: A History of Popular Music, Social Distinction and Novel Lifestyles (1930s–2000s)*. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- Barandregt, Bart A, and Els Bogaerts, eds., *Recollecting resonances: Indonesian–Dutch musical encounters*. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Barendregt, Bart A., Peter Keppy, and Henk Schulte Nordholt, eds. *Popular Music in Southeast Asia: Banal Beats, Muted Histories*. Leiden: Brill: 2017.
- Brinner, Benjamin, et al. *Music in Central Java*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Byl, Julia. *Antiphonal Histories: Resonant Pasts in the Toba Batak Musical Present*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2014.
- Cohen, Matthew Isaac. *Performing Otherness: Java and Bali on International Stages, 1905–1952*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- . *Inventing the Performing Arts: Modernity and Tradition in Colonial Indonesia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016.
- Douglas, Gavin. *Music in Mainland Southeast Asia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Gold, Lisa. *Music in Bali*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Harnish, David, and Anne K. Rasmussen, eds. *Divine Inspirations: Music and Islam in Indonesia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Irving, David R. M. *Colonial Counterpoint*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Johan, Adil. *Cosmopolitan Intimacies: Malay Film Music of the Independence Era*. Singapore: NUS, 2018.
- Johan, Adil, and Mayco A. Santaella, eds. *Made in Nusantara: Studies in Popular Music*. London: Routledge, 2021.
- Kartomi, Margaret J., and Stephen Blum, eds. *Music-Cultures in Contact: Convergences and Collisions*. London: Gordon and Breach, 1994.
- Keppy, Peter. *Tales of the Southeast Asian Jazz Age: Filipinos, Indonesians, and Popular Culture, 1920–1936*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019.
- Eng-beng Lim. *Brown Boys and Rice Queens: Spellbinding Performance in the Asias*. New York: New York University, 2014.
- Matusky, Patricia, and Tan Sooi Beng. *The Music of Malaysia*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2004.

- Rasmussen, Anne. *Women, the Recited Qur'an, and Islamic Music in Contemporary Indonesia*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2010.
- Sarkissian, Margaret. *D'Albuquerque's Children*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- Selth, Andrew. *Burma, Kipling, and Western Music: The Riff from Mandalay*. New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Spiller, Henry. *Javaphilia: American Love Affairs with Javanese Music and Dance*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2017.
- Sumarsam. *Gamelan: Cultural Interaction and Musical Development in Central Java*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- . *Javanese Gamelan and the West*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2013.
- Talusan, Mary. *Instruments of Empire: Filipino Musicians, Black Soldiers, and Military Band Music during US Colonization of the Philippines*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2021.
- Tong Soon Lee. *Chinese Street Opera in Singapore*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2009.
- Weintraub, Andrew N. *Dangdut Stories: A Social and Musical History of Indonesia's Most Popular Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

#### *East Asia*

- Chien-Chang Yang, and Tobias Janz, eds. *Decentering Musical Modernity: Perspectives on East Asian and European Music History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2019.
- Irvine, Thomas. *Listening to China: Sound and the Sino-Western Encounter, 1770–1839*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019.
- Thorpe, Ashley. *Performing China on the London Stage: Chinese Opera and Global Power, 1759–2008*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.

#### *Americas*

- Hacke, Daniela, and Paul Musselwhite. *Empire of the Senses: Sensory Practices of Colonialism in Early America*. Leiden: Brill, 2017.
- Tomlinson, Gary. *The Singing of the New World: Indigenous Voice in the Era of European Contact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.



*Europe*

Linhart-Wood, Jennifer. *Sounding Otherness in Early Modern Drama and Travel: Uncanny Vibrations in the English Archive. New Transculturalisms, 1400–1800*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.

Stratton, Jon. *When Music Migrates: Crossing British and European Racial Faultlines, 1945–2010*. London: Routledge, 2014.

*Global*

Bohlman, Philip V., ed. *The Cambridge History of World Music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Harrison, Frank. *Time, Place, and Music: An Anthology of Ethnomusicological Observation c. 1550 to c. 1800*. Amsterdam: Frits Knuf, 1973.

Hijleh, Mark. *Towards a Global Music History: Intercultural Convergence, Fusion, and Transformation in the Human Musical Story*. London: Routledge, 2018.

Liebersohn, Harry. *Music and the New Global Culture: From the Great Exhibitions to the Jazz Age*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019.

Ramnarine, Tina K., ed. *Global Perspectives on Orchestras: Collective Creativity and Social Agency*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Radano, Ronald, and Philip V. Bohlman, eds. *Music and the Racial Imagination*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

Radano, Ronald, and Tejumola Olaniyan, eds. *Audible Empire: Music, Global Politics, Critique*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016.

Reily, Suzel Ana, and Katherine Brucher, eds. *Brass Bands of the World: Militarism, Colonial Legacies, and Local Music Making*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013.

Steingo, Gavin, and Jim Sykes, eds. *Remapping Sound Studies*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019.

Strohm, Reinhard, ed. *Studies on a Global History of Music: A Balzan Musicology Project*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2018.

———, ed. *The Music Road: Coherence and Diversity in Music from the Mediterranean to India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.

*European and American Empires*

Born, Georgina, and David Hesmondhalgh, eds. *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2000.

- Biddle, Ian, and Vanessa Knights, eds. *Music, National Identity and the Politics of Location: Between the Global and the Local*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2007.
- Bloechl, Olivia, et al., eds. *Rethinking Difference in Music Scholarship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Clayton, Martin, and Bennett Zon, eds. *Music and Orientalism in the British Empire, 1780–1940s: Portrayal of the East*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2007.
- Cowgill, Rachel, and Julian Rushton, eds. *Europe, Empire and Spectacle in Nineteenth-Century British Music*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2006.
- Gibson, Kirsten, and Ian Biddle, eds. *Cultural Histories of Noise, Sound, and Listening in Europe, 1300–1918*. London: Routledge, 2017.
- Locke, Ralph P. *Music and the Exotic from the Renaissance to Mozart*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Nettl, Bruno. *The Western Impact on World Music: Change, Adaptation, and Survival*. New York: Schirmer, 1985.
- Richards, Jeffrey. *Music and Imperialism: Britain 1876–1953*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, [2001] 2017.
- Tan, Shzr Ee, ed. “Decolonising Music and Music Studies.” Special issue of *Ethnomusicology Forum* 30, no. 1 (2021).
- Taylor, Timothy. *Beyond Exoticism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007.
- Willson, Rachel Beckles. *Orientalism and Musical Mission: Palestine and the West*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

# An Undergraduate Syllabus for “Global Music History”

OLIVIA BLOECHL

This syllabus is designed for an introductory-level, general-education undergraduate course with no prerequisites titled “Global Music History.” For purposes of the course, I approach global music history as the study of past societies’ musicking (including their sound artistry, movement, materialities, and philosophies) as it has been caught up in larger-scale connective processes. In fact, one of the first classes introduces students to global music history as both “an object of study and a particular way of looking at” the past, adapting the definition in Sebastian Conrad’s introductory study, *What Is Global History?*<sup>1</sup>

Thus, the course is not meant to be “comprehensive,” either chronologically or geographically, nor is it a history of “world music,” as they might expect in a world music course. Instead, I’ve organized it topically, highlighting connective historical processes (such as imperial conquest, revolution, diaspora, and transnational trade) and cultural practices that have recurred across geographically distant societies (such as arts patronage and pilgrimage).

Students gain a knowledge of how musicking has been involved in major historical processes and changes worldwide, even as they develop a more granular understanding of these large-scale processes by approaching them through case studies of individuals or smaller groups, musical practices, or instruments. For example, we discuss nineteenth-century mass migration from East Asia in the context of Japanese migrants’ holehole bushi songs (based on Franklin Odo’s research). These are orally transmitted folksongs whose lyrics speak to migrants’ reasons for leaving home, gendered differences in their experiences, and the harsh work conditions on Hawai’ian sugar plantations.

