Wesleyan University’s World Instrument Collection: A Biographical Analysis

by

Alice Beth McKenney
Class of 2008

A thesis submitted to the faculty of Wesleyan University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts with Departmental Honors in Music and Anthropology

Middletown, Connecticut April, 2008
Acknowledgments

I would like to thank the following faculty, staff and current/past graduate students at Wesleyan University (in alphabetical order): Neely Bruce, I. Harjito, Phil Issacs, Ron Kuivila, Patricia Leone, Chris Miller, Junko Oba, Marzanna Poplawska, Mark Slobin, Sumarsam, and Dennis Waring. The interviews and correspondences with each of these individuals were essential for the success of my thesis, and they provided me with a lot of much needed information about Wesleyan’s world instrument collection.

I would also like to thank my two thesis advisors, Eric Charry and Sarah Croucher, for helping me with all the research, and every draft and edit along the way. They were always there to point me in the right direction. Sandy Brough, Donna Rak, and Elizabeth Traube were all helpful in terms of the logistics of this thesis. I would also like to thank all my past anthropology and music professors whose lectures and advice all helped me to get to this point in one way or another.

Lastly, I would like to thank all of my family and friends for dealing with me through this whole process. Thanks especially to those who endured my excessive baking and helped me make my thesis carrel a home. Regrettably yet excitedly I relinquish my key to carrel B-7 in the basement of the Science Library.
Table of Contents

Introduction.........................................................................................P. 1

Chapter 1 – The Object Biography.......................................................P. 5

Chapter 2 – Music Archaeology and Ethnomusicology: Two Different Ways to Look at the Same Instrument
   Introduction..................................................................................P. 28
   Music Archaeology.......................................................................P. 29
   Ethnomusicology.........................................................................P. 36
   Conclusion....................................................................................P. 41

Chapter 3 – An object biography of Wesleyan University’s two gamelans
   Introduction..................................................................................P. 42
   Background..................................................................................P. 43
   The gamelan in society...............................................................P. 53
   Wesleyan’s gamelan....................................................................P. 54
   Conclusion....................................................................................P. 71

Chapter 4 – Wesleyan University’s World Instrument Collection: an Analysis
   Introduction..................................................................................P. 73
   Background..................................................................................P. 74
   A Biography of the World Instrument Collection at Wesleyan University ..................................................P.80
   Case Study: The David Tudor Collection....................................P. 99
   Conclusion....................................................................................P. 103

Chapter 5 – Conclusion......................................................................P. 105

Appendix 1: Summary of World Instrument Collection Catalogue..........P. 109


References.......................................................................................P. 123
List of Figures

2.1 Relief from Borobudur………………………………………………………..P. 30
2.2 Jade Pi Disks…………………………………………………………………..P. 32
2.3 Early Indian Instrument Table……………………………………………….P. 35
2.4 Berimbau demonstration……………………………………………………….P. 37

3.1 Wesleyan’s entire Ansberry gamelan………………………………………P. 45
3.2 Gong Ageng…………………………………………………………………...P. 45
3.3 Kempul………………………………………………………………………..P. 46
3.4 Kenong, Kethuk and Kempyang……………………………………………..P. 46
3.5 Bonang Barung and Bonang Panerus…………………………………………P. 46
3.6 Bonang, another view…………………………………………………………P. 47
3.7 Saron Demung……………………………………………………………….P. 47
3.8 Saron Barung…………………………………………………………………P. 47
3.9 Saron Peking…………………………………………………………………P. 48
3.10 Gender Slenthem……………………………………………………………..P. 48
3.11 Gender Barung and Gender Panerus………………………………………..P. 48
3.12 Gendhing……………………………………………………………………..P. 49
3.13 Bedhug……………………………………………………………………….P. 49
3.14 Gambang……………………………………………………………………P. 50
3.15 Celempung………………………………………………………………….P. 50
3.16 Suling………………………………………………………………………..P. 51
3.17 Rebab………………………………………………………………………..P. 51
3.18 Selamatan program…………………………………………………………P. 61
3.19 Photo of gamelan performance in dining hall……………………………P. 61

4.1 Left side of MS101……………………………………………………………..P. 75
4.2 Right side of MS101…………………………………………………………P. 75
4.3 1995 Collection spreadsheet………………………………………………P. 77
4.4 Music Studio Lobby display case…………………………………………....P. 85
4.5 Ghanaian xylophone…………………………………………………………P. 86
4.6 Two kotos……………………………………………………………………..P. 90
4.7 Poplawska’s string display………………………………………………….P. 94
4.8 Blank catalogue card…………………………………………………………P. 96
4.9 Tudor felt piece………………………………………………………………P. 101
4.10 Assemblage of prepared piano items……………………………………..P. 101
4.11 Clothespin…………………………………………………………………...P. 101
4.12 Tudor electronics demonstration…………………………………………..P. 102
Introduction

“Material culture does not just exist. It is made by someone. It is produced to do something. Therefore it does not passively reflect society – rather, it creates society through the actions of individuals.”  
- Ian Hodder

“We accept that every person has many biographies – psychological, professional, political, familial, economic and so forth - each of which selects some aspects of the life history and discards others. Biographies of things cannot be but similarly partial.”  
- Igor Kopytoff

“Agency is attributed to those persons who/which are seen as initiating causal sequences of a particular type, that is, events caused by acts of mind or will or intention, rather than the mere concatenation of physical events. An agent is one who ‘causes events to happen’ in their vicinity.”  
- Alfred Gell

Over the past few decades or so, the ways in which academics have studied objects have changed. The above quotations show how varied perspectives can be in terms of material culture. Various disciplines have different ways of seeing objects, both as passive and active, and their views make a decided impression on the reader. In recent years, the idea of an object biography has arisen in the anthropological world. Essentially these writings tell the life history of an object, and acknowledge that objects can have an active influence on and within society. Musical instruments are objects that are studied intensively within certain disciplines, such as ethnomusicology. Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut has an extensive

holding of instruments of both domestic and international origin. However, the most interesting yet neglected holdings are housed in the music department in a crowded room that holds the majority of items that were donated to Wesleyan. The main goal of this thesis is to analyze Wesleyan’s instrument holdings from the object biography perspective.

Chapter one discusses the method and idea behind object biographies. Examples are pulled from its two most prominent disciplines, anthropology and archaeology. The discussed objects are highlighted in a manner that shows how they are invested with significance, and thus are endowed with a unique type of agency. I also address the different perspective that object biographies express and the various types of meanings that object biographies can help to tease out of an object. Also, though there is minimal study of musical instruments from this perspective, I give an example of one, and it becomes clear that they can draw new meanings from musical instruments than a typical analysis.

Chapter two examines musical instruments via other disciplinary perspectives without the aid of object biographies. Specifically, the manner in which music archaeology and ethnomusicology look at the musical instrument is examined, with various examples being used as a foundation. While it is false that each of these disciplines only sees objects in one way or another, it is true that they tend not to examine the life history of instruments.

From this point onwards, I turn to my own personal analysis and original research on the topic. Chapter three analyzes the life of Wesleyan’s two sets of Javanese gamelan. The gamelan is a large gong based ensemble that hails from Java
in Indonesia. Within the chapter I discuss the roots of the gamelan in Java and what the role of each participating instrument is. The chapter then goes on to apply the object biography perspective to an analysis of Wesleyan’s gamelan. It addresses the gamelan’s history on Wesleyan’s campus, its various homes, economic standings, and class usage. Through discussion of this great ensemble of instruments, it will become clear that context and social relations play a key role in attributing meaning to Wesleyan’s gamelan.

Chapter four discusses Wesleyan’s instrument holdings. This chapter begins by describing what sorts of items are in Wesleyan’s possession, how they are housed and which ones are used for classes. It then delves into an object biography of the collection as a whole, doing what could be thought of as a group biography since the story of the collection as a whole is examined rather than the story behind each individual instrument. The discussion focuses around the history and background of the collection at Wesleyan, and moves into how various graduate students and faculty feel about the state of the collection right now. I also address various sub-collections within the larger collection, with their specific life histories enumerated as much as possible. Using the biographical technique, the meaning of both the individual instruments and the collection as a whole are brought out of its institutionalized shell.

The last chapter is the conclusion chapter, which pulls together the issues of agency, meaning and societal role that were discussed in the previous chapters. It combines them to show the reader that the still underutilized idea of an object biography has the ability to display the real meaning that is encompassed in many
objects, including musical instruments. I also address the issue that this outlook has not really been used yet for musical instruments.

Object biographies have the ability to show the roots and backbone behind musical instruments. Let us delve right into this topic with a discussion of what sorts of issues these biographies often address.
Objects are a key component in many academic disciplines. They are things that are used in our everyday lives, and often play more than a role of practicality. Heirlooms and collections are often priceless items to their owners that are cherished, cared for and passed on. Beyond this domestic view, objects can take on an entirely different role. One perfect example of this is the case of the Elgin (Parthenon) Marbles. These marble statues and sculptures were bought by the British Museum in the early 1800s, and are called the Elgin marbles because Lord Elgin was the one who removed them from the Parthenon and subsequently sold them. Many different debates have been made about who is the real owner of them and how to display and respect them. Greece feels it has the right because the marbles are of Greek origin, while the British Museum feels they should keep them because they purchased them legally. Essentially, this object-based issue has turned into a nationalistic debate between Britain and Greece, imbuing the marbles with an altogether new meaning. The Elgin/Parthenon Marbles truly have a story which has developed and changed over the years. This is one excellent and ongoing example of an object biography.

This particular analysis has not gained as much attention in the general public as the Marbles’ debate has, but it is becoming a more important one. Archaeologist Yannis Hamilakis uses the object biographical approach; determining how the issue has developed over the years, and its nationalistic ties that are causing protests and demonstrations. Hamilakis chooses this approach to show how the meanings of the
objects change when they are placed in different contexts. His bottom-up approach looks at the underlying events that have affected the marbles, rather than just the geographical movements they have made. Hamilakis bases most of his work on the cultural life of the marbles rather than the issue of their restitution. He chronicles not the objects themselves, but his interactions with the marbles and events based around them. Specifically, he attended a pro-restitution protest in 1997 that was made up of mostly Greek college students who went to school in Britain. He was not there to participate, but instead to take note of the marbles’ social biography. Hamilakis’ full biography of these items traces from when the marbles were created, to the point in time that he interacted with them. Accounts of the marbles’ meaning are made as it changed from their creation as the grandest sculptures at the time, to the removal of the objects. Altogether, Hamilakis exemplifies the object biography goal.

What is an object biography? Object biographies have only been termed as such for about twenty years, so they are fairly recent. The first works were written by Arjun Appadurai and Igor Kopytoff; both in 1986. Generally, these earlier works focused on how the meaning behind objects could be better understood if there was knowledge of their life histories. According to Appadurai, the ongoing acts of items being sold, exchanged, purchased and destroyed are the main markers in an object biography. Often in these types of works objects are referred to as commodities because their economic roles are seen as the main player in their social lives.

---

5 It is important to note that a commodity is identified as such by having an alienable cash value, not just being a part of economic exchange.
Appadurai refers to this as the *commodity situation*, which can “be defined as the situation in which its exchangeability (past, present, or future) for some other thing is its socially relevant feature.”⁷ Kopytoff follows these same lines in his discussion and places commodification at a life’s center. However, he also brings to light the importance of knowing the why behind the actions that involve the object.⁸ Chris Gosden, who has done some more recent work with object biographies, sees four different things that should be addressed within an object’s biography: its form, effects, genealogy, and source.⁹ So, in order to combine all of these ideas together, an all encompassing definition is needed. To put it succinctly, an object biography is an account of all the major events in an objects life, from creation to deposition, destruction or the present. The meanings behind all of these actions are key to take note of, since they help to define what that object is, not physically, but within society. By looking at one object through time and all the people that have interacted with it, one is able to more fully understand the importance of said object to both individuals and society at large.

Let us backtrack and discuss how the changes in certain disciplines have allowed for such an analysis. Archaeology as a material based discipline often discusses object-based theories. So how have changes in archeological theory allowed for object biographies to be used in some modern analyses? Processualism moved archaeologists to look beyond the streamlined categorical outlook that culture-historical archaeologists used to a more scientific viewpoint. It allowed them to look

---

more in-depth at the underlying social and cultural processes that could be unearthed from the material culture. Post-processualism took this a step further and called for more attention to be paid to context, race, gender, class, and especially of the archaeologists’ inherent biases; showing the effect that post-modernism had on the discipline. \(^{11}\) Ian Hodder, who is considered one of the leaders of the post-processualist movement, also called for archaeologists to look at individuals and what makes them singular, unique beings.\(^ {12}\) Post-processual theory looks at the symbolic value of material culture, and sees objects as being meaningful in their social context. Object biographies use these same ideas in how they look at material items. The individualized experiences of the object and its social movements are accounted for, in the same manner that post-processualists look at the unique characteristics of people. The utilization of object biographies by post-processualists only seems natural when one looks at it this way. However, I should mention that since object biographies often allow for the inanimate object to have agency, this method is still too radical for many. Anthropological theory has developed in a very similar manner, shifting from a functionalistic approach to more interpretive anthropologies.

These shifting paradigms in anthropology and archaeology permit objects to be seen more broadly and even to have agency, which in this case refers to the ability of an object to act upon a person. The very early beginnings of this type of thinking can be seen back as far as Pitt Rivers’ time (late 1800s).\(^ {13}\) Rivers is considered one

---

12 Hodder’s work is discussed on page 5; here I am comparing his view of the individual to the object biographer’s view of the object.
of the fathers of modern archaeology, making it his personal business to meticulously
document things like stratigraphy and to practice post-excavation analysis. “What
really matter[ed] to him in the archaeological record [were] objects and how they
reflect[ed] upon human history”.\textsuperscript{14} This particular sentiment shows the early
foundation of seeing objects as more than just property, and instead let them play a
more important and necessary role in history.

The rise of post-processualism has allowed for viewing objects in an \textit{active}
light, one far more active than that Pitt Rivers was brushing up upon. Ian Hodder,
while not a proponent for object biographies, does agree with this idea of the active
object, or individual. To see it this way one must see the object from within its
context in order to allow it to speak. “Material culture does not just exist. It is made
by someone. It is produced to do something. Therefore it does not passively reflect
society – rather, it creates society through the actions of individuals.”\textsuperscript{15} Hodder never
once states that an object has agency, but the idea is somewhat broached with his
mention that an object creates society, rather than simply reflecting it. Hodder and
other post-processualists were focused on the agency of people in the archaeological
record, and it was only a matter of time before the agency of objects became an issue.

Let us return to the two groundbreaking object biography articles by
Appadurai and Kopytoff. These were not biographies themselves but instead articles
that discussed how the essence of objects could best be brought about by a biography,
particularly in terms of their participation in economic transactions. At this point in
time (1986), object biographies were just being introduced and were seen as mostly

\textsuperscript{14} Lucas, G. (2001). \textit{Critical Approaches to Fieldwork} P. 25
pertaining to anthropology. However, today if you were to read one, be it in anthropology, archaeology, or some other discipline, you would likely see a reference to at least one of these works, Appadurai in particular. For him, biographical objects are ones that are active or once were active in trade. Discussion of commodity activities and what causes these events (which are milestones in an objects life history [or biography]) is extensive and mostly stems from his idea of a commodity situation (its exchangeability, discussed at the beginning of this chapter). He then breaks down the exchangeability of a commodity, which was defined as being its salient feature, into three ideas. The first is the commodity phase, which is simply when things move in and out of the commodity state. The second is the commodity candidacy of a thing, which is the standards and criteria that define exchangeability of things in any particular social or historical context. Finally, the third is the commodity context an object is placed in, which creates the link between the commodity candidacy and the commodity phase. This element has the ability to bring together people from different cultural systems, thus being one small example of a way that an object can act on an individual. These three types of commodity status can be seen as condition markers that must be fulfilled in order for an object to become an active commodity.