The course also orients students to several key concepts in global music history and world history that we return to across the course. One of these is “interconnection,” which I illustrate with the history of the oud. Students like

1. Sebastian Conrad, *What Is Global History?* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), 11.

exploring Rachel Beckles Willson’s *Oud Migrations* website in this unit, and it is a reliable “eureka moment” when they link this concept to the oud’s astonishing mobility and influence. They also respond well to the emphasis on instruments and media across the syllabus, as in units on the industrialized piano and pianola, the African diasporic banjo, and the gramophone. Instruments especially help students grasp the seemingly abstract concepts and processes we study, by grounding them in material reality.

The focus of most class meetings is on primary sources such as readings, recordings, images, and oral histories, which we explore through a targeted question that students normally discuss in small peer groups (these questions are listed on the syllabus). I also ask students to respond to one question per week in an online post, either in writing or in a posted video. Based on student feedback, framing discussion questions and offering multiple modalities for responding to them makes the course more accessible and engaging. Another successful tactic is limiting the number of units and spending more time on each one.

Emphasizing primary materials gives students basic skills for doing music historical research and historically informed work of many kinds. For instance, they work with historical recordings, travel writings, visual and print materials, and manuscripts from several scribal traditions (e.g., Catalan, Mughal, Nahua, and Ottoman). As this suggests, students work across a long timeframe and multiple geographies, as well as a variety of sound materials, media, and languages in translation. That range is broader than in most music history and world music courses, and it challenges students to engage past societies in terms closer to their own. With the syllabus’s critical emphasis on liberation and justice struggles and my efforts to practice an intersectional queer feminist pedagogy, its geocultural and linguistic range aspires to make the music history classroom a more welcoming place, especially for BIPOC and foreign-born students.

## SYLLABUS

### *Week 1: Introduction: Connected Music Histories*

#### *Meeting 1: Introduction*

- *Travels of the Lute*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eHKpef2j-7s>

*Meeting 2: Connected Music Histories: The Case of the Oud*

Reading:

- Sebastian Conrad, *What is Global History*, Introduction
- Rachel Beckles Willson's blog, *Oudmigrations*, <https://oudmigrations.com/2016/02/29/about/>

Listening:

- (Spotify) Moaxaja, *Billadi askara min aadbi Llama*, perf. Hespèrion XXI (2016)

Week 1 Discussion Question:

- How does the oud's long history demonstrate interconnection, as Conrad defines the concept?

**Medieval Period (c. 800-1500 CE)**

*Week 2: Pilgrimage*

*Meeting 1: The Muslim Hajj to Mecca*

Reading:

- Merry Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies (HWS)*, 12th ed., Concise ed., Ch. 9 ("The Islamic World, 600–1400"):
  - "The Origins of Islam," 234–38
  - "The Expansion of Islam," 238–44
- Philip Bohlman, "Pilgrimage," *New Grove Online*
- Eckhard Neubauer and Veronica Doubleday, "Islamic religious music," I.1: "Introduction," I.3: "Qur'anic Recitation," and I.5: "Calendrical and Weekly Observances," *Grove Music Online*, <https://doi-org.pitt.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.52787>
- *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, excerpted in Michael Wolfe, *One Thousand Roads to Mecca*, 2015 ed., 33-50
- Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, *The Revival of the Religious Sciences*, Part 2, Book 18: *On Music and Singing*, trans. D. B. MacDonald, pub. in three parts in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1901–1902), Part I: 220–21

Viewing:

- Tahera Ahmad’s recitation of the Qur’an, Washington, D.C., Annual ISNA Convention, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QJ05yNYmFrk>

*Meeting 2: Christian Pilgrimage in Andalusia*

Reading:

- Wiesner-Hanks et al., *HWS*, Ch. 6 (“The World of Rome, ca. 1000 B.C.E.–400 C.E.”):
  - “The Coming of Christianity,” 162–65
- Wiesner-Hanks et al., *HWS*, Ch. 9 (“The Islamic World, 600–1400”):
  - “Trade and Cross-Cultural Interactions,” 257–59
- Wiesner-Hanks et al., *HWS*, Ch. 14 (“Europe and West Asia in the Middle Ages”):
  - “The Christian Church,” 397–400
  - “The Crusades,” 400–02
- Jack Sage, “Cantiga,” *Grove Music Online*, <https://doi-org.pitt.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.04772>
- Ian Pittaway, “Pilgrimage Songs in the Cantigas de Santa Maria,” *Early Music Muse*, <https://earlymusicmuse.com/pilgrimage-cantigas/>

Listening:

- (Spotify) *The Cantigas de Santa María*
  - No. 26 (“Non é gran cousa se sabe”), perf. Ensemble Amadis (2010)
  - No. 328 (“Sabor à Santa Maria”), perf. Musica Antigua (2000)

Week 2 Discussion Questions:

- According to Ibn Jubayr, how did Qur’anic recitation sound in 12th-century Mecca, and what were its effects on Muslim pilgrims?
- Why might Alfonso X have commissioned songs (cantigas) about the new Christian pilgrimage shrine at Alcante/El Puerto de Santa María?

*Week 3: Traveling in the Islamic World*

*Meeting 1: Sights and Sounds Along a Caravan Route*

Reading:

- Wiesner-Hanks et al., *HWS*, Ch. 9 (“The Islamic World, 600–1400”):
  - “Trade and Cross-Cultural Interactions,” 255–27

- Ross Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta: A Muslim Traveler of the Fourteenth Century*, 2012 ed., Chapter 5 (“Persia and Iraq”)
- Ibn Battuta, *Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325-1354*, ed. H. A. R. Gibb (1929/2005), 78–87
- Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, *The Revival of the Religious Sciences*, Part 2, Book 18: *On Music and Singing*, trans. D. B. MacDonald, pub. in three parts in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1901–1902), Part I: 229–30
- Neubauer and Doubleday, “Islamic religious music,” II.1: “Sufi Music” and II.3: “‘Dhikr’ and Sufi Ritual,” *Grove Music Online*, <https://doi-org.pitt.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.52787>
- Randall L. Pouwels, “Ibn Battuta in Africa and Asia,” in *The Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Asian History*, <https://doi-org.pitt.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277727.013.328>

#### *Meeting 2: Ibn Battuta Visits Mali*

##### Reading:

- Wiesner-Hanks et al., *HWS*, Ch. 10 (“African Societies and Kingdoms, 1000 BCE–1500 CE”):
  - “The Trans-Saharan Trade,” 271–75
  - “African Kingdoms and Empires, ca. 800–1500”:
  - “The Kingdom of Mali, ca. 1200–1450,” 278–81
- Wiesner-Hanks et al., *HWS*, Ch. 16 (“The Acceleration of Global Contact, 1450–1600”):
  - “The Afro-Eurasian Trade World,” 458–59
- *Ibn Battuta in Black Africa*, ed. Hamdun and King (Markus Wiener, 1994 ed.), Introduction, 48–54
- Eric Charry, “Mali” 1-3, *Grove Music Online*, <https://doi-org.pitt.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.40748>

##### Viewing:

- Selections from the *Epic of Sundiata*, perf. Hawa Kassé Mady Diabaté and Fodé Lassana Diabaté, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yOS78ul1\\_rA](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yOS78ul1_rA)
- Nubia Kai, “The Oral Historiography of the Mali Empire,” Library of Congress lecture, May 6, 2015, <https://www.loc.gov/item/webcast-7112>

##### Week 3 Discussion Question:

- How did the Rifa’i order of Sufis seek to achieve a state of religious ecstasy in the ritual Battuta attended in southern Iraq?
- What was the political significance of the praise singing and other musical performance that Ibn Battuta witnessed at the court of Mansa Suleyman in Mali?