Appadurai further expands on this concept with his discussion of the four types of commodities which can also be seen as the stages a commodity can be placed in: commodities by destination that are intended for exchange, commodities by metamorphosis that are meant for something other than exchange but end up there

---

16 I say this from personal experience since nearly all of the object biographies and discussion of object biographies that I read cited these works.
anyway, commodities by diversion that are put in a commodity state though are protected from it, and ex-commodities that have been retrieved from the commodity state.\(^{18}\) Using these terms, one can identify circumstances surrounding an object if its current type is known. These can be helpful in discussing an object’s life history (which for my purposes is synonymous with object biography). Let us say for example that a craftsman hand carved an Indian flute and then sold it in market. It was purchased by an American tourist who went home and hung the flute on his wall, untouched where it remained for years to come. Using Appadurai’s terminology, this flute was initially created as a commodity by destination and since the three factors for a commodity situation to be relevant were present, it was then able to become an ex-commodity. This flute could also be referred to as a terminal commodity, or one that makes only one journey from production to consumption.\(^{19}\)

Appadurai’s distinction between types of commodities and the ways they are used is important when creating an object biography. However, it is necessary to note that there is a difference between a commodity and a singularity. Often, especially for Marx, commodities are items that are mass produced and intended for wide distribution.\(^{20}\) Singularities are unique objects that may be intended for sale, but are worked with on a more item by item basis. A common example given is a painting, but musical instruments can fall into this category as well, particularly those that are made handmade. However, because a singularity can be sold it can become a part of

\(^{19}\) Ibid P. 23
\(^{20}\) Ibid P. 17
a commodity situation, allowing for it to be referenced as a singularized commodity.\textsuperscript{21}

Kopytoff approaches object biographies in the same commoditized manner that Appadurai does. However, he goes into a more practical usage of this economic terminology and references how an actual one is composed, including the different events in an objects life that should be taken account of that may not be commodity-related, such as how an object is made and how it can reflect its owners identity.\textsuperscript{22}

While not explicitly, his work comes closer to putting the ‘why’ in an object’s life events, such as \textit{why} is it made and \textit{why} is it purchased. “What one glimpses through the biographies of both people and things in these societies is, above all, the social system and the collective understandings on which it rests.”\textsuperscript{23} Kopytoff clearly acknowledges that the monetary value of an item is important, but looks at its social value as well. One issue he brings up that bridges these two arenas is the idea of pricelessness. “When things participate simultaneously in cognitively distinct yet effectively intermeshed exchange spheres, one is constantly confronted with seeming paradoxes of value. A Picasso, though possessing a monetary value, is priceless in another, higher scheme…one should not be pricing the priceless.”\textsuperscript{24} All ‘priceless’ items need to be priced for practical reasons such as insurance, however these items are not really worth any one price and for lack of a better word, are priceless. Within an object biography, the path that an object follows to become priceless is slowly developed and often showcases the reason(s) why that item is priceless. Kopytoff’s

\textsuperscript{21} For my purposes, I will often refer to this simply as a commodity since nearly everything I will be working with is a singularity.
\textsuperscript{22} Kopytoff, I. (1986). The Cultural biography of Things: 64-94.
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid P. 89
\textsuperscript{24} Ibid P. 82
addition of looking at social events effectively expanded the all around usefulness of
the technique beyond the realm of economics.

Object biographies have developed from their start with Appadurai and
Kopytoff, particularly in the field of archaeology. Though the economic lives of
artifacts are still important, especially in being able to create a timeline with the
possibility of dates, these are not the only moments in an objects life that showcase its
agency. One great example of this is when an object has a spirituality imbued upon
it. The Javanese gamelan (to be discussed in detail in chapter 3) has certain rituals
and traditions that are associated with its construction that play no role in the
economic sphere. Religion thus can play a large role in object biographies, and so
may many other facets of ‘everyday life,’ such as daily use, cleaning, repairs, special
events, etc. Though Appadurai and Kopytoff jump started this small scale
reformation, it has since been used in many different venues and manners.

So why do we need object biographies? And what do they achieve that other
analyses do not? To answer these questions a variety of issues need to be addressed.
The first and one of the largest of these is how object biographies assert that they go
beyond looking at the objects function and more into how the object informs the
social process. This is an issue that Chris Gosden really takes to heart. In his
opinion, archaeologists have always “concentrated on function, dating and, to a lesser
extent, style…to make sense of the world”. However this tradition is changing and
people are starting to let material culture play a much larger role in social analysis.
Objects are no longer seen as just setting the stage for action, but rather are seen as

31(2): 169-178. P. 169
vital to it. Gosden addresses this phenomenon: “As people and objects gather time, movement and change, they are constantly transformed, and these transformations of person and object are tied up with each other”.  

This quote embodies the essence of what Gosden believes to be cultural biography. Gosden also emphasizes that an object can change throughout its lifetime, and that an object’s significance comes from the people and events that it is connected with.

What does this all mean? Essentially, the object is playing an active role in social processes. Let’s take the example of a regular old electric guitar that was purchased at wholesale pricing for $99 and was machine built. Let’s then say that this guitar was bought by a thirteen-year-old boy who was looking to learn guitar; ten years pass and he has become a world-wide rock n’ roll sensation. He decides to put it up for sale for charity and sells it for a lot more than the $99 he bought it for. This hypothetical story touches on all sorts of issues that an object biography would focus on. This guitar not only set the stage for the boy’s rise to fame, it was also entirely integral to it. The boy’s transformation to celebrity can easily be linked to the transformation of the object into a pricey collector’s item.

The above hypothetical story gives a clear example of how an object, even one with mundane beginnings, can become something special over time. So how does this go beyond a typical analysis? A typical analysis of this guitar would be: the guitar was manufactured in 1997 and purchased by the soon-to-be celebrity for $99. The boy then practiced the guitar every day, and began to take on the persona of a musician, dressing in a punk-type manner in high school. He then was able to get a small recording contract, which led him to where he is today.

---

The above description is very generic and makes very little reference to how the boy felt about the instrument or why it was special to him. It mentions how he ‘took on the persona of a musician’ but fails to recognize how the guitar played a role in this transformation. Simply put, the above description focuses heavily on a ‘typical’ anthropological view of the boy and his life, and little on how he interacted with that guitar, and how those active interactions with both parties participating in give and take affected his future. The first description of the guitar embodies what Gosden calls for in an object biography as it looks beyond the function of the guitar and more into how it informed the social processes. The second description does not quite do this, and instead looks at the guitar at a fleeting moment in the boy’s transformation, rather than at the boy’s interaction with the guitar changing what that guitar stands for. Object biographies do not intend to discount the people that interact with the objects. Rather, the actual interactions that occur are highly important in shaping the lives of both the people and the objects. Therefore, it is an important concept to realize that not only did the boy’s life transform into what it is today, but the guitar went under a transformation as well; socially, economically and culturally.

Let us examine this key concept of the object’s importance in social processes from a real ethnographic study. Janet Hoskins did a study in the Kodi district in Sumba, which is an island in Indonesia. Her work focused around the betel bag, which is a bag that every member of society carries over their shoulder and keeps stocked with betel pipers and areca nut which are used to spur concentration and stave off hunger.27 One of the betel bags that she follows is owned by a man named Maru

Daku. He received his bag in a ceremonial manner from his grandfather, who gave him the bag in this manner: “[He] removed a knife from it and scraped off a bit of the fingernail of his right thumb, then mixed it with betel piper and areca nut, adding a dash of lime powder to turn it into a reddish quid. Then he called to his grandson with these words: ‘Do not go back to those foreign people. There is no one here to replace me in our clan village!’ He placed the betel quid in Maru Daku’s mouth.”

It was in this way that the betel bag started a new journey with a new owner. In the same way that he was given his betel bag in a ceremonious manner, his deceased brother’s betel bag was deposited in the ground in an equally ceremonious way. It is also important to note that for the Kodi, the betel bag is a container for stories. So the passing down and burial of them carries a different significance beyond wanting to pass a cherished object on; it also has to do with passing on stories to future generations. The betel bag really is a biographical object for the Kodi, because of its culturally designated ability to actually represent the identity of the owner. For the Kodi, the betel bag really acts as a metaphor for the self. In a remarkable way, the betel bag is able to go beyond being viewed as having the simple function of carrying around betel to stave off hunger, and is seen as affecting social processes and being extremely necessary for many of them.

This brings us to idea of an object being integral to one’s identity. Hoskin’s work with betel bags is not the only instance of this. Let us look back at the Elgin/Parthenon marbles again. As was mentioned previously, over the years these marbles have become an important issue to nationalistic Greeks. Because of this and

29 Ibid P. 56
all of the press that the issue has received, they have become part and parcel of Greek identity; or rather the identity that many Greek’s feel was taken away from them. This issue then has a lot more to do with collective identity, rather than the very personal identity associated with the betel bag. The repatriation of the marbles is something that many Greeks are passionate about. These objects are valued by Greeks because of their association of the Parthenon as a part of their national collective identity.30 The study that Hamilakis did of these objects focused on how the students whose protest he was documenting showed their desire to reinstate these marbles as part of their nation, thus reifying their national, collective identity.

I have dealt with an object being part of a personal identity, and how an object has drawn people together as part of their collective identity. Now I will briefly discuss an object that represents a collective identity by having picked up various pieces of a culture’s past and literally woven these identities into it. In an area of Sumba, which is the same island where the betel bag came from, there is a certain pictorial cloth called hemba maramba. In this area of Sumba, the movement of cloth is important and occurs between all genders, races and ethnicities. This particular cloth is considered a “medium for identification, marking social rank through motifs and colors”.31 Jill Forshee, who intensively studied the cloth, even goes as far as to say that it motivates, facilitates, and implicates far-reaching connections that can affect lives.32 To summarize the idea behind the cloth, she says that it can be seen as chronicling history; “Dutch colonialism, Chinese trade, prestige goods from India,  

32 Ibid. P.3
and numerous other imported influences have been recorded visually in Sumbanese motifs and woven into village cloth. Thus, local textiles came to embody and emblemize social connections with the rest of the world, as valued and interpreted by various people in Sumba. Forshee studies how this cloth has come to be by its colonialist past, and how today it has morphed into something that the Sumbanese export and sell to tourists; touting its ‘meanings’ and wearing native clothes when selling it. In this way, the cloth has become a part of their identity, since it represents their culture to the world at large; while for them it is important to their economic identity and keeps their past alive. The object biography that Forshee does of the hemba maramba cloth follows these different identities and explores them in a way that only a study focused around the life of an object can.

With any item that can carry cultural attributes, many other meanings exist such as contextual meaning, functional meaning, ownership meaning, preservation meaning, and relevance of materials used. Some of these ideas have been glossed over in the previous examples, such as that of the betel bag which embodies nearly all of these types of meanings. Contextual meaning exists for the betel bag because depending on what type of context it is in it has different meanings. For example when Maru Daku was given the betel bag by his grandfather, its new context signified the passing down of the torch to the new leader of the village. However, later in Maru Daku’s life when his brother passes away and they bury his betel bag with him, the bag carries an entirely different meaning in which it symbolically was considered to be a part of him. Clearly within different contexts, the betel bag can carry different meanings.

---

33 Forshee, J. (2001). *Between the Folds* : P.5
Another important meaning that an object can take on is its functional meaning. This is probably one of the more straightforward meanings an object can have, considering that often when we think of an object the first thing that may come to mind is what it was made to do. For the betel bag, its immediate functional meaning is to carry the betel piper so that the bag’s owner may chew on it to gain increased concentration and to stave off hunger while working or telling a story. It also has another functional meaning of holding stories, which can be tied into its contextual and ownership meanings. Oral history is important to this culture, and the betel bag is considered a physical container for it. Whoever owns the bag is considered the holder of the story and is obligated to tell it, which is often accompanied by the chewing of betel pipers to stave off hunger until the whole story is enumerated.

Lastly, an object can carry meaning based off of the materials that are used (which can be tied into its eventual preservation). For the betel bag, the essence of the material used is not what is important, but rather what it holds. Typically these are just small woven bags that have to be replaced periodically as they wear out. In this particular instance, the material used to create the physical object and the efforts made to prolong its life are insignificant. However later on in chapter 3 these issues are explored more in-depth with the Javanese gamelan.

By their very nature, object biographies can illuminate all of these different types of meanings. Their specified focus around one particular object and the different journeys it may make during its lifetime helps to show all of the meanings.

---

36 Ibid: P.26
With the combination of people, events and settings being accounted for, various meanings are bound to make an appearance. A truly successful object biography examines how all of the different interactions that the object participates in can affect its meaning to different people.

Let us combine all of these aspects of this type of analysis and look at two more examples. The first of these is Cornelius Holtorf’s biography of ancient megaliths. This is one of the better examples of an object biography being done with archaeological remains rather than as an ethnographic study. In his work, Holtorf studies the lives of megaliths in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Germany. For him, by embarking on a life history of the megaliths in this area in Germany, he is doing a biography of a thing.\(^{37}\) He looks at the megaliths as having distinct phases, spanning from birth and going into later adult phases. It is important to note that throughout each of the phases, the megaliths are constantly reinterpreted. This can be tied into the idea of different contextual meanings based on different eras. The megaliths were mostly all built in the Neolithic time period (4000-2800 BCE), but reinterpretations of them occurred throughout the years, many of which left physical evidence.\(^{38}\)

Archaeologists have attributed the construction of these monuments to the Trichterbecher (TRB) culture as burial sites (circa 4000-2800 BCE). In the years following their construction, later people seem to have removed previous skeletons and grave goods to make room for their dead.\(^{39}\) After the reuse of the monuments as burial sites ceased, they are considered to be out of their childhood phase, and into


\(^{38}\) Ibid P.25

\(^{39}\) Ibid
their adult phase. Within this phase, many of the monuments seem to have been preserved, possibly because people may have felt “a commitment not only to the past and their ancestors, or to future generations, but perhaps also to the stones themselves”.40 Further on in the megaliths’ lives, referred to only as the later phases by Holtorf, they came to have uses that were not intended of them. For example, in the medieval period megalith stones were “seen as so valuable that [the megaliths] were destroyed and the stones reused for purposes such as building houses, roads and churches”.41 Others may have just been demolished to make room for agriculture. For those 1,000 or so that remain, they create a tactile tie to the past. “Often, people sense a particular aura when they come across ancient finds or monuments in the landscape: they are authentic remains from a distant past which enable people to see, touch and feel prehistory.”42

Thanks to the sheer abundance of megaliths still around in the area, Holtorf was able to piece together a timeline, identifying which years were associated with which culture, and how they were viewed throughout the past. Through his study Holtorf was able to show the differing functions and meanings of the megaliths throughout time. He was also able to show that an object biography does not just have to be a singular object, but can in fact be a group of objects with similar or identical roots and intentions.43 A non-biographically based work about these objects would not be able to get at the different views and uses that the megaliths have had over the years. They have also entered the present day rhetoric by being the

41 Ibid P.32
42 Ibid P.30
43 This is further touched on in Chapter 4 with the single biography of Wesleyan’s entire instrument collection.
inspiration for various regional folktales. All in all, these megaliths have lived very eventful and fruitful lives whose entireties deserve to be studied.

One more example of an object biography will show the varieties that this type of analysis can take. Like the previous example, this case study also deals with a culture from the past rather than an ethnographic study. Richard Bradley has done extensive work studying the lives of Neolithic longhouses of the Linear Pottery Culture (Linearbandkeramik), who originated in Europe around 5500 BC.44 The settlements of the culture are characterized by the longhouses Bradley studied, and are often on fertile soil. After each longhouse’s usefulness had come to an end (this is assumed to be when an inhabitant had died), they were burned to the ground with “their contents inside them”45, and a new one resurrected in its ashes. Because of this and the sheer age of these longhouses, it was difficult for Bradley to “reconcile either the system from which it had emerged or the social practices that succeeded it”.46 Thus, though a life history was attempted here, it was not able to have the same sort of detail that Hoskins’ betel bags or Holtorf’s megaliths could. Some information can be gleaned from the remains however, allowing the biography to be legitimate. It has been ascertained that there were three main structural elements to each house, and that all were alike. The first section was two floors and could have included a granary…the middle section of the Neolithic long house provides a more open space, which is normally regarded as the principal living area. Beyond it again is the final compartment, which was generally built in a different technique from the other parts of the structure. Instead of spaced posts, the outer wall was made up of a continuous series of planks set in the foundation

45 Ibid P.20
46 Ibid
trench. Because this was so firmly bedded, the end section of the long house has been interpreted as a byre. 47

After hashing out what a typical Neolithic longhouse would have looked like, Bradley looks into how transformations were made to them over time as the people’s needs shifted and different setups were desired. Additions and extensions were most common to the blueprint. As these types of homes spread over most of Europe for a time in the Neolithic, they began to assume the role of exhibiting social memory. In fact, Bradley indicates in his studies that these settlements “might have documented the history of its inhabitants”.48 He was able to determine this because among other things, the majority of the settlements have all of their houses situated in the same direction, north-south. It has been suggested that this orientation can be attributed to cosmological factors.49

Bradley’s object biography is done in a much less obvious and more indirect manner than the other ones enumerated so far. Like the megaliths study, he is working with a large collection of items that were made during the same time period with the same intentions, but most likely by lots of different people. Because of the megaliths’ tendency to be burned down after usage, including all of the items inside of them, it is difficult to determine the houses’ meanings, but suggestions have been made, such as cosmological factors. This suggestion could indicate possible religious or traditional societal meanings as well. Bradley did what he could to show that these longhouses had more meaning and agency within the communities than may have been originally decided. Their agency, while a bit limited, existed nonetheless and

48 Ibid P.25
49 Ibid P.28
took the form of orienting the culture on its landscape. In this way, they were also able to inform the social process by creating norms for home building and designating how/where certain social interactions should take place. While Bradley made an effort to show the various aspects of these longhouses and that they deserve a biography approach, their nature does not exactly lean toward this type of analysis.

Although no one has yet applied the object biography to musical instruments, they are ideally suited for this type of analysis. It is quite surprising to learn this since these are very personal objects and surely have important histories. Take the earlier hypothetical example of the electric guitar. Even though the guitar in this example was not used for an extended period of time, it made an active impact in the boy’s life and became associated with him. Musical instruments have the ability to do this and more. Their ability to inform the social process is undeniable, even in basic activities such as being used in concert or hanging on a wall as a discussion piece. Their ability to have agency, or to act on others, is undeniable in this same way. Additionally, they can also be part of one’s identity, especially for musicians, so that someone who happens to play the piano may be referred to in social situations as a pianist, even if it is just a casual hobby. Economic value can also play a huge role since certain instruments are more expensive than others, considered more valuable than others and are sold and purchased on a regular basis. They can also participate in the various commodity stages as outlined by Appadurai above.

Going beyond this, musical instruments can carry many different types of meanings. Different instruments may be used to call on certain Gods in some cultures, or be associated with coming of age in other cultures. Some indicate that an
important presence has entered the room (think of a trumpet fanfare) while others promote group movement (think of an entire congregation rising as an organ starts playing in a church). Musical instrument meanings are not only symbolic in this way, and can go beyond this religious/magical/ritual realm. Instruments can be status symbols, especially when they are made from precious materials such as gold. Musical instruments also have the ability to bring certain acts to life, such as when a symphonic work simulates rain with the timpani pounding out the thunder and the piccolo making the pitter patter of the raindrops. It is important to recognize here that not only are musical instruments as objects important, their role in playing music is equally important and creates their entire essence.

It is now crucial to have an object biography example that deals with musical instruments. Hoskins, who did the study of the betel bag, also did some work on a drum in Sumbanese society and how it represents masculinity. The particular drum whose story she tells is owned and played by Markos Rangga Ende. Each time before he performs, he sings a song about his drum, as is custom in Kodi society. For each performer this song is different, reflecting the origins of their personal drum, “its sufferings and travails, and its eventual transformation into a healing cavity, a place where troubles could be placed and carried up to the upper-world to seek help”.50 The story of his drum goes like this: it was originally found as driftwood that was taken up by some children, brought home and set aside. The children heard noises coming from the area and so it was decided that this was a very special piece of wood. Later on, it was carried to an abandoned ancestral village where it was carved

---

into what it is today. It was given “a brace formed in the shape of the moon and a bow formed in the shape of the sun…[which] were inserted into the cavity to help it resonate”.\textsuperscript{51} Because this wood was associated with the sun and moon, and identified as special and likely holding spiritual powers, the origins of this drum are surrounded in cosmological and spiritual meaning and significance. In fact, within the song, Markos sings about how this drum is meant to act as an intermediary between the people and the spirits. The Kodi believe that a man’s voice alone could not make it to the upper world, but that it must be accompanied by the drum to reach the spirits.\textsuperscript{52}

Because of its hollow core and shapely curvature, the drum is seen as having symbolic female characteristics, and thus it is given the power to heal and communicate. When playing the drum, “the combination of womanly receptiveness and manly aggression, the female cavity and the loud male voice, was what created an efficacious performance”.\textsuperscript{53}

Hoskins’ biography of Markos’ drum looks at the object from many different angles. Its usage is analyzed, as well as its origins, the importance of materials used, how it interacts with people on an active basis, and the informing of social processes. This Kodi drum is the perfect example of how a musical instrument has the ability to envelop all of the characteristics of an object biography. Its multiple meanings are addressed and its agency is concentrated on in a well-rounded manner. This example clearly affirms that object biographies of musical instruments really do have the ability to ascertain unique information about the object, and put it together in such a way that it is both informative and interesting to read, sometimes in a story-like

\textsuperscript{51} Hoskins, J. (1998). Biographical Objects: P. 140
\textsuperscript{52} Ibid P. 155
\textsuperscript{53} Ibid P. 156
manner. It is with this in mind that I have embarked on analyzing Wesleyan University’s world instrument collection from an object biography stance in the chapters that follow. The intent of this outlook will allow the essence of the instruments to come out.

As the preceding discussion has illuminated, object biographies are quite useful when it comes to telling a story about an object. Different social aspects are taken into account within them, and possible multiple meanings are addressed so as not to leave any viewpoint out. Contexts and role in the economic world are also included so that a completely well-rounded picture of the object and its interactions with society are evident. The biography or life-history of an object is something that I feel could help to shine more light on the role that an object plays within society and help it become just as important in social analyses as the people themselves.
Chapter 2

Music Archaeology and Ethnomusicology:
Two Different Ways to Look at the Same Instrument

Introduction

Out of the various disciplines that are consulted for approaches to object studies, music archaeology and ethnomusicology are the two most prominent areas for the study of musical instruments as objects. This chapter will serve as a brief foray into these two disciplines as a way to grasp traditional understandings of musical instruments. It precedes the analysis of Wesleyan University’s musical instrument holdings, and helps to ground the object biography analysis as a rarely utilized tool for analyzing instruments.

Ethnomusicology and music archaeology are both related, yet different. Music archaeology is actually more of a subset of a discipline than a discipline all on its own. It belongs to the larger and more mainstream area of archaeology except that its focus is largely on musical instruments found during excavations. Music archaeology is a somewhat new discipline, although the subject it focuses on has been studied in various disciplines for over 100 years. Traditionally a comparative approach was used rather than a historical one. Music archaeology is often seen as solely studying excavated instruments, but because of the highly deteriorative nature of many instruments (some of which are made out of wood, chiefly historically) the main evidence we have of prehistoric or other especially old instruments is through depictions and other artifacts. Ethnomusicologists look at instruments in a different

---

manner. While both disciplines attempt to look at how an instrument was used in society and what its meaning may be/have been, ethnomusicologists are able to witness first hand how an instrument is played, made, and thought of within a society. They are basically anthropologists who study music in a society.\textsuperscript{55} Often their studies focus more on the music that is created, although instrument studies occur frequently as well.

\textbf{Music Archaeology}

The study of music within an archaeological context is somewhat speculative. Many musical instruments do not survive in the archaeological record because the materials used to make them tend to deteriorate at an accelerated rate. This includes most organic items, such as twine and wood. Some older instruments such as those made from bone or metal can be preserved. However aside from these, the main body of evidence that archaeologists (particularly those studying prehistory) have for musical instruments falls into the genre of iconography.

Traditionally for musicologists, the study of iconography was viewed as simply studying the archaeological evidence. However, now it has come to mean “the study of artworks with musical subject matter.”\textsuperscript{56} Iconography is concerned with drawings and carvings relating to both art history and musicology. For example, if an instrument is depicted in a carving, a musicologist could use their own musical knowledge to determine what it depicts and how it sounded. However, without knowing why a musical iconographic piece was created, we cannot connect it with


contemporary reality and thus cannot state our deduction about the musical event as fact. For example, look at the iconographic figure below.

Figure 2.1 - Relief from Borobudar, central Java, first half of the 9th century (photo courtesy of Seebass 1992)

This relief appears on the main wall of a large Buddhist temple. Symmetry and pairing can be found throughout the picture, tipping off the viewer that this is likely not representing an event accurately. “In the center, a Bodhisattva sits with his consort on a canopy, to the right there are priests, trees, horses and elephants, to the left we see a dancer, slightly oversized, and next to her two rows of musicians, the upper row females with cymbals, the lower males with various instruments.”57 According to Seebass, the music shown in this relief is likely the only type of music that may have been played in Indianized courts. While musical events of this nature may have occurred in the temple in which the carving was found, one cannot surmise that this actually happened as pictured since artistic liberties may have been taken, or it may have been commissioned under a certain set of guidelines. Taking this all into account, it is difficult to say what the circumstances were or how it may have been different from the picture.

While iconography is one of the ways that prehistoric archaeologists can understand ancient musical events, actual recovered instruments are more pertinent to this thesis. Only a few wide scale musically based archaeological studies have been attempted. Franz Kuttner’s *The Archaeology of Music in Ancient China* is one of these. While it is unclear to what extent he was involved in actual excavation, it is obvious that he was responsible for many of the studies of the recovered instruments. The majority of the items excavated are made of metal (often bronze), or non-deteriorative lithics, such as jade. 58  Kuttner divides his work into five sections or types of instruments: bronze bells, cauldrons, jade pi disks, lithophones, and drums. Some of the instruments have clear musical uses (like the bronze bells) while others are included based on testing and speculation (like the cauldrons which likely acted as an influence for other instruments rather than being an instrument in themselves). 59

The Jade Pi Disks are one of the most interesting items that he discusses. 60 According to the archaeological record, these were of all shapes and sizes, and either tuned to musical pitches or what Kuttner refers to as “cut for general acoustical qualifications only”. 61 Some of the disks are plain, while others have ornate decoration, but all have a circular perforation in the center of varying sizes. Interestingly, these disks are called Pi disks because of their relation (not strictly) to the mathematical number Pi; the body of the disk is twice the width of the hole. Kuttner admits that he is unable to do an acoustical study of the disks, and that their

59 Ibid.
60 I must recognize my Western/Orientalizing bias here since I find these to be fascinating largely because I had never heard of them before; although my interest may have been equally piqued by the sheer detail and amount of information Kuttner is able to provide on the subject.
musical significance is unknown. However, he does make a hypothesis based on some inscriptions on bells that these were hung and struck in some manner. Kuttner also determined the various methods that were used to tune the disks, such as chipping or grinding matter off the disk resulting in a higher pitch (see figure below for illustration).

Figure 2.2 - Schematic drawings of tuning procedures for jade Pi disks, figure courtesy of Kuttner 1989

Kuttner’s book about the music of ancient China is as well informed as it can be, given that many instruments did not survive the test of time. He extensively studies the ornamentation and decoration on everything, and does acoustical studies to determine possibilities for how certain items were used in a musical context. With the limited amount of information he is able to work with, he does his best to determine the various instruments’ usage in ancient Chinese culture. His work tends to avoid direct comparison with contemporary instruments, and though not explicitly stated, this may be done to try to understand the instruments as they would have been thought of then, rather than us viewing them in juxtaposition with modern instruments. In this way, he can be seen as avoiding the direct-historical approach and instead leaning more towards processual archaeology (which fits in based on
when the book was written). Kuttner’s views of the object attempt to extrapolate some meaning, but because his study is largely scientifically and acoustically based, his main goal seems to be determining how these instruments were made rather than why. Understanding how an object was made can help to determine why something was created, but Kuttner does not take this step.

Not all studies within music archaeology are performed this way. K. Krishna Murthy did an intensive study of the archaeology of Indian Music from the 2nd century BCE to the 7th century CE. Like several other items of this time period, many Indian instruments were made from wood and were quite perishable and are difficult to find today. However, because some writing and pictorial culture survived, there is evidence that certain instruments did exist. Many studies look to prehistoric iconography and historic writing to determine instrument usage and possible meaning, such as Buckley’s study on Jew’s Harps and their origins. Murthy acknowledges that the artists may have taken liberties in their depictions, but his personal opinion is that the depictions are true to life. He continues this analysis by discussing instrument origins, such as his belief that these were not musical instruments as we see them today but “tied into a complicated network of cosmological ideas and symbols of sun and moon, of male and female, of fire and water, …driving away of malevolent demons and in creating life, growth and bliss”.

---

62 The direct historical approach in archaeology was popular in the 1920s, and involves taking known historical information about a site, and extrapolating backwards in time. Conversely, processual archaeology avoided this and largely relied on the scientific method, something which Kuttner seems to be allied with.
Murthy also brings in the idea that some of these ancient instruments were the predecessors for modern instruments. The best example that he gives of this is the ancient membranophones (any instrument that has a membrane stretched over a hollow area to make a drum), which were made from either a hollowed out tree or earthen store pot: today they have morphed into their modern military drums and kettle drums, respectively. Murthy also hypothesizes that in the ‘high’ cultures, the musical instruments had less magical connotations and more of a ‘real instrumental music’. Murthy’s analysis of ancient documents that portray or mention instruments allowed him to compile a list of the assortment of instruments that were likely to have existed at the time (see table on next page). Furthermore, Murthy, in contrast to Kuttner, discusses the role of the instruments in and on the people of ancient India. He identifies the atmosphere of rising affluence and religion that allowed for a greater abundance of creative activities, such as musical instruments becoming popular in Indian culture. He also takes note of playing techniques, decorations, and resemblances of instruments to those in other cultures. His approach sees the musical object as playing a role within society and identifies the importance of acknowledging why an object was in use, rather than just plainly stating the fact that it was. An object biography would be able to build on these concepts and create an even greater awareness of how ancient Indian instruments interacted with ancient Indians and their culture. Murthy attempted to do what can be seen as an early post-processual analysis, but taking the various aspects of an object biography, such as

---

66 This particular comment shows that Murthy may be using a cultural evolutionary schema in his analyses, leading the reader to possibly see the ‘higher’ cultures as being more refined than those who give the instruments spiritual attribute. However, I do not feel that his analysis as such is warranted.

agency and economic worth (even though a true life history of a historic object is nearly impossible to create), would take his work to the next level and really help the reader understand the instrument even more.