## Early Modern Period (1500–1800 CE)

### *Week 4: Dynastic Patronage*

#### *Meeting 1: The Medicis of Florence*

##### Reading:

- Wiesner-Hanks et al., *HWS*, Ch. 15 (“Europe in the Renaissance and Reformation, 1350–1600”):
  - “Renaissance Culture,” 424–27
  - “Politics and the State in the Renaissance,” 433
- Maddalena Casulana, “*The First Book of Madrigals for Four Voices* (1568), Dedication,” in *Strunk’s Source Readings in Music History*, ed. Leo Treitler (1998)
- Donna G. Cardamone, “Isabella Medici-Orsini: A Portrait of Self-Affirmation,” in *Gender, Sexuality, and Early Music*, ed. Todd Borgerding, 1–26
- Frank A. D’Accone, “Medici,” *Grove Music Online*, <https://doi-org.pitt.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.18245>

##### Listening:

- (Spotify) Heinrich Isaac, “Quis dabit capiti meo aquam?” perf. Hespèrion XXI (2017)
- (Spotify) Maddalena Casulana, “Morir, non può,” perf. Singer Pur (2021)

#### *Meeting 2: The Mughal Empire: Akbar the Great*

##### Reading:

- Wiesner-Hanks et al., *HWS*, Ch. 17 (“The Islamic World Powers, 1300–1800”):
  - “The Islamic Empires: The Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals,” 497–99
  - “Cultural Flowering,” 502–05



- Bonnie Wade, “The Meeting of Musical Cultures in the 16th-Century Court of Akbar,” *The World of Music* 32, no. 2 (1990): 3–6, 9–13 (excerpt)
- Jonathan Katz, “Tansen,” *Grove Music Online*, <https://doi-org.pitt.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.48862>
- Richard Widdess, “Dhrupad,” *Grove Music Online*, <https://doi-org.pitt.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.48152>

Viewing:

- Dhrupad on Raag Ahir Bhairav, performance-lecture by Pandit Uday Bhawalkar, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z8kK2DW5bRw>

Week 4 Discussion Questions:

- How did Maddalena Casulana represent women’s patronage and artistry in her dedication to Isabella de’Medici Orsini, and what can that tell us about gender roles in early modern Tuscany?
- How did Akbar the Great’s artists use music iconography to represent the Mughal ideal of cultural synthesis?

*Week 5: Imperial Conquest*

*Meeting 1: The Ottoman Conquest of Constantinople/Istanbul*

Reading:

- Wiesner-Hanks et al., *HWS*, Ch. 17 (“The Islamic World Powers, 1300–1800”):
  - “The Islamic Empires: The Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals,” 491–95
- Cem Behar, “Music and Musicians in the City,” in *A Companion to Early Modern Istanbul*, ed. Shirine Hamadeh and Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, 634–54
- Michael Angold, *The Fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans* (2014), Ch. 4 (“The Western Reaction”)
- Walter Feldman, “Ottoman Music,” *Grove Music Online*, <https://doi-org.pitt.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.52169>
- Kurt Reinhard, Martin Stokes, and Ursula Reinhard, “Turkey,” K. Reinhard and Stokes, IV: “Art Music,” <https://doi-org.pitt.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.44912>
- Viorel Cosma and Owen Wright, “Dimitrie Cantemir,” *Grove Music Online*, <https://doi-org.pitt.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.04764>

- Guillaume Dufay, “Letter to Piero and Giovanni de’ Medici (1456?),” in *Strunk’s Source Readings*

Listening:

- (Spotify) Troparion, *Lord, Save Your People* (Asmatikon Melody), perf. Cappella Romana (2019)
- (Spotify) Guillaume Dufay, *Lamentatio sanctae matris ecclesiae*, perf. Ensemble Kudsi Erguner (2012)
- (Spotify) Taksim and Makam: *Uzzâl Uşûleş Devr-I Kebîr*, Dimitri Cantemir Manuscripts (118), perf. Hespèrion XXI (2009)

*Meeting 2: The Spanish Conquest of Tenochtitlàn/Mexico City*

Reading:

- Wiesner-Hanks et al., *HWS*, Ch. 11, “The Americas, to 1500 CE”:
  - “The Aztec Empire,” 316–22
  - “American Empires and the Encounter,” 322–23
- Wiesner-Hanks et al., *HWS*, Ch. 16 (“The Acceleration of Global Contact, 1450–1600”):
  - “The European Voyages of Discovery,” 460–68
  - “Conquest and Settlement,” 469–75
  - “Changing Attitudes and Beliefs,” 480–85
- Melinda LaTour, “Musical Encounters in Tenochtitlàn/Mexico City,” in *The Cambridge History of Sixteenth-Century Music*, ed. Iain Fenlon and Richard Wistreich (2019)
- Robert Stevenson, “Mexico City,” 1. “Before 1800,” *New Grove Online*, <https://doi-org.pitt.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.18542>
- Robert Stevenson, *Music in Aztec & Inca Territory*, Ch. 3 (“Acculturation: The Colonial Phase”), 204–20
  - Note: Stevenson attributed “Dios itlaçonâtzine” to Don Hernando Franco, which has since been revised. See Eloy Cruz, “De cómo una letra hace la diferencia. Las obras en Náhuatl atribuidas a Don Hernando Franco,” *Estudios De Cultura Náhuatl* 32 (2009), <https://nahuatl.historicas.unam.mx/index.php/ecn/article/view/9256>; and Jesús A. Ramos-Kittrell, *Playing in the Cathedral: Music, Race, and Status in New Spain* (2016), Ch. 1 (“Studying Music Culture in New Spain”)

Listening:

- (Spotify) “Dios itlaçonâtzine cemicac ichpochtle,” from the *Valdès Codex*

Week 5 Discussion Questions:

- How did Guillaume Dufay’s lament portray Western European Christians’ response to the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople?
- What can Nahuatl-texted songs in a European style tell us about how Mexica/Aztec musicians adapted to the conquest?

*Week 6: The Black Atlantic Diaspora*

*Meeting 1: The Banjo in the Black Circum-Caribbean*

Reading:

- Wiesner-Hanks et al., *HWS*, Ch. 16 (“The Acceleration of Global Contact, 1450–1600”):
  - “The Era of Global Contact,” 476–77
- Wiesner-Hanks et al., *HWS*, Ch. 20, “Africa and the World, 1400–1800”:
  - “The African Slave Trade,” 607–12
- Hans Sloane, *Voyage to the Islands of Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers, and Jamaica* (1707), excerpts with musical reconstruction at *Musical Passage*, <http://www.musicalpassage.org/#explore>
- Robert B. Winans, ed., *Banjo Roots and Branches* (2018), Ch. 1 (“Banjo Roots Research”) and 11 (“The Banjar Pictured”)

Viewing:

- Daniel Laemouahuma Jatta demonstrates the *akonting*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lzt0v9roU6g>

*Meeting 2: Contemporary Black Banjo Reclamation*

Reading:

- Maya O. Brown, “Empowerment through Acknowledgement: Contemporary String Bands and the Black Roots Music Revival” (master’s thesis, Kent State University, 2018), Ch. 3 (“Black Roots Music Revival”), [http://rave.ohiolink.edu/etdc/view?acc\\_num=kent1532894230322707](http://rave.ohiolink.edu/etdc/view?acc_num=kent1532894230322707)

- Paul Ruta, “Black Musicians’ Quest to Return the Banjo to Its African Roots,” *Folklife*, November 23, 2020, <https://folklife.si.edu/magazine/black-banjo-reclamation-project-african-roots>

Viewing:

- Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs, “Polka on the Banjo,” Sept. 1961 NBC News broadcast, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yQ2cmYtnTnc>
- Rhiannon Giddens on the minstrel banjo and its music, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N7SWUCpHme8>
- Our Native Daughters on the Black banjo tradition, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jG1sRvFDnU0>

Listening:

- (Spotify) Rhiannon Giddens, “Julie,” from *Freedom Highway* (2017)

Week 6 Discussion Questions:

- What is a diaspora, and how is the banjo an African diasporic instrument?
- How did the banjo become “whitewashed,” and how are contemporary African American musicians working to reclaim and revive Black banjo traditions?