Figure 2.3 - Early Indian instruments with modern classifications (courtesy of Murthy)

Music archaeologists look for the same types of attributes that general archaeologists look for. Although from the archaeological record it is impossible to
tell how a prehistoric instrument arose and how important it was for early people\textsuperscript{68}, general studies are still able to take place.\textsuperscript{69} Physical dimensions and materials used are always documented, and instances of the objects in prehistoric documentation are acknowledged. Usage within society is discussed as well as origins if known.

Different types of studies may occur, such as those mentioned above or experimental archaeological studies where they reconstruct instruments based on findings, such as Alebo’s reconstruction of Bronze Age drum skins and tendon strings.\textsuperscript{70} These studies are all important and serve as a great introduction. Let us now look at the different way in which ethnomusicologists look at objects that they study.

**Ethnomusicology**

Ethnomusicology, as mentioned as the beginning of this chapter, is the anthropology of music. It is based primarily on fieldwork and the study of instruments in use and musical events. The formal study of the music of other cultures (or the music of one’s own culture) is relatively recent.\textsuperscript{71} The discipline focuses largely on the music that is made, under what circumstances and why. A specific branch of ethnomusicology called organology (which categorizes instruments based on playing technique, such as winds or percussion) has largely become obsolete as ethnomusicologists have moved on to tackle more pressing issues.\textsuperscript{72} However, it

\textsuperscript{68} See Stockman 1984 for counter examples of instrument origin study.


\textsuperscript{72} Miller, C. (October 29, 2007). Personal Interview.
has not entirely disappeared, and so discussion of the musical object within ethnomusicology still occurs.

One of the more pertinent examples of showing the usefulness of a life history in doing the study of a musical instrument is Richard Graham’s study of the development of the berimbau. While not a life history as I have defined it, this study discusses the historical roots of the berimbau and then goes into its modern usage.\(^{73}\) The berimbau is a musical bow found in Brazil that likely developed from similar instruments found in Africa. Historical evidence for its existence comes from as far back as the 1800s, where a musical bow was written about that had a cord twisted of plant fiber attached to a weakly bending switch, a gourd resonator, and played with a stick. They are usually over four feet long, and played shirtless because clothing absorbs the sound. (See figure 2.4 for example). The musical bow was played for solo entertainment purposes in Africa, but when it came to Brazil its usage changed and it is now associated with capoeira wrestling games. This association with a

---

sporting event was largely done so that the fighting would seem like a harmless dance to the authorities.\textsuperscript{74}

The cultural changes that unified all of the African musical bows into the berimbau also led to this new social context for performance, capoeira. Graham even goes as far as to say that you can measure the creolization of the African cultures using the berimbau as a barometer. The berimbau in contemporary times is now modernized like so many other traditional instruments and can be electrified and used in various musical genres. Graham’s study of the berimbau is not stereotypically ethnomusicological because it is based in historical documents, but he also uses lots of oral history and first person experience to exhibit the berimbau in Brazil today.

Veronica Doubleday also does an excellent ethnomusicological study of a specific instrument, but she goes even more in-depth into its current usage and role in society. The work that she conducts has to do with the Middle-Eastern frame drum and its association with women. A frame drum is a portable drum, and is typically constructed from a piece of pliable wood shaped into a circle, with some sort of animal skin stretched over one side to be hit with the bare hands.\textsuperscript{75} In the area that she studies (largely Afghanistan) the musical instrument’s powers may range from “healing, physical strength, farming and hunting, safeguarding villages, or help with family problems, and [to] facilitate spirit possession and exorcism, or serve as vehicles for communication between the worlds of the seen and the unseen”.\textsuperscript{76} Drums are the most pregnant of all of these in terms of mystical and supernatural

\textsuperscript{74} Ibid P. 14  
\textsuperscript{76} Ibid P. 103
relationships. The Middle Eastern frame drum dates back to the 3rd millennium BC. It was typically associated with women in places like Mesopotamia and Egypt according to ancient carvings and artifacts, and these associations extended as far as ancient Greece and Rome. In fact, even the Hebrew bible says that women played the frame drum to accompany their singing and dancing!\textsuperscript{77} This drum’s ancient roots have women playing it in connection with dancing in many contexts, including rituals, victory and battle songs, entertainments, and trance cults. Doubleday spends a good amount of her article discussing the prehistoric and historic usage of the frame drum in the Middle East. This extensive background information helped to ground her argument about the role of the frame drum today.

Today, the Middle Eastern frame drum is solely played by women, and only for folk or popular music. It tends to be played in women-only spaces such as the home, and the women feel that it is bad to play when the men are home since it disturbs them (the only exception to this is when women play the frame drum at weddings). The drums now come in varying sizes, sometimes with iron rings attached to create a jingle and enhance the sound.\textsuperscript{78} The skins are sometimes painted, and sometimes are left plain. Generally, they are sold in a door to door fashion.

Going beyond the organological and usage patterns of the frame drum, Afghani society views the frame drum in a very particular way. Specifically, the women tend to see the drum as a good thing while the men have a more negative view because it is played by women, and it has no place in ‘prestigious’ genres like classical and radio

\textsuperscript{77} Doubleday, V. (1999). "The Frame Drum in the Middle East"
\textsuperscript{78} Ibid
music.\textsuperscript{79} There are other reasons men may view the frame drum negatively, since it is sometimes used as an erotic item in brothels and cabarets, and is associated with the Rom (Gypsies). In fact, men have occasionally banned music making in certain regions, but this was done at times of war when only the women were home, so the ban really only affected the female pastime of frame drum playing. The power of the Middle Eastern man greatly affects the musical sphere.\textsuperscript{80}

Doubleday looks at the instrument in a much different way than Kuttner, Murthy and (to an extent) Graham could. Doubleday’s analysis looks far more in-depth into how Afghani society views the instrument that she is dealing with. Kuttner (and Murthy) are not able to personally witness how a society uses and discusses a certain instrument because they both were dealing with prehistory. Also, the focus of Graham’s study was to showcase the development of the berimbau from its African roots to its current place in Brazil. Doubleday was able to do what all three of the above studies accomplished and more. She was able to take a thorough account of the physical attributes of the instruments and track their social trajectory throughout the years while simultaneously incorporating social analysis. Her look into the frame drum and its role in Afghani society helped to open up a discussion on women’s roles in modern Afghanistan. The frame drum can be seen as a direct example of men controlling women in this socially conservative country, and as promoting gendered forms of social interaction. It can be difficult as a liberal Westerner not to pass judgment in this case, but it is important to acknowledge their differing perspectives, since the women continue to play even though the drum is looked down on. The

\textsuperscript{79} Doubleday, V. (1999). "The Frame Drum in the Middle East"
\textsuperscript{80} Ibid
issues pertaining to the frame drum also show how musical instruments (like many things) can have multiple meanings.

**Conclusion**

How can object biographies be applied and compared to the way these two disciplines carry out their studies? First of all, an object biography could be quite effective for many of the above examples, especially Doubleday’s. While both she and Graham examine the general history of the instruments they study, neither of them looks at a particular specimen of that instrument and analyzes its life history. If they had, their work might be more engaging. For example, if Doubleday had studied a particular frame drum as a case study, she might have been able to pull out how this particular drum interacted with a particular household, and determine how the woman purchased the drum if her husband disapproves of it, and what it means to her. These insightful and personal aspects of studying objects are left out of the above examples.

While certain aspects of object biographies are already a part of both music archaeology and ethnomusicology, neither of them (typically) takes that extra step towards studying a specific and personalized instrument. The object biography provides a different viewpoint that makes working between these two disciplines easier, as well as adding a new component that can help to further the object study. Music archaeology and ethnomusicology have both flourished independently of each other, and have different views of how to represent a musical object academically. Neither of these disciplines or their traditional analytical techniques are wrong, but the object biography goes further to provide a greater understanding of the social-material relations.
Chapter 3

An Object Biography of Wesleyan University’s two gamelans

Introduction

While many of Wesleyan University’s instruments have different backgrounds, one set has a more colorful and celebrated history, despite not being housed in MS101 with the rest of the collection. This is the Javanese gamelan, an orchestra primarily made up of bronze percussion instruments.

The use of the object biography technique here includes personal experiences to help one understand the trajectory of Wesleyan’s gamelan as well as many visual aids (photographs, old programs, etc.). From these pieces of data, inferences are made as to how people have felt about Wesleyan’s gamelan through time and its dialogue with people. The life history of Wesleyan’s Ansberry gamelan will be told from its humble beginnings as a court instrument, to its eventual placement at Wesleyan. Wesleyan’s World’s Fair gamelan has had an equal amount of travel, from the World’s Fair to its current status as a lending instrument. Both sets of instruments have had important markers in their lives and by highlighting these one may begin to notice themselves thinking about these instruments differently. How have the various changes in the locations and statuses of the gamelans changed their meanings and help them inform the social process? By telling the story of the gamelan, illumination can be made of the surrounding social processes, thus accomplishing much more than a simple history.
Background

Before delving into the object biography of Wesleyan’s gamelan, some background on the orchestra is required. The gamelan originates from Java, an Indonesian island between the islands of Sumatra and Bali. Some of Java’s most famous traditional music is that of the gamelan. The word gamelan comes from the word “gamel” meaning to strike or to handle, and is a generic term used to indicate an ensemble of percussion instruments. There are two main varieties of gamelan: Balinese and Javanese (both of which are made of similar types of instruments). There are also different regionalized playing styles, including Central Javanese, which is the style taught at Wesleyan.

Gamelans vary in size, musical style, function and instrumentation, but “generally include tuned single bronze gongs, gong-chimes, single and multi-octave metallophones, drums, flutes, bowed and plucked chordophones, a xylophone, small cymbals and singers.” The instruments can be broken down into four general organological groups: knobbled gong instruments, metallophones, drums, and other melodic instruments.

One of the most important groups is the knobbled gong group. The gong ageng is the largest and is what Americans would traditionally call a gong, a large hanging metal circular disc that is hit with a beater. The kempul is a set of smaller hanging gongs, which are also played with a padded beater. The kenong is considered a gong, but it is a kettle and lies inside a wooden frame with the knob facing upwards. The kethuk and kempyang are even smaller versions of the kenong.

81 Sumarsam (1988). Introduction to Javanese Gamelan, Wesleyan University. P. 1
The bonang barung and bonang panerus (the latter is smaller) are also kettle gongs, but play a more melodic role than the aforementioned gongs; these sit in two rows in a wooden frame (figures 3.2-3.6).

The metallophone group can be split into two clusters: sarons and genders. The three types of saron in the ensemble (saron demung, saron barung, and saron peking) represent three different octaves, and are all single octave metallophones.\(^{83}\) Likewise, the three types of gender (gender slenthem, gender barung, and gender panerus) are each separated by an octave. Genders are metallophones with thin metal keys suspended by strings over bamboo resonators (figures 3.7-3.11).

The drum group consists of the three kendhangs and the bedhug. The tempo for the orchestra is determined by the three types of kendhang (from large to small: kendhang gendhing, kendhang ciblon, and kendhang ketipung). These are struck with the hand. The bedhug is a large hanging drum that is hit with a stick (figures 3.12 and 3.13).

The “other melodic instruments” group is by far the most varied, and contains the instruments that often play solo or stand-out accompaniment parts. The gambang is similar to a xylophone, the only one in the ensemble that has wooden keys, and is often played with mallets in each hand doing octaves. The celempung is a zither that sits at a 30 degree angle, and whose strings are plucked with the thumbnails. The suling is an end-blown bamboo flute, and the rebab, which is a two string fiddle, is the only bowed instrument in the ensemble (figures 3.14-3.17).\(^{84}\)

\(^{83}\) An octave is a range of 8 notes, such as from C to C. The demung is the lowest, the barung in the middle, and the peking is the highest.

Figure 3.1 – Wesleyan University’s Ansberry gamelan on its unique three-step stage in the World Music Hall. (note: all pictures in next seven pages were taken by the author, and are of the Wesleyan University gamelan set that is currently on display; the Ansberry gamelan).

Figure 3.2 – The gong ageng
Figure 3.3 – the Kempul

Figure 3.4 – The kenong (all on the outside) with the kethuk and kempyang (on the inside)

Figure 3.5 – Bonang barung (foreground) and bonang panerus (background)
Figure 3.6 – Another shot of the bonang, with the barung in foreground on far right, and the two scale sets of the panerus further in the background

Figure 3.7 – The saron demung

Figure 3.8 – The saron barung
Figure 3.9 – The saron peking (both slendro and pelog)

Figure 3.10 – The gender slenthem

Figure 3.11 – The gender barung in the foreground, and gender panerus in the far background
Figure 3.12 – The gendhing

Figure 3.13 – The bedhug
Figure 3.14 – The gambang

Figure 3.15 – Two celempung sitting side by side
Figure 3.16 – Various suling, both bamboo and plastic sitting in wooden stands

Figure 3.17 – Two rebab standing side by side, with their bows hanging off their stands
Most of the metal used in the gamelan is bronze because (as my interviewees have indicated) of the sweet, rich sound quality that it produces. The forging of gamelan instruments takes a long period of time. Because of this and the importance of the gamelan to Javanese culture, the metalworker is held in high regard and is seen as having a dangerous job because he calls upon the spirits that will be imbued into the instruments. During construction, metalworkers often make “ritual preparation[s] and may actually assume mythical identities during the forging process…Only after appropriate meditation, prayer, fasting, and preparation of offerings does a smith undertake to make a large gong” since the large gong is given a very important role in the ensemble.85

The gamelan tuning system is quite unique. There are two main scales, the five-tone sléndro and seven-tone pelog. Therefore, a complete set of gamelan instruments includes two of each instrument; one in each tuning system. Wesleyan has managed to acquire a full set with both scales for all instruments. Musical notation often takes the form of numbering each note in the scale. The pelog scale has more regular intervals and is thus numbered 1 2 3 4 5 6 7. Because some of its intervals are wide, the slendro scale is numbered 1 2 3 5 6. This type of notation is referred to as cipher notation, and different symbols exist for the non-pitched drums.

As mentioned above, the instruments are grouped based on their function and the material from which they are made. When viewed in terms of the function in the ensemble overall, as outlined by Sumarsam (1988) the three main divisions are melody, time, and structural instruments. The melody category accounts for the vast majority of instruments, including all of the metallophones and other melodic

instruments. The time category is solely consists of the kendhang drum. Often gamelan pieces have varying tempos, and sections can repeat an indeterminate number of times. The kendhang is responsible for guiding all of these actions by playing different patterns. The last type of instrument function is structure. This includes the gong, kenong, kempul, and kethuk/kempyang. These instruments are responsible for outlining or delineating the gongan, which is usually the space between two gong strokes. While the gong separates the main sections of the piece, the kenong separates the gongan in half or quarters. Continuing with this idea, the kempul and kethuk/kempyang subdivide the gongan even further. This structure group really is the essence of the gamelan, as many of my interviewees indicated.

The gamelan in society

Gamelan pieces vary in length and number of gongans, although back in the time when the courts were thriving in Java, the songs were much longer than they typically are today. Much Javanese music was originally developed in the courts, playing a central role in social practices. This performance context allowed for gamelan to grow into an intimate music. Performances occur outside of the courts as well, and often take the form of klenèngan (a gamelan performance for its own sake). Non-court performances can be held for many reasons, the most common of which are weddings, circumcisions or a birth. Traditionally, the gamelan is associated with Javanese dance, drama, and wayang (shadow puppet) performances.