*Week 7: Diplomacy*

*Meeting 1: Diplomacy Between Siam and France*

Reading:

- Wiesner-Hanks et al., *HWS*, Ch. 18, pp. 528–35, 542–45
- David R. M. Irving, “Lully in Siam: Music and Diplomacy in French-Siamese Cultural Exchanges, 1680–1690,” *Early Music* 40, no. 3 (2012): 393–420
- Jittapim Yamprai, “Michel-Richard de Lalande and the *Airs of Siam*,” *Early Music* 41, no. 3 (2013): 421–37
- Downing A. Thomas, “The Sounds of Siam: Sonic Environments of Seventeenth-Century Franco-Siamese Diplomacy,” *French Historical Studies* 45, no. 2 (2022): 195–218
- *Sout chai*, as transcribed by Nicholas Gervaise

Listening:

- Michel-Richard Delalande, *Airs of Siam*, from *Suite No. 9, Les Symphonies pour les Soupers du Roi*

*Meeting 2: Wampum Diplomacy in the Seven Years' War*

Reading:

- Wiesner-Hanks et al., *HWS*, Ch. 22 (“Revolutions in the Atlantic World, 1775–1825”):
  - “Background to Revolution,” 656
- Richard Cullen Rath, “Hearing Wampum,” in *Colonial Mediascapes: Sensory Worlds of the Early Americas* (2014), ed. Matt Cohen et al.

Viewing:

- Maurice Switzer (Mississauga of Alderville First Nation), “Maurice Switzer on Treaties,” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SrU40RnEiQY>

Listening:

- (Spotify) Joanne Shenandoah (Oneida), “Aiiionwatha Creates Wampum,” from *Peacemaker's Journey* (2003)

Week 7 Discussion Question:

- How was music involved in 17th-century Siamese and French diplomatic protocols?
- What is wampum diplomacy, and what did Indigenous diplomats' singing and the “shout” do in their treaty negotiations with colonial agents?

*Week 8: Eighteenth-Century Revolutions*

*Meeting 1: The French Revolution*

Reading:

- Wiesner-Hanks et al., *HWS*, Ch. 22 (“Revolutions in the Atlantic World, 1775–1825”):
  - “Revolution in France, 1789–1799,” 661–69

- The *Declaration of the Rights of Man* (1789), <https://www.elysee.fr/en/french-presidency/the-declaration-of-the-rights-of-man-and-of-the-citizen>
- “The Marseille Hymn in French and English” (Philadelphia, 1793), <https://www.loc.gov/item/2015563346>
- Myron Gray, “French Revolutionary Song for Federal Philadelphia,” *Commonplace* 13, no. 2 (2013), <http://commonplace.online/article/french-revolutionary-song-for-federal-philadelphia/>

Listening:

- (Spotify) Claude Joseph Rouget de Lisle, “La Marseillaise”

*Meeting 2: The Haitian Revolution*

Reading:

- Wiesner-Hanks et al., *HWS*, Ch. 22 (“Revolutions in the Atlantic World, 1775–1825”):
  - “The Haitian Revolution, 1791–1804,” 673–78
- Martin Munro, *Different Drummers: Rhythm and Race in the Americas* (2010), 28–34
- “Inside the Insurgency: Gros’s *Historick Recital*,” in *Facing Racial Revolution* (2008), ed. Jeremy D. Popkin, 105–55
- Catherine Porter et al., “The Roots of Haiti’s Misery: Reparations to Enslavers,” *New York Times*, May 20, 2022, <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/20/world/americas/haiti-history-colonized-france.html?action=click&module=RelatedLinks&pgtype=Article>

Viewing:

- “Sevis Lwa: A Vodou Ceremony,” dir. Michele Stephenson (2011), a short documentary of a vodou ceremony commemorating the 2010 earthquake, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bb02ZMc7OAY>

Week 8 Discussion Questions:

- How did the song “La Marseillaise” become involved in the French Revolution, and how did the song’s social meanings change when it was adapted for Philadelphia?

- How did Black revolutionaries in Haiti use music and dance in their struggle against French colonial forces?

## The Modern Period(1800-Present)

### *Week 9: Focus on Instruments: The Piano in the Industrial Era*

#### *Meeting 1: Industrialization of the Piano in Britain and the United States*

##### Reading:

- Wiesner-Hanks et al., *HWS*, Ch. 23 (“The Revolution in Energy and Industry, 1760–1850”):
  - “The Industrial Revolution in Britain,” 692–94
- Susie L. Steinbach, *Understanding the Victorians*, 3rd edition (2023), “Playing on the Piano-forte’: Introduction”

##### Viewing:

- “The Making of a Steinway (1929),” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tEnuMbyw1eE>

#### *Meeting 2: Player Pianos in Latin America*

##### Reading:

- Wiesner-Hanks et al., *HWS*, Ch. 23 (“The Revolution in Energy and Industry, 1760–1850”)
  - “Industrialization in Europe and the World,” 701–2
  - “The Global Picture,” 705–8
- Sergio Ospina Romero, “Ghosts in the Machine and Other Tales around a ‘Marvelous Invention’: Player Pianos in Latin America in the Early Twentieth Century,” *JAMS* 72, no. 1 (2019)
- Edmond T. Johnson, “Player Piano,” *Grove Music Online*, <https://doi-org.pitt.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.A2253760>

##### Listening:

- Louis Gottschalk, “The Banjo,” perf. Arthur Friedheim on a 1920 Steck Duo Art reproducing piano, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lvUfb3K5D\\_E](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lvUfb3K5D_E)

- “El Choclo,” perf. Orchestre Tzigane du Restaurant du Rat Mort (rec. Paris, 1908)
- “El Choclo,” played on a 1919 Pease player piano, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iSgsa0BjdJE>

Week 9 Discussion Questions:

- How did industrialization affect piano production and consumption in Britain?
- According to Sergio Ospina Romero, how did people in Latin American countries respond to imported player pianos and piano rolls, and how did they eventually achieve “cultural legitimacy”?

Week 10: Pacific Ocean Encounters

Meeting 1: Focus on Individuals: Lili’uokalani, Composer and Queen

Reading:

- Lili’uokalani, *Hawai’i’s Story by Hawai’i’s Queen* (1898), Ch. 5
- Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (2004), Ch. 5 (“The Queen of Hawai’i Raises Her Solemn Note of Protest”)
- Adria L. Imada, “‘Aloha ‘Oe’: Settler Colonial Nostalgia and the Genealogy of a Love Song,” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 37, no. 2 (2013): 35–52
- Amy Ku’Uleialoha Stillman, “Hawai’i,” *Grove Music Online*, <https://doi-org.pitt.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.A2256754>

Listening:

- (Spotify) Lili’uokalani, “He mele lāhui Hawai’i” and “Aloha’oe,” perf. The Rose Ensemble (2014)

Meeting 2: Japanese Migration to Hawai’i

Reading:

- Wiesner-Hanks et al., *HWS*, Ch. 26 (“Asia and the Pacific in the Era of Imperialism, 1800-1914”):
  - “Japan’s Rapid Transformation,” 805–11
  - “The Pacific Region and the Movement of People,” 811–15



- Franklin Odo, *Voices from the Canefields: Folksongs from Japanese Immigrant Workers in Hawai'i* (2013)

Viewing:

- Franklin Odo, lecture on *Voices from the Canefields*, Library of Congress, Sept. 20, 2013, <https://www.loc.gov/item/webcast-6174>

Week 10 Discussion Questions:

- How did Lili'uokalani use her music to protest her imprisonment and the U.S. overthrow of the Hawai'ian monarchy?
- What did holehole bushi songs communicate about Japanese migrant workers' attitudes and experiences in Hawai'i?