---

87 Ibid: PP. 27-30
These performances still occur today, but modernity has affected them, and now new gamelan contexts have been created, such as radio and TV broadcasts. Even though a variety of contexts exist for gamelan, the Western idea of a music concert where the audience is separated from the performer is alien to the Javanese. It is meant to be actively enjoyed with dancing and partying, not passively in a concert hall.⁹⁰

The gamelan has a rich history and importance within Javanese society. Spiritual and ritual associations are common, such as in the building process, and gamelan schools have been created to foster these traditions. It’s participation in many village and court events today show how the gamelan has become a national symbol. However, what happens to a gamelan once it leaves Java? Does the change in context alter it? Does its meaning change, and if so, how and to what? How does the gamelan, specifically Wesleyan’s gamelan, go beyond simple functioning and inform social processes? These and many other questions will be addressed in the following section on Wesleyan University’s gamelan.

**Wesleyan’s gamelan**

If gamelans have a rich history within Java, then surely this history can become even richer if it were to continue outside of its borders. When I interviewed people about the history/biography of the instrument collection as a whole, it was always suggested that I “should get the story on the gamelan”⁹¹ since it seemed to be the most well known instrument history in the music department.

In the fall semester of 2007, I was enrolled in a beginner gamelan course and was excited to learn this foreign instrument. All enrolled students showed a real

---

interest in learning the Javanese gamelan, as well as some sort of musical skills.

“Because every semester there are so many students who want to take the gamelan, and sometimes even like eighty students want to take the beginning gamelan and every semester more than thirty students…I feel that… the gamelan is kind of popular here.”92 That popularity reached a point where the two gamelan professors at Wesleyan, Professors Sumarsam and Harjito had to start auditioning students for entrance into the class.

Wesleyan University first purchased a gamelan at the New York World’s Fair in 1964. Unfortunately, over the years the specific circumstances and transaction history have been lost. However, Prof. Harjito says that:

It’s kind of a funny story, after the World’s Fair finished and there was a university… [that] was interested to buy this gamelan, so the Indonesian government agreed to sell this to the university that asked. Before it happened [the other university buying the gamelan] two professors from Wesleyan, David McAllester and Dick Winslow went to New York to purchase this gamelan carrying the cash. The government gave this gamelan to whoever could pay for it, and it was likely built for the World’s Fair. This is the story from David McAllester. So we got this gamelan instrument in 1964, but this gamelan is built in 1960.93

At the time, a gamelan was definitely a desired instrument for the university, and we had to act competitively to outbid another university. In this instance, it may be temporarily beneficial to refer to the gamelan as a commodity. According to Appadurai, the social life of things become clear as one looks at the different instances of trade and exchange that that object was involved in. As an object moves through different contexts, such as from construction to marketplace to purchase to

---

93 Ibid
resale, etc. its meaning changes accordingly.\textsuperscript{94} This is true in the case of our World’s Fair gamelan, which may have been sold to spread recognition of Javanese music and culture. Looking through the eyes of the now classic economic viewpoint of Marx, a commodity should be alienable and should be able to be “transacted without leaving any lasting relationship between giver and receiver.”\textsuperscript{95} In this fairly simplistic way, any item that is sold without the threat of leftover loans or disputes is a commodity. Via this process, the World’s Fair gamelan is a commodity. However, those who have interacted with the instrument are less likely to refer to it in such an impersonal manner. When questioned about the economic value of the gamelan, interviewees responded with terms like “priceless,” and were more willing to identify what a new gamelan in Java would be priced at rather than what our gamelan is worth. “I guess if we want to know the price of gamelan, we have to consult with gamelan maker in Java who knows the recent prices of gamelan set, old or new. The recent price of gamelan like ours is around $30,000.”\textsuperscript{96} Part of this hesitancy may have to do with the fact that “there is a rule now that you cannot take old instruments out of the country.”\textsuperscript{97} But it may also have to do with what the instrument actually means to them. Giving something a price can be psychologically difficult if you have found an attachment, because it just feels wrong. Similar instances have arisen in pricing heirlooms; they are simply without price.

In this discussion of commodity, it now becomes imperative to introduce the fact that Wesleyan owns not one, but two gamelans. In 1983 a woman named Mrs.

\textsuperscript{96} Sumarsam (December 13, 2007). Personal Interview.
\textsuperscript{97} Harjito, I. (October 23, 2007). Personal Interview.
Ansberry who did a lot of business in Indonesia had purchased a gamelan for her personal collection of objects from around the world. However, she did not have anywhere to store it. Because of this, she looked for a university with a good world music program to donate it to. “So she called Wesleyan [to see] if they were interested to have the gamelan, and it’s free!”98 This was an offer that Wesleyan’s growing World Music program could not refuse. The gamelan was shipped to the school and now resides in the World Music Hall where it is used for classes.

Let us return briefly to the idea of the gamelan as a commodity. Occasionally the term priceless was used with reference to the World’s Fair gamelan, but often this was specifically directed towards the Ansberry gamelan. Why is this? One answer, although perhaps too simple, is that Wesleyan purchased the World’s Fair gamelan, while the Ansberry gamelan was given as a gift. This somewhat exemplifies the distinction between commodities and gifts. It is important, however to take note of Appadurai’s discussion of commodity. He feels that “the commodity situation in the social life of any ‘thing’ be defined as the situation in which its exchangeability (past, present, or future) for some other thing is its socially relevant feature.”99 He does not completely discard the idea of a gift, as Mauss has done much useful work in this area, but he does prefer to refer to an item as being in one of four possible commodity stages. They are as follows: commodity by destination (one that is intended for exchange), commodity by metamorphosis (one intended for a use other than exchange, but ends up there regardless), commodity by diversion (an item put in a commodity state, though protected from it), and ex-commodities (things retrieved

98 Harjito, I. (October 23, 2007). Personal Interview
from commodity state and put in another state). Using these ideas, the World’s Fair gamelan was a commodity by diversion because it was intended to solely spread knowledge of Javanese culture, but ended up in a commodity state regardless. It went straight from this state to being an ex-commodity, which it will stay in Wesleyan’s hands. The Ansberry gamelan began as more of a commodity by metamorphosis, based on how Mrs. Ansberry acquired the instrument (see below). To understand this, a bit more information on the Ansberry gamelan is required.

The Ansberry gamelan was originally built in 1926, although Wesleyan did not acquire it until 1983. It is difficult to determine exactly what kind of life that gamelan had in Indonesia since Mrs. Ansberry was unavailable to speak with me, but Prof. Harjito had some enlightenment on the matter.

It was from the city of Jakarta, so Mrs. Ansberry was there...for I don’t know how long, twenty years, and she saw this gamelan in front of the palace. She talked to the owner [and asked if]... she could buy this gamelan instrument, and they let her buy it. I think it’s one of the best gamelan instruments here in the US and one of the oldest. [In Jakarta they used it for] normal everyday rehearsing and accompanying the dance rehearsals and performances.

Mrs. Ansberry, therefore, purchased a gamelan that was not intended to be sold, but was meant to retain its courtly associations. Prof. Harjito did what he could in terms of enumerating the life of the Ansberry gamelan in Indonesia, but Chris Miller (a Wesleyan PhD candidate) was quick to point out that “I know there are gamelans that are owned by the courts in Java that don’t get played. There are ones that do, but then they put other ones away in storage, so I don’t know how much they

---

100 Appadurai, A. (1986). Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value
look after them." The Ansberry gamelan was most likely a commodity by metamorphosis and, like the World’s Fair gamelan, has ended up an ex-commodity at Wesleyan University.

Let’s once again question why the World’s Fair gamelan is more likely to have a monetary value than the Ansberry one, which is universally considered priceless. Above, I noted that we purchased the World’s Fair one, while the Ansberry one was a gift, thus indicating that it literally has no price for us. Other relevant issues need to be raised about the two gamelans, such as their age difference and reason for construction. The World’s Fair gamelan was built in 1960, a mere four years before the World’s Fair in New York City, and therefore it is likely that it was built for this purpose and was not played in Java. However, the Ansberry gamelan was built in 1926 and was used (on and off) in a palace in Java for more than fifty years before coming to Wesleyan. The rich history and age of the Ansberry gamelan suggests the common opinion that items of rich cultural heritage are priceless, while those that are intended for mass sale are less so. It is also important to note here that the Ansberry gamelan is generally deemed as being of a higher quality than the World’s Fair gamelan in terms of craftsmanship and quality of materials used. This commodified way of viewing gamelans is a bit different than viewing it simply as a musical instrument. While many instruments do pass through various commodification stages, they also retain their musical qualities. Thinking of the gamelan as commodity is different than seeing it as a musical instrument; one is a

---

utilitarian, economic line of thinking while the other is more creatively based. This is yet another instance of a musical instrument with multiple meanings.

Since these two instruments have arrived at Wesleyan, they have led very different lives. Until 1983 when the Ansberry gamelan arrived, the World’s Fair gamelan was the only one on campus. However, it was not until 1973 when the World Music Hall was built in the brand new Center for the Arts that the gamelan had a proper home. Before that time, the majority of the gamelan concerts occurred in Moconaughy Dining Hall, such as the Selamatan performance in 1964 (see figures 3.18-3.19 for the program and a picture from a performance in the dining hall). From 1964 until about 1971, Robert Brown was the gamelan professor. He was succeeded by Sumarsam, who was later joined full time by Harjito in 1984. While these were the main professors, there were many visiting artists, especially in the earlier years, including “dancers (Theresia Suharti, Soedarsono, and Ben Suharto), a musician (Prawoto Saputro), lecturers (Surya Brata and Dr. R.M. Soedarsono), and a *dhalang* (puppeteer) (Ki Oemartopo).”

When Sumarsam arrived, Brown had already left and taken a number of the gamelan students with him to the California Institute of the Arts, and so he essentially had to start from scratch. During his first year, there was only one gamelan class, and it only had fourteen students enrolled in it. Performances were given at the end of each semester, as they are now, but at the time the practice of a *slametan* (ritual meal) was still practiced at Wesleyan. This often involved the gamelan teacher’s wife preparing food for the whole class to eat before the

---

Figure 3.18 – First two program pages from the gamelan Selamatan inaugural performance. Courtesy of the Wesleyan University Archive.

Figure 3.19 – Photograph of a 1960s gamelan performance in the Wesleyan dining hall under the supervision of Robert Brown. Courtesy of the Wesleyan University Archive.
performance. Over the years, this practice has morphed from home cooking, to a potluck, and then to simply ordering Chinese food.\textsuperscript{104}

In 1973, one of the biggest, most important changes for the gamelan took place: the completion of the World Music Hall. The gamelan performances prior to this took place in the campus dining hall (it is unclear how the logistics for this were managed), but finally, there was a proper place for concerts to happen! The gamelan was given its own permanent building where all of its future performances would take place. It was placed on a three-tiered stage to allow for better display of all the instruments, although this setup “causes a bit of a problem in hearing each other play”. This stage was modeled off of the same style of stage that the World’s Fair gamelan was displayed on in New York that fateful day of purchase.\textsuperscript{105} From that point on, there was no significant change in the gamelan until the Ansberry gamelan came along.\textsuperscript{106}

Before the arrival of the Ansberry gamelan, the meaning of the gamelan at Wesleyan was seemingly straightforward. Students enjoyed the course, and it has slowly raised in popularity, from one course per semester to two, one for beginners, the other for advanced. The gamelan program was initiated by one professor, and slowly it blossomed into having space for two. The location of the gamelan went from the inconvenient Moconaughy Dining Hall to the much more conducive World Music Hall. One way to view the meaning of the instrument is that things are “invested with meaning through the social interactions that they are caught up in.

\textsuperscript{104} From what I can tell, this practice has fallen by the wayside.\\textsuperscript{105} Sumarsam (2004). Opportunity and Interaction: P. 83\\textsuperscript{106} This does not include the teacher changes that occurred. Harjito was at Wesleyan from 1974-76, and did not return until 1984. Between Harjito’s stints at Wesleyan, Sumarsam’s gamelan teacher from Indonesia, R.M. Sukanto Sastrodarsono, was the second gamelan professor.
These meanings change and are renegotiated through the life of the object.”107 The World’s Fair gamelan had a fairly steady meaning until the 1980s, with the physical change of space creating the biggest shift. The gamelan’s original home in the dining hall was a much different type of social space; one which was only available to it during non-meal times and in a shared space with student dining. The move of the gamelan into the Center for the Arts showed the dedication of the administration to the program, and also the desire of the student body for the program to expand. It also created a less humanized space (by putting the performers on display); but was much more amenable to performance. These changes over time are seen in a positive light by many of those involved. However, the program was about to get better, and change a lot more.

The renegotiating of meaning referred to in the Gosden quote on the previous page really started to take effect after Ansberry donated her gamelan. Of course, the meaning of any object is by no means perfectly stable, but with no major events, the World’s Fair gamelan came as close as it could. Then in 1983 Wesleyan came to own two gamelans. The Ansberry gamelan took the World’s Fair gamelan’s place on the risers in the World Music Hall, and the World’s Fair one was moved to the lower level of the building onto shelving. The setup has remained the same way since. The World’s Fair gamelan has now morphed into a sort of backup/loaner orchestra. It is currently lent out to two different colleges: the slendro half is at Trinity College with a course being taught by Wesleyan PhD candidate Chris Miller, while the pelog half is at Smith College with Sumarsam teaching courses. Typically, the slendro half of

the World’s Fair set is stored on campus, and is used for off site performances. Because of the World’s Fair gamelan’s younger age and lower value, this is the only set that moves; the Ansberry set always remains in the World Music Hall and is used for all classes. The need for a traveling gamelan set this semester was low, so Miller was permitted to teach a one semester gamelan course at Trinity. However, “the pelog gamelan is at Smith College, so they have had that gamelan for a long time already, maybe ten years, and because we don’t use the pelog gamelan very often here, we just let them borrow [it].”¹⁰⁸ Before Smith had possession of the pelog set, it was lent to the Boston Village Gamelan. The meaning of the World’s Fair gamelan has clearly morphed over the years. While once counted on to be the sole provider of gamelan music at Wesleyan, its use patterns have changed drastically. Half of it is used rarely (with this semester being an exception), while the other half has been off campus for over ten years. Clearly the university wants to retain ownership rights to the World’s Fair gamelan, but they are not concerned when lending it out to others who want it, even for extended periods of time.

The better quality, priceless Ansberry gamelan thus seems to have permanently taken the place of the World’s Fair gamelan. While the purchase story of the World’s Fair gamelan was often described to me as one of the better anecdotes about our gamelans, my interviews have led to more interesting facts about the Ansberry gamelan.¹⁰⁹ One of the standout features of the Ansberry gamelan is its spiritual associations. Some Javanese believe that certain gamelan sets, if not all,

¹⁰⁹ This may be due to the fact that the ‘heyday’ of the World’s Fair gamelan was over 30 years ago, and for the most part those that I interviewed did not have much interaction with it. Regardless, the statement stands.
have spirits associated with them which reside in certain instruments in the gamelan. The gong is often one of these instruments, and in Java it is “thus treated as a highly respected person, never struck violently, given offerings of incense and flowers and never spoken of discourteously.”¹¹⁰ These spiritual associations are the case with our gamelan. As Harjito tells it:

The story is that we got this instrument, and one of the students that knew me sent me a letter if I can find someone in Solo that can communicate with the spirit of something, and my wife has a friend who knows how to do that. So we went and she asked us to be quiet and meditate and I think the spirit flew through this hall [the World Music Hall], and it came in and she saw them. There are four spirits, one on the big [dark] gong, the second one is on the medium gong close to the dark gong, the third one is on the small hanging Kempul, the one in the middle facing the audience, and one is on the black rebab. We have that rebab right now, it is not up there; it is in a box down here [in the basement].¹¹¹

This was a story that Harjito made sure to tell our beginning gamelan class so that we knew how he felt about the instrument. That same day, he also told us about how to properly respect the gamelan, such as not stepping over the keys of any instrument, but rather over the edges of the wooden cases if need be. Typically, Western musicians would not think twice about stepping over an instrument, as long as they didn’t step on it; but the gamelan’s spirit is believed to be retained in the bronze. As Chris Miller describes it, “if there is a spirit it resides in bronze, and I’ve even seen in really cramped situations with bonang...[that] players lift up two pots and step over the case and put the pots back down. That also to me is sort of suggesting the bronze is more significant than the wood.”¹¹² Often in American gamelans, these respectful practices may be mentioned to the students, but if you

So while the spiritual aspects of the gamelan may be mentioned, forcing respect of them often is not. These aspects are inconspicuously addressed when one witnesses the stepping around instruments. Though you may not know exactly why it is done, most respect it, and wait for others to pass through rather than climbing over. There is a certain kind of spiritual aura to the whole thing, which the actual music of the gamelan lends to very well.

Wesleyan’s gamelans are used for things other than lending out and classes. For example, there are a number of graduate students every year who specialize in the gamelan and often are TAs for the beginner course. This is actually the role that Chris Miller plays. In 2001 he completed his Master’s thesis with an experimental composition performance of the gamelan where he “had the instruments spread throughout the World Music Hall and it was kind of a performance installation …, the distribution of instruments broke down the separation between audience and the performer space.” Miller, C. (October 29, 2007). Personal Interview.

Other similar types of thesis performances have occurred over the years. However, the Wesleyan gamelan is not only played by degree-seeking students, but by children as well. Various efforts have been made, mostly by graduate students, to introduce gamelan music to local elementary school students. One morning before class I witnessed an elementary school field trip playing and listening to very simple gamelan phrases. Many of them loved playing the instruments, especially the large gong. For them, the gamelan was an exotic orchestra that they all seemed to want to try at least once. It made music far different from

\[\text{\textsuperscript{113}}\] Becker, J. (1983). "One Perspective on Gamelan in America": P. 85
\[\text{\textsuperscript{114}}\] Miller, C. (October 29, 2007). Personal Interview.
what they would normally hear on the radio, and they were actually allowed to touch
and play! It is safe to assume that many of these children had never heard the word
gamelan before, yet after this field trip, they are likely to never forget it. In this way,
the Wesleyan gamelan is able to reach out to younger generations and introduce them
to all the different possibilities and music that the world has to offer. The other way
that children use the Wesleyan gamelan is through the youth gamelan class.

“Saturday morning there is a youth gamelan that has been going on for maybe four or
five years. [It is] every Saturday morning from 10:00 to 11:00. [The children are]
very good, and they always perform with us and play by memory.”115 At the end of
each semester, the youth gamelan performs with the beginner gamelan class. This
type of introduction to the gamelan not only does what the gamelan field trips do, but
also introduces them a bit to college life and students and helps them to learn how to
perfect certain crafts. I attended a performance, and the behavior that they exhibited
and their interaction with the gamelan definitely showed true enjoyment and an
understanding of what the gamelan is and means. They were respectful to the
instruments, played in the conventionally accepted manner, and were interested in the
repertoire, which was exhibited by their memorization and mastery of the pieces.

Middletown youth are not the only outside group that use the gamelan. Once
a month Harjito holds a klenèngan, which is a gamelan jam session. They are mostly
attended by gamelan players in the area, although sometimes those from further away
come.116 These entail an “all night open rehearsal … [with] people from New York,
Boston, Rhode island, and sometimes from Michigan and New Hampshire. A lot of

people come here and get together and play music all night...We usually play from
four pm to three in the morning, so it’s a long time.”\textsuperscript{117} Graduate students typically
participate in these events, and community members and undergraduate students are
welcome to come as well. The rehearsing is done not to perfect a piece or perfect
ones skill, but to enjoy yourself and the music the gamelan makes, and to make
friends with these same interests.

Until now, an important aspect of the Wesleyan gamelans has been
overlooked: their physical state and the caring for them. Surprisingly, little
restorative or replacement work has occurred, considering their ages, especially that
of the eighty year old Ansberry gamelan. Nearly all work that is done to the
gamelans is part of the big budget that the music department is given every four-six
years. Typically this budget is used to replace some of the worn items, usually
mallets or strings. Other things are done though, and about two years ago “we invited
the gamelan maker from Java to tune all of our gamelan instruments.”\textsuperscript{118} Typically,
retuning of gamelans is only done when musicians begin to think that it is out of tune.
Though this practice has begun to change in recent times, usually each gamelan set
that is built is unique in its tuning.\textsuperscript{119} This means that pelog instruments from
different sets will not necessarily be in tune with each other. Also, because the
Ansberry gamelan is of better quality and has settled more than the World’s Fair one,
it needs to be tuned less even though it is much older. Other types of maintenance
occur as well, including “replacing the skin of the drum, repainting the wooden

\textsuperscript{117} Harjito, I. (October 23, 2007). Personal Interview.
\textsuperscript{118} Ibid
frames, and replacing broken instruments.”

In general, unless something will affect the sound of an instrument, a repair is likely to not occur. One such example is the casing, some of which are severely cracked in the Ansberry gamelan, though it is not detrimental to the function. Sometimes, gamelan casings can be disrespected which Miller identifies in a story he witnessed when he was in Java:

One time they were playing a somewhat less common piece, and one of the musicians was asking for a pen because he wanted to write down the notation or something, so [his friend] Kitsy gave him a pen, and Kitsy saw him write on the case of the instrument. She was gesturing him to stop, and somebody else transmitted the message amplifying what he thought was Kitsy’s primary concern and he said ‘stop stop Kitsy doesn’t want you to wreck her pen!’

So, for the most part, the appearance of the gamelan is not of great importance, but the music it makes is. This also goes back to the idea that the bronze is the most important part of the gamelan, and is both ritualized and sacred.

When discussing preservation efforts it is important to take note of replacements that have been made along the way. Aside from accoutrement items like mallets and strings, not that many replacements have been made. The drums are a bit newer than the Ansberry set and did not come with it. A little while back, someone borrowed one of the kenongs for a project, and accidentally dropped it on the ground and broke it. Additionally, the suling (bamboo flutes) periodically need to be replaced because the bamboo has the tendency to crack in the dry and cold New England weather. These are just a few examples, as some keys and other less notable replacements have been made at times over the years. Knowing all of this, does the

---

120 Sumarsam (December 13, 2007). Personal Interview.
121 Miller, C. (October 29, 2007). Personal Interview.
gamelan lose some of its essence? If an item is not what it originally was, and has been supplemented over the years, is it still the same? Generally, yes. If Mrs. Ansberry were able to come inspect the gamelan as it is today compared to what it was when she donated it, she would likely notice few differences, aside from the drums and suling. Instead, she might feel that nothing has changed, while in reality simple preservation and replacement efforts have been made to keep it in its best functioning order. By caring for and keeping the gamelan from looking its age, one is lengthening its life and allowing more use to come of it.

The gamelan players are also an important component of this analysis. In the beginning semester courses, they are all first time players who for the most part just want to learn something new and have a good time doing it. However, for those with a bit more experience it is somewhat different. For Harjito, there are three main types of playing situations. The first stems from his experience in Java,

When I play gamelan, I think most of the musicians, and depending on the atmosphere, the situation, who [you] play with, and it can effect your feeling. If you play with your old group [like the one I] used to have in Indonesia, you can feel and play very nicely.122

This was the way that he grew up playing the gamelan. For him, playing is also different if you do it with a nervous beginner student because he feels he needs to follow their feelings rather than his own. And, he also feels that “it’s different if I play by myself just for fun.”123 So, the people you are playing with have a large effect on how you feel when playing the gamelan. Miller says that he really enjoys playing Wesleyan’s gamelan because it is one of the better quality ones he has played on, even though he spent time studying in Java. However, he also acknowledges that

123 Ibid
his focus is “30% to the instruments, 70% to the people or quality of players that I’m playing with; somewhere in there would also be the hall, I mean it’s really spectacular that we have the facility of the World Music Hall.”\textsuperscript{124} This statement really shows that Miller sees his fellow performers as trumping his relationship to the actual gamelan, which was difficult for him to explain. The important of these statements is to view gamelan performance as being an all-encompassing event; your interactions with other players and location playing just as large a role as the instrument itself. The gamelan is a very social ensemble, since you may often find yourself looking around to see what others are doing, how well they are doing, etc. This aspect of it can be seen as one of the main reasons that gamelan players love it so much.

The people who have interacted with the Wesleyan gamelans are what have made the gamelans what they are today. Without all of the performances, lending out, rehearsals, etc., these objects would have led very different lives. In this instance, society has made the gamelans what they are and will continue to play a large role in their future, whatever that may hold.

**Conclusion**

What has this object biography of Wesleyan’s two gamelans achieved? In general, it has looked at all facets and changes that have occurred over the lifetime of the two gamelans and how they have interacted to become what they are today and will be in the future. It allows one to see an object not just for what it is at a period in time with one interaction, but how a variety of actions can take shape and form it. This biography has taken into account various aspects, including spiritual ties,

\textsuperscript{124} Miller, C. (October 29, 2007). Personal Interview.
context, social relations, physical materials, comparison to other gamelans, preservation, and economic value. These are but a few things that object biographies inherently focus on, and their presence gives a really well rounded idea of the gamelan.

To the general public, especially those who do not realize that our gamelan holdings comprise two different sets, the meaning for both orchestras is the same. However, I feel that because of their usage background and historic roots that this was not always the case. Today however, the separate meanings of these special instruments have merged. The object biography technique has shown the various events that took place in the history of these two orchestras and by highlighting their similarities and differences it has extracted their meaning.

Object biographies have not been used to analyze musical instruments; however, the above workup of Wesleyan’s two gamelans shows that it is a powerful tool to work with. They are certainly objects, and they definitely can carry multiple meanings and bring all sorts of interpretational aspects into them. Wesleyan’s two gamelans truly are a great example for this type of work.
Chapter 4

Wesleyan University’s World Instrument Collection: an Analysis

Introduction

The examples enumerated in the first chapter, while not all music based, helped to give an idea of the positive attributes of doing a life history of an object. In the preceding chapter on Wesleyan University’s gamelan, the history of the object came alive, along with discussion of its virtues in Javanese society. Wesleyan’s gamelan sets are considered part of the Wesleyan World Instrument Collection. Because of this, a full analysis of the collection in its entirety is discussed below. The gamelan will be more or less left out of this discussion because it was already dealt with much more extensively in Chapter three.

This chapter consists of two sections. The first is a background section on the collection. This includes examples and pictures of what is currently in the collection, including items that are not stored in the collection room, such as those that are used for courses. The second section will follow a similar path as the gamelan chapter. The life history of the collection and the various ways it has come to be will be discussed. However, it will be different in two ways. The first is that this is an analysis of a collection, and so it has a history that is constantly changing and morphing as items come and go. The focus will be on the collection as a whole, not on any one particular instrument or donation. The second is that much less information about the life history of the collection as a whole is available. For the majority of the instruments, the faculty and graduate students that I interviewed did
not remember where they had come from, and the documentation system for the
collection often conspicuously left this blank. Because of these shortcomings, the
object biography of the collection will take on a more detailed discussion of how
those who have worked with the collection feel about it, rather than having specific
dates as they were added or removed to/from the collection.

Background

The majority of the collection is housed in MS101 (Music Studios room 101),
which is located in the music department in Wesleyan University’s Center for the
Arts complex. This room (shown below in figures 4.1 and 4.2) holds many of the
items that have been donated to and purchased by the university over the years. In
general, the items in this room are more or less unused, at least in the present. The
room has had small changes made over the years, mostly made by the graduate
students who were assigned to work with the collection. These include Dennis
Waring adding the pegboards on the walls in the early 1980s, and Junko Oba adding
the desk and shelving in the mid 1990s. The computer was also added by the
department in the 1990s to help with making a database to catalogue all of the items,
and later to help with the creation of the Virtual Instrument Museum.

A few of the larger instruments, including Wesleyan’s extensive collection of
South Indian vinas, are stored in the lower level of the music building. Any
instruments that are used for courses are kept elsewhere so they are more accessible
to the students and professors. These include instruments for the African drum
classes, Chinese music classes, Japanese Taiko drumming classes, and Korean
Figure 4.1 - Shot of left-hand side of MS101, including shelving along the wall, pegboards on walls for hanging instruments, and shelving in the center of the room for additional storage (unless otherwise noted, all photos in this chapter were taken by the author in 2008)

Figure 4.2 - Shot of right-hand side of room, showing more wall shelving on left, center shelving on right, and computer station in background
drumming. There are also a few miscellaneous components, such as the David Tudor collection of electronics and hardware used for prepared piano. Even the pianos in the music studio practice rooms are considered part of the instrument collection.\textsuperscript{125} Analytically, it is helpful to split the collection into groups based on usage patterns. There are two main sections of the collection, the instruments that are used regularly in the classroom, and those that are not in use and were mostly donations.

The instruments in the collection come from all over the world. Various documents were produced over the years attempting to display the diversity and well-roundedness of the collection, such as the one below (figure 4.3) that Junko Oba produced in 1997 to show the instruments in MS101. As figure 4.3 indicates, while the collection does represent many areas of the world, some areas are stressed more than others. These include the Middle East (30 instruments), areas in India (over 100 instruments) and East Asia (over 170 instruments). One of the more likely reasons for this is that Wesleyan professors and graduate students did their research in those areas and then subsequently donated instruments to the collection. Another reason is that a friend of the university may have traveled to a certain area and then bequeathed their collection to the university. Figure 4.3 also shows the distribution of types of instruments in the collection (added up in the column total section). Column IV shows that aerophones dominate the collection, having at least 50 more items than any other type. There may be so many aerophones because these are the most transportable and small.\textsuperscript{126}

\textsuperscript{125} Slobin, M. (December 12, 2007). Personal Interview.
\textsuperscript{126} Aerophones are instruments that are activated by air being blown into them, such as flutes.
While the collection may be weighted in some areas, it really is diverse. The computerized catalogue shows this, and has consolidated all of the information about each instrument in a database. Specific data is accounted for, as well as generalized data about each instrument type, its location in MS101 (or elsewhere on campus), its...
condition, price, manner of purchase (if known), materials used and a catalogue number. For example, number 75 is a Sho from Japan. It is described as being a mouth organ used in the gagaku orchestra, and is made up of seventeen pipes inserted into a wind chamber with a blow hole. A reference source is given to help provide more information about the sho in general. Also, its described condition is having some reeds that have come loose, and others that are lost. Its pipes are made of bamboo, and its lacquered wind chest is made of wood, with a silver mouthpiece and a copper and gold alloy reed. Included with it is a finely embroidered gold colored bag with a purple drawstring. It was acquired on February 1, 1971. Its price is listed as $586 (one of the more expensive items in MS101), and was purchased by F. Koizumi. This amount of information is typical for many of the items in the database, although some have much less than this, such as number 550. It is a Sogum from Korea, and is described as presently being on display in MS101, but that its previous existence had not been documented as of May 2, 1985. Such minimal information is unfortunate. Aside from these purchased items, a large number of instruments were donated, such as the set of Ghanaian instruments given by alum Haven North. It appears that all of the instruments currently at Wesleyan, specifically those in MS101, have been updated within this computerized catalogue (which right now is in the form of a spreadsheet). Despite the efforts of all of the graduate students who have been assigned to oversee and work with the collection over the years, there is always the chance that items have gone missing, or that others have appeared without being documented. However, for the very limited amount of money that the university has invested in the collection, it is relatively accounted for, but has

---

127 See Appendix #1 for list of each of the instruments in Wesleyan’s collection
no long term care. This issue of future and long term care of the collection will be addressed later in this chapter.