### *Week 11: Liberation Struggles*

#### *Meeting 1: Protesting South African Apartheid*

Reading:

- Wiesner-Hanks et al., *HWS*, Ch. 31 ("Decolonization, Revolution, and the Cold War, 1945–1968"):
  - "Decolonization in Africa," 987–88
- Wiesner-Hanks et al., *HWS*, Ch. 32 ("Liberalization and Liberation, 1968–2000s"):
  - "Resistance to White Rule in Southern Africa," 1021–24
- David B. Coplan and Bennetta Jules-Rosette, "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika and the Liberation of the Spirit of South Africa," *African Studies* 64, no. 2 (2005): 285–308

Listening and Viewing:

- Enoch Sontonga, *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*, perf. Sol T. Plaatje and Sylvia Colenso (rec. 1923), <https://samap.ukzn.ac.za/nkosi-sikelel-i-afrika-0>
- Sontonga, *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*, *Graceland* tour performance in Harare, Zimbabwe (1987), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gh-uFTlgd1A>
- "Lana Crowster Sings the South African National Anthem," Newlands Rugby Stadium, Cape Town, South Africa, June 11, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aematQqtbmI>

*Meeting 2: Decolonizing the Ear*

Reading:

- Michael Denning, *Noise Uprising: The Audiopolitics of a World Musical Revolution* (2015), Ch. 6 (“A Noisy Heaven”)
- Wiesner-Hanks et al., *HWS*, Ch. 31 (“Decolonization, Revolution, and the Cold War, 1945–1968”):
  - “Nation Building in South Asia and the Middle East,” 978–79
- “Egyptians Throng Funeral of Um Kalthoum,” *New York Times*, Feb. 6, 1975

Listening:

- “Egmaay ya Misr!” perf. Umm Kulthum (1926) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dqh3ywO0vfY>
- Antonio Polito, “La musa mistonga,” perf. Rosita Quiroga (1926) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IsN15YRgr9A>
- (Spotify) “Wewe Paka,” perf. Siti Binti Saad (1930)

Week 11 Discussion Questions:

- Why did Enoch Sontonga compose *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*, and how did the song come to symbolize Black South Africans’ struggles against Apartheid?
- According to Michael Denning, how did the commercial recording of vernacular musics in the 1920s and 1930s contribute to decolonization movements?

*Week 12: Commemorating Two World Wars*

*Meeting 1: English Artists Respond to the First World War*

Reading:

- Wiesner-Hanks et al., *HWS*, Ch. 28 (“World War and Revolution, 1914–1929”):
  - “The First World War, 1914–1918,” 858–66
  - “The Home Front,” 867–72
- Vera Brittain, “The German Ward,” <http://ww1lit.nsms.ox.ac.uk/ww1lit/collections/item/1745>
- Wilfred Owen, “Anthem for Doomed Youth,” <http://ww1lit.nsms.ox.ac.uk/ww1lit/collections/item/3290>

- Kate Kennedy and Trudi Tate, “Literature and Music of the First World War,” *First World War Studies* 2 (2011): 1–6
- Rachel Cowgill, “Elgar’s War Requiem,” in *Elgar and His World* (2011), ed. Byron Adams

Listening:

- (Spotify) “Gas Shells Bombardment, Lille, 1918”
- (Spotify) Edward Elgar, “For the Fallen,” from *The Spirit of England*, Op. 80, perf. BBC Symphony Orchestra (2018)

*Meeting 2: Focus on Individuals: Benjamin Britten’s War Requiem*

Reading:

- Wiesner-Hanks et al., *HWS*, Ch. 30 (“The Great Depression and World War II, 1929–1945”):
  - “The Second World War, 1939–1945,” 949–52, 956–60
- Wilfred Owen, “Futility,” <http://ww1lit.nsms.ox.ac.uk/ww1lit/collections/item/3308>

Listening:

- (Spotify) Benjamin Britten, *War Requiem*, “Lacrimosa” and “Move Him Gently” sections of the *Dies irae* (NDR Sinfonieorchester, 1992/2001)

Week 12 Discussion Questions:

- What aspects of Edward Elgar’s song, “For the Fallen,” suggest an imperialist perspective on Britain’s role in WWI?
- How does Benjamin Britten’s *War Requiem* comment on WWII and its aftermath?

*Week 13: Postwar Decolonization*

*Meeting 1: Jazz in International Black Anti-Imperialism*

Reading:

- Wiesner-Hanks et al., *HWS*, Ch. 31 (“Decolonization, Revolution, and the Cold War, 1945–1968”):
  - “The World Remade,” 968–71

- Tsitsi Ella Jaji, *Africa in Stereo: Modernism, Music, and Pan-African Solidarity* (2014), Ch. 3 (“Négritude Musicology: Poetry, Performance, and Statecraft in Senegal”)

Listening:

- (Spotify) “Heebie Jeebies,” perf. Louis Armstrong and His Hot Five (1926)
- (Spotify) Dizzie Gillespie and Charlie Parker, “Shaw ’Nuff,” perf. Dizzy Gillespie All-Star Quintette (1945)

*Meeting 2: Focus on Individuals; Frantz Fanon on Jazz*

Reading:

- Wiesner-Hanks et al., *HWS*, Ch. 31 (“Decolonization, Revolution, and the Cold War, 1945–1968”):
  - “The World Remade,” 974–76
- Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961), 170–77
- Cornel West, “Cornel West on Frantz Fanon, One of the Great Revolutionary Intellectuals of the 20th Century,” *Literary Hub*, December 6, 2021, <https://lithub.com/cornel-west-on-frantz-fanon-one-of-great-revolutionary-intellectuals-of-the-20th-century/>
- Jeremy Lane, *Jazz and Machine-Age Imperialism* (2013), “Coda: Jazz After Empire”

Week 13 Discussion Questions:

- What did jazz and the blues represent in Léopold Sédar Senghor’s theory of *Négritude*?
- Why did Frantz Fanon advocate “modern jazz,” or bebop, over older, blues-based jazz idioms?

*Week 14: Indigenous Resurgence*

*Meeting 1: Anishinaabe Songs for Water Protection*

Reading:

- Wiesner-Hanks et al., *HWS*, Ch. 33 (“The Contemporary World in Historical Perspective”):
  - “Social Movements,” 1064–65
  - “Global Climate Change,” 1065–72

- Violet Caibaiosai, “Water Walk Pedagogy,” in *Downstream, Reimagining Water*, ed. Dorothy Christian and Rita Wong (Content warning: discussion of sexual assault)
- Renée E. Mzinegiizhigo-kwe Bédard, “Anishinaabeg Maternal Activism: We Sing a Prayer for the Water,” *Journal of the Motherhood Initiative* 12, no. 2 (2021): 110–25 (I assign pp. 109–10, 119–23)
- Joe Whittle (Caddo Nation of Oklahoma), “Photo Essay: Why Are Native Americans Protesting Pipelines?” *Indigenous Rising*, December 22, 2016, <https://indigenusrising.org/photo-essay-why-are-native-americans-protesting-pipelines-by-joe-whittle/>

Viewing and Listening:

- *Future History* (dir. Jennifer Podemski), Season 1, Episode 4: “Water,” [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H58D259s\\_7k](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H58D259s_7k)
- Doreen Day (Anishinaabe), *Nibi Nagamowin: Water Song* (a public song), [http://www.motherearthwaterwalk.com/?attachment\\_id=2244](http://www.motherearthwaterwalk.com/?attachment_id=2244)

*Meeting 2: Dam Histories and Water Futures*

Reading:

- Leanne Betasamosake Simpson (Mississauga Nishnaabeg/Scottish), “She Sang Them Home,” in *Islands of Decolonial Love* (2013)
- Cara Mumford, “Dancing the Waterways in Leanne Simpson’s ‘She Sang Them Home,’” *Performance Matters* 7, vol. 1–2 (2021): 29–41

Viewing and Listening:

- (Spotify) Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, “She Sang Them Home,” spoken word (Ch. 55-56 on Spotify)
- Simpson and Cris Dirksen (Cree), *War Cry Movement I*, [https://arpbooks.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/09/08\\_she\\_sang\\_them\\_home-1.mp3](https://arpbooks.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/09/08_she_sang_them_home-1.mp3)
- Cara Mumford (Métis/Chippewa Cree, filmmaker), *Sing Them Home* (2020), <https://vimeo.com/454325512>

Week 14 Discussion Questions:

- Why have Anishinaabek Water Walkers sung prayers to the water on their Water Walks?