By utilizing the computerized database, one can identify the parties who have been most involved in keeping up and adding to the collection. A variety of people seem to have made purchases, but the major ones are Abraham Adzenyah (items from Ghana), the music department, and others have made donations, such as Haven North (mostly Ghanaian instruments) and M. Lambie (items from various origins worldwide). Just these few examples help us to determine how the collection has been formed over the years. I can only speculate that the M. Lambie collection was put together through Lambie’s personal travels, however I do know that Haven North’s donation was him giving back to his alma mater, and Abraham Adzenyah is currently a professor at the university. One might surmise, then, that there are four main types of acquisitions that the collection receives: items purchased by ethnomusicology professors and graduate students from their region of study; items purchased by the music department for courses; items donated by citizens who wish to give their personal collection to a university; and items donated by alumni of the university. There could very likely be other instances of acquisition, such as “many times students would come from their travels and bring back instruments and not know what to do with them, they have to move into a little apartment, everything’s got to fit in the backseat of their Toyota, so here, keep it. So they just fall into the collection without a whole lot of effort.”

Therefore, miscellaneous additions can be made to the collection as well, but the majority fall into the above four categories.

One aspect about the collection that is worth discussing is the virtual instrument museum, or VIM. Several years ago Eric Charry suggested creating an online museum of the world instrument collection as an economically feasible way to allow the world at large to see what Wesleyan had in their holdings. It is located at http://www.wesleyan.edu/vim/. The site lists the vast majority of the types of instruments in the collection, and has separate pages for many of them. You can look at instruments by type, region or material, as well as at the collection as a whole. On the instrument pages, there are typically descriptions, classifications and photos, and some even have video demonstrations. Because of its well-rounded nature, it is useful to both academics and non-academics. It is not the only exhibit-like venture that has been made with the collection, but it is by far the most extensive.

Earlier in this chapter, I mentioned that the object biography of the instrument collection would be a bit different than a typical life history. In the next section, the discussion will follow the trajectory of the collection, covering the few changes that have been made and the manner in which changes are made. It will conclude with how various past students and curators feel about the collection and its current state. While not a biography in the sense of following a timeline, this analysis will provide the reader with a fairly comprehensive history of the collection.

A Biography of the World Instrument Collection at Wesleyan University

The World Instrument Collection got its start in the 1960s when Wesleyan began to broaden their world music department. Professors would often purchase instruments abroad for use in classes and performances, and in 1970 a graduate TA
position for collection curator was created to help oversee the growing acquisitions.\textsuperscript{129} At that point, and in theory still today, the collection is there for the instruments to be used in courses and by students and professors. Because of this, it has the dual purpose of a ‘lending library’ and museum-display.\textsuperscript{130} Unfortunately, nowadays the collection is not used so much as a lending library aside from the instruments that are used in courses (and were purchased for that purpose). Many of the instruments in MS101 are in unplayable condition. The music department used to assign a graduate student each year to look after the collection, but the sheer number of instruments prevented them from repairing most of the items.

These specializations in the collection have largely to do with the areas the professors study. Therefore, the majority of the instruments come from the following regions: Ghana (mostly drums), North and South India, Indonesia (gamelan instruments), East Asia, Trinidad (steel drums), and Europe (orchestral instruments). The collection also includes David McAllester’s collection of Native American instruments; these were collected and donated by Mr. McAllester who was a professor in the world music program.\textsuperscript{131}

The graduate student curators, who are assigned every year by the Director of Graduate Studies in Music, typically work with the collection for about a year; overseeing it, and producing reports about the inventory and condition of the collection. Of these reports, the one I found to be the most complete was produced by

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{129} Lein, H. C. (1981). The World Instrument Collection. Middletown, CT, Wesleyan University: 2. This reference and some others cited in this chapter were found in MS101. They were nearly all produced by graduate students as a requirement in order to receive credit for their curatorial duties.
\item \textsuperscript{130} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
Junko Oba in 1994. In addition to summarizing Wesleyan’s holdings and the goal of the collection, she also went into the role of the curator and the current state of the collection (including problems with it). Her appendixes include the Hornbostel-Sachs classification system and a sample of a loan agreement for lending out instruments (this document is included in Appendix 2). Her section on the current state of the collection is particularly interesting, since it helps to give an idea of what the collection was like fourteen years ago. She calls for better storage of the instruments, since their current state has lead to their impending decay. At that point in time, she was also beginning to undertake being the first to use a classification system for the collection by using Hornbostel-Sachs which groups musical instruments by organological category. She then also divided the instruments by geographical region, created a system to show physical condition (which shows if they can be lent out), and made a point to identify where instruments were located on campus. Oba’s collection report, and those of many others, unfortunately, was not able to have an impact on the Wesleyan community, especially since many Wesleyan students are not aware of the great world instrument collection. The Virtual Instrument Museum has allowed for more people to learn of our holdings, but this was instituted by a professor, not a graduate student. Perhaps because of this and the lessening importance of organology within ethnomusicology, the collection has been receiving even less attention from the music department than in years past.

Let us look back historically at the curation and overseeing of the collection. According to a draft about the history of the collection written by Dennis Waring, the roots of the collection actually lie with David McAllester. In the 1950s, McAllester,
whose offices were in Judd Hall before the Center for the Arts was built, created a room to store items of all types that had been brought back to the university by various professors from their trips abroad. Waring actually links this phenomenon back to Wesleyan’s roots as a Methodist University, with missionaries who would bring items back to the university. Regardless of the roots of the practice, it is clear that it has been going on for quite awhile. McAllester created the “Judd Hall Museum of Anthropology and Geology,” which was likely just a storage area for various rocks and taxidermied animals, but may have included some instruments. Then, in the 1970s, when the Center for the Arts was built, MS101 became the home of the growing collection of musical instruments. At this time Wesleyan was fortunate enough to have Gen’ichi Tsuge in residence to curate the collection. Tsuge personally organized and catalogued all of the instruments, and instituted a loaning system for students. He also opened a small instrument building and repair workshop in the basement of the World Music Hall (which has closed since then). After Tsuge, the curator position was discontinued, but graduate students since then have filled this void. These are, in chronological order: Sam Quigley, Alan Thrasher, H. Collins Lein, Dennis Waring, John Kelsey, Tom Randall, Mitchell Clark, Fred Stubbs, Junko Oba, Marzanna Poplowska, Monica DaCosta, and Powei Weng.

Curating the collection was only a subsidiary duty of these students, so they were unable to give it the proper attention that it deserved. Marzanna Poplowska said that “with the instruments not being used…it’s hard to care for them constantly.” 132 Junko Oba mentions that “one of the reasons why the instruments [are] not really

treated in a much better way is that the study of instruments (organology) or the material culture of music in ethnomusicology was never a big part of the study in the United States”.¹³³ Chris Miller also touches on this idea, saying that “hardly anybody does organology anymore; there isn’t an incentive to get students to do serious work on that because it’s not something that will really help them in getting a job”.¹³⁴ These three graduate students all expressed one form or another of remorse about having to limit their work with the collection over their time being assigned to it. As the pictures in figures 4.1 and 4.2 show, despite the storage and organizational efforts made by past ‘overseers’, the room is just too small to have all of the instruments spaced out enough to be pleasing to the eye. Setting this aside, the graduate students did what work with the collection that they could.

Out of all of the graduate students that I interviewed, Dennis Waring has been involved with the collection and the university at large for the longest time (about twenty five years). Upon arriving at Wesleyan in 1980, he was assigned to work with the collection, likely because he was already a professional instrument maker, so he had organological experience.¹³⁵ The bulk of his work with the collection was mostly physical, such as putting pegboard up on the walls to hang instruments in an attempt to “display or make it attractive”.¹³⁶ He also helped to procure an extra room in the basement of the building for some overflow of the larger instruments, such as the kotos and vinas. However, he fully admitted that at the time the card catalogue

¹³³ Oba, J. (December 6, 2007). Personal Interview.
¹³⁶ Ibid
system was a bit disorganized and that he “never quite conquered it”. It is likely that until the computerized catalogue was made, there was no interest in getting the catalogue in working order. At the time of his appointment, the collection was still considered a sort of lending library, but later on this aspect was discontinued, most likely because instruments would often go missing without a record having been made for their current location. When asked what he considered to be a success from his days working with the collection, he discussed his times in the instrument making workshop in the basement of the World Music Hall, rather than working in MS101.

In terms of display or exhibition, there is very little space to work with. In the lobby of the music studios building, there is a wide flat glass case that can be used for smaller, flatter instruments (see figure 4.4 below for a shot of it empty). However, the only exhibit he remembers putting together in this area was not instruments from the Wesleyan collection, but from his own personal holdings of ocarinas.

This display case has been in the music studios lobby for years, but Waring told me that when he was disassembling his exhibit not too long ago, a gentleman walked by and informed him that he had been walking through the lobby for almost two years, and never once noticed the case. Because the case is so space consuming, it is forced to be in the back corner of the lobby behind a couch, making it difficult to view.

---

137 Waring, D. (November 20, 2007). Personal Interview
138 Ibid
Only on rare occasions are outside inquiries made of the instrument collection. Waring mentioned that occasionally he would have someone come to him with a specific instrument that they had inherited asking him to identify it, but rarely were inquiries made about our holdings. Very infrequently he would have to show a class or a local school person our holdings, and so in terms of presenting the collection to anyone at all, it rarely occurred. There was very little outside contact of the collection. Setting this aside, Waring commented on the complete lives of the instruments, and said that if

one of these instruments in here could talk, if you had its story, that would be a pretty interesting line of inquiry...Who played them, what were they played for...what is it made of, what kind of wood is that, what kind of rubber is that, why is it curved, what’s the story with the cords on the bottom, all the interesting lacing patterns, is it unique to a particular area, etc.  

(See figure 4.5 below to see the instrument Waring was referencing in this quote).

---


---

Figure 4.5 – A Ghanaian xylophone from Haven North’s collection
He also went into how the life of the instruments has affected their meaning, and the importance of context.

Here [at Wesleyan] they take on a different meaning but it’s certainly not the same as it would have in its original context...where have they been since they were built, what kind of meanings were [they] endowed with at that time, and how did they find their way here, what is the meaning of them now. I would say their meaning right now is pretty limited except for the ones that are actually being performed on, researched, or put into currency, otherwise they’re just hibernating at this point and I think the meaning is still there, at least the morphological meaning and you can research the spiritual, ceremonial, and ritualistic meaning.140

During Waring’s tenure with the collection, he oversaw some of the instruments being loaned out to students and friends of the university. However, he also informed me that instrument loans are no longer being done because it was becoming quite difficult to keep track of who had what, and when we were going to get them back. Because it had been so difficult in the past, various instruments have disappeared over the years, including a Chinese chin that Waring himself had been commissioned to build for the collection. It was found some point thereafter in Brown University’s instrument collection, with its strings taken off. To avoid similar issues arising in the future, the department has ceased loans of instruments (the major exception being the World’s Fair gamelan).

One issue that Waring really wanted to bring to my attention was the current state of the collection and how unfortunate it is. The interview I had with him was peppered with lines like “something needs to be done here” and “I detach myself to some extent from the collection because in spite of its amazement, it’s been a big

frustration not to be able to do what we’ve always wanted to do with it.”

This same sentiment was echoed in other interviews that I conducted, such as Junko Oba who indicated that the state of the collection was partly why she became involved with it in the first place, and that “coming from Japan [and knowing that] a lot of the instruments who are still living an active life in Japan were buried under the dust and neglected here” was difficult. This general sentiment was echoed with nearly all of my interviewees. Over the past few years there had been discussion in the Wesleyan community of creating a teaching museum on campus. However, the funds destined for this venture have been reallocated elsewhere. Regardless, the music department is still pushing for some sort of action to be taken in terms of the collection. MS101 currently has no form of climate control and the room is quite overcrowded (see figures 4.1 and 4.2). Recently the new president of the university paid a visit to the collection with music Professor Mark Slobin. President Michael Roth decided that the teaching museum was not a good idea, but “he does recognize that we have these different collections in the university that are assets and need to be supported at the level of preservation, [as well as] teaching.” There are currently no defined plans for the instrument collection, but President Roth promised Professor Slobin that he would find money for a climate controlled space.

Like Waring, Mark Slobin has been at the university for a very long time, since 1971. Because of his role within the ethnomusicology curriculum at Wesleyan, he has been involved with the collection on and off, and in the past has even overseen

142 Oba, J. (December 6, 2007). Personal Interview.
143 Slobin, M. (December 12, 2007). Personal Interview.
some of the graduate student curators. Since he had been at Wesleyan the longest out of those I interviewed, he was able to give some more insight into how the collection morphed from its early roots with Professor McAllester into what it is in MS101 today. “We created [the World Music] program, which meant that you also had to buy stuff for it”¹⁴⁴ was the basic reason he discussed as to why Wesleyan had such a great amount of diverse world instruments. The program started in the 1960s, and has accumulated different genres of study (and instrument to go with them) over the years. In the 1970s and 1980s the collection continued to grow, and was overseen by the more organologically interested instrument-maker graduate students, such as Dennis Waring and Fred Stubbs. These students were able to fix what they could from the collection, and also teach instrument making courses in the instrument building workshop in the World Music Hall. One of the future possibilities for the graduate student positions that Slobin would like to become a reality would be a “sweetened graduate stipend slot for someone who wants to be a graduate student and also has those [organological] skills that would want to make a little extra money, or possibly a post-doctoral position.”¹⁴⁵ However, for now, until the university can get more money allocated to the collection, the virtual instrument museum will have to suffice in terms of public display and awareness.

There have been some great additions made to the collection over time, the Javanese gamelan being the most spectacular. However, other memorable donations have occurred. A notable one that Slobin helped oversee was made by a Mrs. Sawai who had her own koto school in Japan. She was familiar with Wesleyan’s world

¹⁴⁵ Ibid
music program and thought it would be fitting for us to have our own set of kotos to teach with (see figure 4.6 for two of the kotos in Wesleyan’s collection). Koto had been taught at the university in the past, but her donation in the 1980s helped to revive the tradition. She donated a set of kotos to the university, and paid for a koto teacher for a few years with the expectation that Wesleyan would pick up the position thereafter. However, this did not occur and the koto program has fallen by the wayside. Regardless of this, the donation was made to the university, so “the kotos stay here because they were given to us; so we have this nice set of kotos”.146 Another seemingly notable donation that was made was from Harold Powers.147 After his passing in 2007, he bequeathed his set of teaching instruments to Wesleyan. He had been a longtime professor of ethnomusicology at Princeton University, and the donation included a couple sets of tablas and a couple tanburas, your basic sort of concert instruments...But it’s very nice since they’re Harry’s instruments, and that we were the designated [home] since his stuff should go to Princeton…, and we’re also getting his field tapes and other things, so it’s really very nice we’ve having like a Powers archive. So we have those things, they don’t look like much, but they're important in a certain way.148

One final donation worth mentioning is the Godowsky piano. Leopold Godowsky was a famous pianist during the early 20th century. He had a “classy high

---

147 I say notable donations because that’s what they seem to me, however Slobin indicated that the instruments in these donations (except for the gamelan) did not have substantial economic value associated with them.
end piano which his relatives gave to us. It’s of superior historic value because of
[Godowsky, the] famous virtuoso. It just came out of the blue.”149 Godowsky was
famous for a variety of reasons, including being one of the first pianists to give a
concert in Carnegie Hall.150 The actual piano is a Bechstein made in the early 19th
century, and is currently housed in a locked piano teaching studio in the music
building across the hall from MS101. Currently, it is valued at around $100,000.