- How does Simpson and Dirksen’s performance of “She Sang Them Home” / *War Cry Movement I* envision life after the removal of the dam on the Otonabee River?

# Slave Orchestras, Choirs, Bands, and Ensembles: A Bibliography

JON SILPAYAMANANT

The institution of the slave orchestra and slave ensembles dates back to the first recorded example we know of, the nine Black musicians brought to Manila in 1594/5, and lasted until slavery formally ended worldwide in the late nineteenth century. In some cases, even after slavery was abolished, colonial powers continued to practice it, though not by that name, until the early twentieth century. A global approach to music history should include these centuries of forced musical assimilation and labor that coincide with colonialism and the global slave trade.

Understanding the history of classical music outside Europe and North America needs to first place into context the fact that many of these slave orchestras and ensembles continued as institutions operated and populated by former slaves and, second, that many types of musical styles and genres developed as their direct descendants. Understanding hybridity in ensembles gets increasingly complicated when we take into account that the slaves who comprised these institutions were from all parts of the world, as local Indigenous peoples were also enslaved in colonial countries. For example, an estimated one to two million Indonesians were part of the Indian Ocean and Trans-Pacific slave trade and constituted many of the ensembles in East Asia, South and Southeast Asia, as well as possibly South Africa.

This bibliographic resource was created as an aid to understanding the centuries-long history of slave ensembles and is a work in progress.<sup>1</sup> General pieces are listed first, followed by sources ordered alphabetically by modern common names used in the Anglophone world. From an academic and scholarly

1. The first iteration of this bibliography may be found at *Mae Mai* at this URL: <https://silpayamanant.wordpress.com/socbe-bib/>. This site is also listed below in the “General” section. While Andita states the bibliography is comprehensive, I have barely begun adding the primary sources to which many of these secondary sources refer. Such additions will greatly improve this resource. Aniarani Andita, “*Mae Mai*. Produced by Jon Silpayamanant. In English. URL: <https://silpayamanant.wordpress.com/>,” *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 54, no. 1 (June 27, 2022): 93, <https://doi.org/10.1017/ytm.2022.7>.

standpoint, it is important to understand that many of the sources are in native and Indigenous languages rather than the language of the colonizing powers. Most of the accounts that Western scholarship has access to are descriptions in reports or diaries by officials and tourists. This reality shows the sharp divide between Western musicology, with its Eurocentric language focus, and local, Indigenous literature and oral histories. Indeed, this Eurocentrism has made it far too easy to ignore the global history of classical music and its relationship to colonialism, slavery, and white supremacy.

While some readers may want to use this bibliography to construct an entire course, another approach is to incorporate a few items into current Western music history courses as microlessons. For example, instructors may draw on Fosler-Lussier's work (2020) to connect the orchestra of Indonesian slaves in nineteenth-century Batavia (Jakarta), who performed the music of European composers for their owner, Eurasian Dutch colonist Augustijn Michiels, to the 1855 Netherlands premiere of Berlioz's *Symphonie Fantastique*. Such an approach acknowledges the racism inherent in Western music history and can be a first step in addressing it.

## General

- Andita, Aniarani. "Mae Mai. Produced by Jon Silpayamanant. In English. URL: <https://silpayamanant.wordpress.com/>." *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, 54, no. 1 (June 27, 2022): 93–95. <https://doi.org/10.1017/ytm.2022.7>.
- Berg, Maxine. "Music, Culture, and Empire in Eighteenth-Century Britain." University of Warwick Global History and Culture Centre, August 4, 2020. <https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/history/ghcc/blog/musicandempire>.
- Gilbert, Andrew. "Jordi Savall Maps Out the 'Routes of Slavery' with Music." *San Francisco Chronicle Datebook*, October 29, 2018. <https://datebook.sfchronicle.com/music/jordi-savall-maps-out-the-routes-of-slavery-with-music>.
- Lu, Tiffany, Kensho Watanabe, and William White, hosts. "Slave Orchestras." Audio podcast. *Classical Gabfest*, no. 10, November 4, 2020. <https://cgf.buzzsprout.com/1313269/6230515-10-slave-orche>.
- McQueen, Garret, and Scott Blankenship. "Opus 109 - Decolonizing The Mind." Audio podcast. *Trilloquy*, season 3, no. 9, July 26, 2021. <https://www.trilloquy.org/opuses/opus-109>.
- Silpayamanant, Jon. "Classical Music and its Slave Orchestras." *Mae Mae* (blog), July 30, 2020. <https://silpayamanant.wordpress.com/2020/07/30/classical-music-and-its-slave-orchestras/>.



- . “Colonialism, White Supremacy, and the Logic of Exclusion of Colored Bodies in Classical Music.” *Mae Mai* (blog), September 15, 2020. <https://silpayamanant.wordpress.com/2020/09/15/colonialism-white-supremacy-and-the-logic-of-exclusion-of-colored-bodies-in-classical-music/>.
- . “Slave Orchestras: Classical Gabfest Interview Transcript.” *Mae Mai* (blog), January 18, 2021. <https://silpayamanant.wordpress.com/2021/01/18/slave-orchestras-classical-gabfest-interview-transcript/>.
- . “Slave Orchestras, Choirs, Bands, and Ensembles, A Bibliography.” *Mae Mai* (blog), March 8, 2021. <https://silpayamanant.wordpress.com/socbe-bib/>.
- . “World of Classical: Pious Voice and Plucked Strings.” Radio broadcast. BBC Radio 3, July 10, 2022. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/m0018ylc>.
- . “World of Classical: Courtly Dances, Imperial Advances.” Radio broadcast. BBC Radio 3, July 17, 2022. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/m00194xt>.
- . “World of Classical: Nationhood and New Sounds.” Radio broadcast. BBC Radio 3, July 24, 2022. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/m0019c1d>.
- Silpayamanant, Jon (@Silpayamanant). “<— Learning more about Slave Orchestras around the world than I ever thought, or really wanted, to know...” Twitter thread, July 17, 2020. <https://twitter.com/Silpayamanant/status/1284326698503331843>.
- . “An 1870 photo of the Slave Band of Antônio Luís de Almeida. Figure 10, pg. 66 in Luiz Cleber Moreira Freire’s 2007 dissertation, ‘NEM TANTO AO MAR NEM TANTO À TERRA: Agropecuária, escravidão e riqueza em Feira de Santana - 1850-1888.’” Twitter thread with image attached, October 14, 2020. <https://repositorio.ufba.br/ri/handle/ri/11381/1>; <https://twitter.com/Silpayamanant/status/1316389302469885952>.
- . “Bibliography of Slave Orchestras, Choirs, Bands, and Ensembles. Been meaning to do this—still a work in progress but includes most of the things I’ve posted/published and the sources for things I’ve posted individually in Twitter and FB threads.” Twitter thread and thumbnail with link attached, March 8, 2021. <https://twitter.com/Silpayamanant/status/1368933662058758146>.
- . “And as comprehensive my bibliography on Slave Orchestras is, I’ve yet to update it with primary sources and I’m still finding numerous secondary sources for it. I’ve barely scratched the surface of this topic!” Twitter, July 6, 2022. <https://twitter.com/Silpayamanant/status/1544700990531698690>.

- Templeton, Hannah. "Mozart and the Slave Trade." *Hannah Templeton: Eighteenth-Century Music Historian* (blog), April 30, 2016. <https://hannah-templeton.wordpress.com/2016/04/30/mozart-and-the-slave-trade/>.
- Wallen, Errollyn. "Classical Commonwealth: Part 1." Radio broadcast. BBC Radio 3, February 21, 2021. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/m000sht9>.
- . "Classical Commonwealth: Part 2." Radio broadcast. BBC Radio 3, July 17, 2021. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/m00194xm>.

## Brazil

- Batista, Henrique Medeiros. "'Africa! Africa! Africa!' Black Identity in Marlos Nobre's *Rhythmetron*." PhD diss., Bowling Green State University, 2020. [http://rave.ohiolink.edu/etdc/view?acc\\_num=bgsu1586866469586654](http://rave.ohiolink.edu/etdc/view?acc_num=bgsu1586866469586654).
- Brandão, Silmária Souza. "Múltiplas mulheres: mulher, mãe, amante e trabalhadora em Salvador na segunda metade do século XIX." Paper presented at Anais do XXV Simpósio Nacional de História, Fortaleza, Brazil, 2009. [https://anpuh.org.br/uploads/anais-simposios/pdf/2019-01/1548772192\\_415881e2c9e7bf992c9bef4b13941efa.pdf](https://anpuh.org.br/uploads/anais-simposios/pdf/2019-01/1548772192_415881e2c9e7bf992c9bef4b13941efa.pdf).
- Correa, João Batista. *Escravidão e Liberdade na Imperial Fazenda de Santa Cruz. 1856–1891*. Rio de Janeiro: Luminaria Academia, Editora Multifoco, 2017.
- Freire, Luiz Cleber Moraes. "Nem tanto ao mar, nem tanto à terra: agropecuária, escravidão e riqueza em Feira de Santana, 1850-1888." PhD diss., Programa de Pós- Graduação em História da UFBA, 2007. <https://repositorio.ufba.br/ri/handle/ri/11381>.
- Fryer, Peter. *Rhythms of Resistance: African Musical Heritage in Brazil*. London: Pluto Press, 2000.
- Gagliardi, Clarissa Maria Rosa. "As cidades do meu tempo: a experiência do turismo em Bananal – SP." PhD diss., Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, June 2005. <https://tede2.pucsp.br/handle/handle/4025>.
- McNally, Dennis. *On Highway 61: Music, Race and the Evolution of Cultural Freedom*. Berkeley: Counterpoint, 2014. <https://www.dennismcnally.com/books/on-highway-61/>.
- Newitt, Malyn. *The Braganzas: The Rise and Fall of the Ruling Dynasties of Portugal and Brazil, 1640–1910*. London: Reaktion Books, 2019.
- Silpayamanant, Jon (@Silpayamanant). "An 1870 photo of the Slave Band of Antônio Luís de Almeida. Figure 10, pg. 66 in Luiz Cleber Moreira Freire's 2007 dissertation, 'NEM TANTO AO MAR NEM TANTO À TERRA: Agropecuária, escravidão e riqueza em Feira de Santana - 1850-1888.'"

Twitter thread with image attached, October 14, 2020. <https://repositorio.ufba.br/ri/handle/ri/113811/>; <https://twitter.com/Silpayamanant/status/1316389302469885952>.

Silva, Alexandra Lima da. "O saber que se anuncia: o poder da palavra em tempos de escravidão (Rio de Janeiro, 1830 a 1888)." *Revista Brasileira de História da Educação* 18 (2018). <http://dx.doi.org/10.4025/rbhe.v18.2018.e002>. English and Spanish versions: [https://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci\\_abstract&pid=S2238-00942018000100201%5D](https://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_abstract&pid=S2238-00942018000100201%5D).

Silva, Claudia Felipe da. "Bandas de musica, imigração italiana e educação musical: o corpo musicale 'Umberto I' de Serra Negra, uma localidade interiorana com forte presença italiana." Master's thesis, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Faculdade de Educação, Campinas, SP, 2009. <http://repositorio.unicamp.br/Acervo/Detalhe/471274>.

## Caribbean

Meredith, Sharon. *Tuk Music Traditions in Barbados*. London: Routledge, 2015.

Salman, Brittany. "How Colonialism Shaped Me as an Individual and My Culture." *Medium*, February 13, 2017. <https://medium.com/@brittanysalmon1/how-colonialism-shaped-me-as-an-individual-and-my-culture-f38aa046ba6f>.

Stuart, Andrea. *Sugar in the Blood: A Family's Story of Slavery and Empire*. New York: Vintage, 2013. <https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/174940/sugar-in-the-blood-by-andrea-stuart/>.

Valiente, Jessica Lynne. "Siento una Flauta: Improvisational Idiom, Style, and Performance Practice of Charanga Flutists in New York from 1960 to 2000." PhD diss., City University of New York, 2015. [https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc\\_etds/1170](https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc_etds/1170).

## Chile

Barrenechea Vergara, Paulina M. "La figuración del negro en la literatura colonial chilena. María Antonia Palacios, esclava y músico: La traza de un rostro borrado por/para la literatura chilena." PhD diss., Universidad de Concepción Departamento de Español, 2007. <http://repositorio.udec.cl/xmlui/handle/11594/1069>.

Silpayamanant, Jon (@Silpayamanant). "Another chapter in the story of Slave Orchestras and Ensembles! I won't be surprised if we eventually find enslaved

people that actually composed for the groups!” Twitter thread, October 26, 2020. <https://twitter.com/Silpayamanant/status/1320781503010349057>.

## Indonesia

- Amirio, Dylan. “La Baroque Nomade: The Travelers of Music.” *Jakarta Post*, March 29, 2018. <https://www.thejakartapost.com/life/2018/03/29/la-ba-roque-nomade-the-travelers-of-music.html>.
- Aural Archipelago. “Tanjidor: Colonial Echoes in Makassar’s Chinatown.” *Aural Archipelago: Field Recordings from around Indonesia*, June 28, 2017. <https://www.auralarchipelago.com/auralarchipelago/tanjidormakassar>.
- Djumrianti, Desloehal. “Representations of Jakarta as a Tourist Destination: a Critical Discourse Analysis.” PhD diss., University of Sunderland, 2018. <http://sure.sunderland.ac.uk/id/eprint/8848/>.
- Fosler-Lussier, Danielle. “Colonialism in Indonesia: Music Moving with an Occupying Force.” In *Music on the Move*, by Fosler-Lussier, 19–42. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2020. <http://www.doi.org/10.3998/mpub.9853855.8>.
- Hahn, Emily. *The Raffles of Singapore: A Biography*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1946.
- Irving, D. R. M. “Trading Tunes: Thomas Forrest, Malay Songs, and Musical Exchange in the Malay Archipelago, 1774–1784.” In *Intercultural Exchange in Southeast Asia*, edited by Tara Alberts and D. R. M. Irving, 203–235. London: I. B. Tauris, 2013.
- Mack, Dieter. “Some Thoughts on ‘Authenticity’ in Music.” *Proceedings from Classical Music in the Context of ASEAN, New Authentic Classic*, Princess Galyani Vadhana Institute of Music, Bangkok, Thailand, 2015. <http://www.pgvim.ac.th/pgvis/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/Proceedings2015.pdf>.
- Notosudirdjo, Franki S. “Music, Politics, and the Problems of National Identity in Indonesia.” PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 2001.
- Suryadarma, Raden Franki. “Music and Theater Among the European Immigrants in Java During the British Interregnum, 1811–1816.” *Historical Studies in Ethnomusicology (SEM)*. AMS/SEM/SMT joint meeting, Oakland, California, November 9, 1990. <https://cdn.ymaws.com/ams-net.site-ym.com/resource/resmgr/files/abstracts/ams-abstracts-1990.pdf>.
- Sumarsam. *Javanese Gamelan and the West*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2013.

———. “Past and Present Issues of Javanese–European Musical Hybridity: Gendhing Mares and Other Hybrid Genres.” In *Recollecting Resonances: Indonesian-Dutch Musical Encounters*, edited by Bart Barendregt and Els Bogaerts, 87–108. Leiden: Brill, 2014.

### Japan (Dutch Trading Post at Dejima)

Lehmann, Jean-Pierre. “Intellect in the Edo Era.” In *The Roots of Modern Japan*, by Lehmann, 109–29. Macmillan Asian Histories Series. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1982. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-17714-1\\_4](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-17714-1_4).

Watanabe Shuseki | 渡辺秀石. *Scenes of Life in the Dutch Factory (Residential Area, Sometimes called Bankan) at Deshima (Dejima) in Nagasaki*. Late 18th c. Painting/handscroll. British Museum. [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A\\_1944-1014-0-22](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_1944-1014-0-22).

### Philippines

Gibson-Hill, C. et al. “Documents Relating to John Clunies Ross, Alexander Hare, and the Early History of the Settlement on the Cocos-Keeling Islands.” *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 25, no. 4/5 (160) (December 1952): 5–306. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41502769>.

Summers, William J. “The Jesuits in Manila, 1581–1621: The Role of Music in Rite, Ritual, and Spectacle.” In *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773*, edited by John W. O’Malley, Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Steven J. Harris, and T. Frank Kennedy, 659–79. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999. <https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442681569-035>.

### South Africa

Bouws, Jan. *Die Musieklewe van Kaapstad 1800-1850*. Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1966.

———. *Solank daar musiek is...: Musiek en musiekmakers in Suid-Afrika (1652–1982)*. Kaapstad: Tafelberg-Uitgewers Beperk, 1982.

Cornell, Carohn. “Whatever Became of Cape Slavery in Western Cape Museums?” *Kronos* 25 (1998): 259–79. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41056437>.

Dunseith, Michael Hamlyn. “Manifestations of ‘Langarm’: From Colonial Roots to Contemporary Practices.” Master’s thesis, Stellenbosch University, 2017. <http://scholar.sun.ac.za/handle/10019.1/101096>.

- Gould, Dawn. "Ramifications of Politics." *Imaginomag!: A South African Arts and Culture Magazine*, February 27, 2016. <https://imaginomag.co.za/?p=1555>.
- Iziko Museums of South Africa. "Cloete era: 1778-1885 | Heritage of Slavery." Accessed April 29, 2024. <https://slavery.iziko.org.za/cloeteera>.
- Martin, Dennis-Constant. *Coon Carnival: New Year in Cape Town, Past and Present*. Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, 1999.
- . "An Imaginary Ocean: Carnival in Cape Town and the Black Atlantic." In *Africa, Brazil and the Construction of Trans-Atlantic Black Identities*, edited by Boubacar Barry, Eliséé Soumonni and Livio Sansone. Africa World Press: Trenton, NJ and Asmara, Eritrea, 2008.
- Muller, Carol A. *South African Music: A Century of Traditions in Transformation*. ABC-CLIO World Music Series. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2004.
- Navratil, Andrea. "O Brother, Where Art Thou Going? The Construction of Collective Identities in Contemporary South Africa." Honors thesis, University of Vienna, November 2008. <https://www.doi.org/10.25365/thesis.2874>.
- Steltzner, Becky L. "The History of the Clarinet in South Africa." PhD diss., University of Cape Town, Faculty of Humanities, College of Music, 2016. <http://hdl.handle.net/11427/20332>.
- Stone, Gerald L. "The Coon Carnival." Unpublished paper, University of Cape Town, Abe Bailey Institute of Interracial Studies, 1971.
- Wal, Anne Marieke van der. "Slave Orchestras and Rainbow Balls: Colonial Culture and Creolisation at the Cape of Good Hope, 1750–1838." In *Identity, Intertextuality, and Performance in Early Modern Song Culture*, edited by Dieuwke van der Poel, Louis Peter Grijp, and Wim van Anrooij, 352–71. Leiden: Brill, 2016. [https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004314986\\_015](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004314986_015).

### Sri Lanka

- Raat, Alexander J. P. "The Life of Governor Joan Gideon Loten (1710–1789): A Personal History of a Dutch Virtuoso." PhD diss., Uitgeverij Verloren, Hilversum, May 12, 2010. <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/15514>.
- Schrikker, Alicia, and Kate J. Ekama. "Through the Lens of Slavery: Dutch Sri Lanka in the Eighteenth Century." In *Sri Lanka at the Crossroads of History*, edited by Zoltán Biedermann and Alan Strather, 178–93. London: UCL Press, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1qpw8bs.14>.
- Schrikker, Alicia, and Nira Wickramasinghe. "Introduction: Enslaved in the Indian Ocean, 1700–1850." In *Being a Slave: Histories and Legacies of*

*European Slavery in the Indian Ocean*, edited by Alicia Schrikker and Nira Wickramasinghe, 17–40. Amsterdam: Leiden University Press, 2020.

Silpayamanant, Jon (@Silpayamanant). “Apparently, most of the slaves in Colombo, so presumably also most of the slave musicians there, were from Makassar, Indonesia during Dutch colonial rule. Indonesians slaves also composed most of the slave musicians in orchestras on the archipelago.” Twitter, October 11, 2021. <https://twitter.com/Silpayamanant/status/1447733737035284481>.

———. “And I’m still saddened that we know more about Dirk Willem van der Bruggen than we do about the musicians that played in the slave orchestra he owned in Colombo from c. 1753–c. 1770.” Twitter, October 12, 2021. <https://twitter.com/Silpayamanant/status/1447943212614754319>.

### Suriname

Jan Ijzermans, Jan. “Ontstaan en ontwikkeling van de creoolse populaire muziek in Suriname: 1800-1940.” *OSO. Tijdschrift voor Surinaamse Taalkunde, Letterkunde en Geschiedenis. Jaargang 6* (1987): 49–66. [https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/oso001198701\\_01/oso001198701\\_01\\_0007.php](https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/oso001198701_01/oso001198701_01_0007.php).

Stipriaan, Alex van. “Muzikale creolisering: De ontwikkeling van Afro-Surinaamse muziek tijdens de slavernij.” *OSO. Tijdschrift voor Surinaamse taalkunde, letterkunde en geschiedenis. Jaargang 19* (2020): 8–37. [https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/oso001200001\\_01/oso001200001\\_01\\_0003.php](https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/oso001200001_01/oso001200001_01_0003.php).

### United States

Baker Jr., David Sherman. *Historical Sketch of North Kingstown*. Providence: E. A. Johnson, July 4, 1876.

Epstein, Dena J. “Slave Music in the United States before 1860: A Survey of Sources (Part I).” *Notes*, 20, no. 2 (1963): 195–212. <http://www.doi.org/10.2307/894726>.

———. “Slave Music in the United States before 1860: A Survey of Sources (Part 2).” *Notes* 20, no. 3 (1963): 377–90. <http://www.doi.org/10.2307/895685>.

Horn, Stanley Fitzgerald. *The Hermitage: Home of Old Hickory*. New York: Greenburg, 1938. <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/57231/57231-h/57231-h.htm>.

Johnson, Jillian. “Voodoo and Slave Culture in Frederick Delius’ Koanga.” PhD diss., University of Alabama, 2018. <https://ir.ua.edu/handle/123456789/3681>.

Southern, Eileen. *The Music of Black Americans: A History*. 3rd ed. New York: Norton, 1997. <https://wnorton.com/books/The-Music-of-Black-Americans>.

Stimeling, Travis D., and Kayla Tokar. "Narratives of Musical Resilience and the Perpetuation of Whiteness in the Music History Classroom." *Journal of Music History Pedagogy* 10, no. 1 (2020): 20–38.