All of the above donations contribute to an understanding of the various
manners in which an item can be added to the collection. What do these manners of
acquisition have to do with the meaning of the instruments? Certainly one could say
that an object that is given to an institution because it has nowhere to be stored or it is
no longer wanted could appear to have a diminished meaning. This manner of
acquisition is the case for some of the instruments that end up in Wesleyan’s
collection. However, it is not as unfortunate as it may seem. The instruments that
were given to the university in this manner have, at the very least, been available for
others to use. This could be viewed as an improvement over the life they could have
led in the possession of someone who would have kept them locked away in a
basement or some other forgotten space. The various interviews that I conducted
glossed over the fact that some of the instruments in the collection were attained in
this way. The documentation for the manner of acquisition only goes as far as to state
‘gift of so and so’, and the various reasons for donation of single instruments have
been forgotten over the years. The singular instruments that were donated to the
university, therefore, have a morphing ownership identity. The meaning of an object

Retrieved February 24, 2008.
can definitely change depending on who owns it. These unwanted gifted objects are somewhat endowed with an unwantededness or neglect, which can be witnessed by their physical state. However, once they arrived at Wesleyan, they were considered to be positive acquisitions to the growing collection. As Dennis Waring puts it,

people [come in] just out of the blue who don’t know what else to do with [their instruments], … they’re downsizing and they don’t have the energy to deal with these things anymore and they don’t care, so they’ll just come through the office, so and so wants to donate and we say yes, so it comes in here. It takes its place somewhere on the shelf, and that’s good! It’s better than nothing, better than being thrown in the garbage, better than being given to some kid that will tear it apart, that’s just always the nature of instruments, they travel and things happen.\(^{151}\)

So while the instruments have left their ‘home’, they have traveled to a new location where their care will theoretically not be neglected. Additionally, Waring is correct in pointing out that it is much better for us to have the instrument rather than for it to be thrown out; while for the university it could be a real asset.

When instruments enter the collection, their previous varied meanings are changed as they become viewed more as museum objects than functional items. The way one views the instruments is altered because of their uninviting displays and unplayable condition. The relationship between the instruments and the viewer of the collection is different than that of an instrument and its owner; the personalized familiarity is lost. Therefore, these donated objects are no longer associated with a specific person, thus causing their meaning to be less personal (i.e. viewing a tabla differently when it is associated with your friend Suresh than when you see it on display in MS101). This less personalized meaning and usage also leads to the

instruments leading a passive life. A common ethnomusicological debate deals with whether fragile or rare instruments should be displayed as museum pieces or played. I feel that they should lead an active life since that was the purpose of their creation; however this can lead to further decay and disrepair. The MS101 collection is currently used more as an acquisition and display than an actively used collection.

What other sorts of meaning do the instruments in the collection (and the collection as a whole) inhabit? Certainly they have some kind of economic meaning. Many items were donated to the collection. However, many others were purchased, such as the World’s Fair gamelan. In fact, the vast majority of instruments that are used for courses were purchased by the university. Their deaccession from actively played instruments to static instruments in the collection signifies them losing commodity status since the university has no intention of selling items from the collection. However, the university did decide that the collection should be evaluated so that they could put a monetary value on it. In the spring of 1998, they brought in a professional from New York City to look at the collection and go “through things with a fine tooth comb … put a price on [the collection] and so forth.” His name was Joseph Peknik III, and he worked for the company Musical Instruments. The collection was valued at $99,770 (this evaluation only included the instruments in MS101, i.e. none that are used for classes or practices). Therefore, while the university community sees the collection in MS101 as being an ex-commodity, in reality it is forced to be a commodity by diversion; since its evaluation shows that it has not been completely removed from the commodity state (refer back to Chapter 1

---

152 Oba, J. (December 6, 2007). Personal Interview.
for discussion of types of commodities). Since the past lives of many of the instruments in the collection are unknown, it is difficult to determine the economic status of each individual item. However, looking at the collection as a whole, it is safe to say that its economic status will remain neutral for the duration of its life.

One unfortunate aspect of the collection that many interviewees identified was that very few people know that the collection exists. Personally, I was not aware of its existence until the spring of 2007 in my junior year at the university, when my professor, Mark Slobin, took my ethnomusicology class down to MS101. One possibility that has been discussed is displaying the collection to raise awareness. The most important of these possibilities, the teaching museum, whose plans have recently been cancelled, has already been discussed. However, much smaller scale ideas and attempts have been made. The first, mentioned above and shown in figure 4.4, is the flat glass display case in the Music Studio’s lobby. A number of small exhibits have been done there, including those done by Dennis Waring (previously mentioned), Junko Oba and Marzanna Poplowska. Oba, who was curating the collection at the university in the early 1990s,
did a couple of small exhibits in the music lobby in kind of a flat glass showcase, and showed some small instruments there trying to get some attention from people coming to the lobby…[She was] showing instruments mostly from Asia, because that was [her] specialty, and [she] was meaning to continue in different areas, but just chose some of the smaller instruments that fit; it was a very shallow case.\textsuperscript{155}

The instruments she showed were largely from Korea, Japan and China. Soon thereafter, in 2000, Marzanna Poplowska created a stringed instrument exhibit:

I had this idea to do stringed instruments, but I had to limit it to what we have here and could fit here, rebab and some other instruments from the collection stringed, bowed and plucked. I did labels and I looked for sources as well, so I put some books with pictures and sort of descriptions of the instruments and I took some cloth from the World Music Hall, like Javanese batik to just make it look nice.\textsuperscript{156}

(See Figure 4.7 above for a photograph of the exhibit taken by Poplowska).

These various display efforts by graduate students were often encouraged to be done by their faculty advisor. They also help to endow the chosen instruments with a new set of meanings. Rather than just sitting in a room ‘gathering dust’, these instruments were actively used in an educational effort, thus giving them a new functional meaning. Despite all of this, the display case is off the beaten path of the typical visitor to the music department, and thus the displays are rarely seen, making their newly acquired meanings somewhat limited. While musings have been made about how nice it would be to have a less space consuming, taller and less deep display case, as of now, no move has been made in that direction.

Cataloguing has been another ongoing process in the life of the collection. While Gen’ichi Tsuge is considered to have been the only real curator to

\textsuperscript{155} Oba, J. (December 6, 2007). Personal Interview.
\textsuperscript{156} Poplawska, M. (November 27, 2007). Personal Interview.
the collection, there is little evidence of any cataloguing he may have done. Instead, Mitchell Clark is believed to be the first to really make a large effort to meticulously catalogue the entire collection. When Dennis Waring was around, which was a few curators before Clark, various sorts of files and documents about the instruments were contained in the filing cabinet in the MS101, however he “really didn’t do a whole lot of organizational work on the collection, computers were just beginning to get going, so cataloguing this all on a computer would have been a bit premature. I did make efforts to keep the file in a more or less accurate [state], but it was a mess, and frankly I never did sort of conquer it.”\(^{157}\) The instrument files seem to have stayed in this unconquerable fashion until the early 1990s when Clark procured a proper card catalogue. This card catalogue can still be found in the filing cabinet. It is organized geographically, with each country getting a tab and then each instrument receiving its own card (see figure 4.8 on previous page for an example of a catalogue card). When

---

I looked through this it did not seem complete, so it appears that when the computer catalogue was created, this archaic card catalogue was discontinued. In the later 1990s when Junko Oba was curating the collection she utilized the information from the card catalogue and created a computer catalogue in Filemaker Pro. Her computer catalogue “has become the foundation for the later much more elaborate cataloguing system and much later online [system] they are having now.”\textsuperscript{158} What she is referring to when she speaks of the later more elaborate cataloguing system is the current catalogue, which is in Microsoft Excel and is quite extensive (see Appendix 1 for a summary version of the catalogue). It became the building blocks for the virtual instrument museum. This online museum is currently incomplete, but contains about three quarters of Wesleyan’s holdings.

The trajectory that the instrument catalogue has had helps to highlight how the collection as a whole has evolved over the years. In the most straightforward manner, it has grown physically as more items were added to the collection. However the ongoing alterations also changed the collections intellectual growth. At first, cataloguing of the collection mostly functioned to have a representation of every item, and have that information easily accessible. As the catalogue morphed into its current status as a spreadsheet, it began to include additional generalized information. Eventually this morphed into the entries that can now be found in the virtual instrument museum, and now can include pictures, recordings and videos to accompany the text. These shifts showcase how the collection has moved from being a room full of world instruments to an educational resource, albeit one that few rarely see in person.

\textsuperscript{158} Oba, J. (December 6, 2007). Personal Interview.
The collection can also be seen as affecting people’s actions, and therefore informing the social process. The Virtual Instrument Museum (VIM) is used for courses and is available for research purposes worldwide. Since its launch in the fall of 2003, it has had a varying amount of visitors. In its first month it had about 900 visitors, many of whom found the site using the Google search engine. Since then it has slowly risen to about 4000 visitors per month, typically dipping a bit in the summer. Its most common patrons are hailing from the academic and non-profit worlds, though a fair amount of hits are coming from commercial servers as well.

Exactly what does this all mean? Well first of all, the slow rise in visitors each year indicates that the word of VIM was spreading through various circles (mostly academic and non-profit ones as mentioned above). Also, there was a dramatic increase of hits from search engines such as Google that went from guiding about 15,000 visitors to the site in 2005, to over 40,000 in 2007. This could be due to the fact that as sites get more hits, search engines are more likely to show them at the top of the results page, thus giving VIM more prominence in a search. For example, a search for the word ‘instrument’ results in the VIM appearing on the third page of the results, making finders more likely to click it. Even better, a search for ‘virtual instrument’ puts it as the second result.

The Virtual Instrument Museum is a recent but important component of the world instrument collection. It is helping to do what the collection cannot: display our holdings to a wider audience. Its increasing usage over the years helps to show that the life of the collection is far from over, and in a way it can be seen as starting a new chapter. Also, knowledge of what sorts of people are using the site adds a new
dimension to its life history, since it allows us to know what sorts of non-Wesleyan
people are utilizing it. As the years pass, the collection may deteriorate, but the
website will (hopefully) remain intact, allowing people to view these instruments,
even beyond their time of use in their native context. One can only hope that the
future role of the collection will be greater in the Wesleyan community at large.

At this point it may be helpful to look at a portion of the collection, plot its life
history and then locate its importance within the collection at large. I plan on doing
this by actually looking at a smaller collection within the large collection. For this, I
have chosen the David Tudor collection.

**Case Study: The David Tudor Collection**

The majority of the discussion in this chapter has focused on the instruments
in MS101. However, the world instrument collection technically encompasses all of
the musical instruments owned by the university. Because of this, the David Tudor
collection falls under the collection umbrella.

John Cage, the renowned experimental musician, had long standing ties with
Wesleyan University from the 1960s and beyond. David Tudor was an acquaintance
of Cage, and often played piano for his pieces. In the mid 1950s a concert of Cage’s
music was performed at Wesleyan with Tudor on prepared piano.\(^{159}\) Tudor’s career
as an experimental pianist led him to a later interest in experimental electronic music.

Wesleyan’s collection of Tudor’s items is made up of two types of objects.
The first type consists of all of the nuts and bolts and other various items that Tudor
used when he performed prepared piano pieces. The second type consists of nearly

---

\(^{159}\) Kuivila, R. (February 6, 2008). Personal Interview.
Prepared piano involves placing various items (nuts, bolts, etc.) on and between the strings so the
piano produces a different, percussive type of sound.
every device he used when composing his electronic music. Tudor had an ongoing relationship with Wesleyan, collaborating with professors and students on various projects. One great example of this was in the early 1990s when Kuivila was contacted by Tudor to help on a project “called Neural Synthesis, which used a neural network system to generate sound into the head of performing intelligence”. Tudor also performed on campus. For this and other reasons, it was only fitting that his two sets of musically related items go to a university, specifically Wesleyan, where their use could continue.

The ‘nuts and bolts’ while seemingly all similar, were actually each used for specific pieces, and on specific strings on the piano. These include those that Tudor used when he performed Cage’s “Sonatas and Interludes for Prepared Piano” in the 1950s. These piano preparations are stored in various cabinets in Kuivila’s office. Each item has its own plastic bag and a piece of paper in the bag identifying which string it should be placed on. The preparations are typically bolts, washers, pieces of rubber, felt, and so on (see figures 4.9-4.11). However, because of the nature of prepared piano, it is difficult to reproduce a sound heard in a certain performance because no one instrument is exactly identical. Regardless, Wesleyan retains them as a tool available to the music community.

161 Their use has continued, even to this very day. Currently senior undergraduate Brendan O’Connell is completing his honors thesis focused around Tudor’s electronic devices.
162 Kuivila, R. (February 6, 2008). Personal Interview.
Figure 4.9 - Piece of felt that was placed on the G string

Figure 4.10 - Small assemblage of some of the prepared piano items in their plastic bags

Figure 4.11 - A clothespin that was placed on the D string
However, the electronic items were used on campus and in performances by Tudor. In fact, the electronic devices have had particularly great historical provenance. For example, Tudor used them when he performed at the inauguration of Lincoln Center, and in 1970 in Osaka, Japan at the Pepsi Pavilion. Different electronic devices have been lent out by Wesleyan to various performance groups, so because of the famous name attached to these items and their rarity; outside groups do occasionally make requests.

The electronic devices are widely varied. Examples include a device that was created to get rid of sound interference on records, but Tudor used it backwards to instead play the unwanted noise waves; and various volume related items such as a stirrer (which directs one input of sound to four outputs when activated) and a volume ‘key’ (similar looking to a piano key so that the harder you press the more sound comes out of the system).\footnote{Kuivila, R. (February 6, 2008). Personal Interview.} The collection also includes various electronic effects pedals and other similar items stowed away in cabinets for safe-keeping (see figure 4.12 for a shot of some of these devices in use).
The Tudor collection brings with it its own history. While these items are no longer involved in regular performances, they still have that as a part of their past and thus have a very different meaning. If one were to walk in off the street and see the ‘nuts and bolts’ for example, one might find it odd that these items are so carefully bagged up, and one might not be able to extract any further meaning from them. However, with the help of the above abbreviated object biography, it becomes quite clear that their life history makes them what they are and their meaning is completely dependent on their history.

Conclusion

So exactly how does an object biography allow for a group of objects to be understood better? Unfortunately it is not quite as straightforward as a biography of a single object. An object leads one singular life, and a collection or grouping of objects can be interpreted as leading as many lives as there are objects in it. This complicates things quite a bit. While the singular lives of the objects within the collection are important, the different path that they are set on once they become a part of the collection is part of their life history. Therefore, the object biography of a collection can be seen as forming a tree-like shape, with a large amount of lives/histories (branches) slowly funneling into one trajectory (the tree trunk).

Therefore, plotting the life history of a collection is difficult. Without meticulous record keeping (as is often the case), one can never be sure where any one instrument was at any specific moment. Through the six interviews I conducted with faculty and past graduate students who had worked with the collection, however, it became clear that the aspects of the collection that had to do with issues of display,
cataloguing, maintenance, loans and acquisitions could be studied as well. By studying these collection-based concepts, a different kind of biography emerges, not an object biography, but what I will term a group biography. While this biography consists of many items, it examines the manner in which they actively work together, not independently. This sort of biographical synthesis looks more in-depth at the whole, not the parts that make it up.

As objects enter the collection their meaning changes quite a bit. When someone travels and collects objects along the way, these tend to be cherished in a very personal manner. However, those feelings are likely different from the way the person who sold that item feels about the object. Going even further, if this object then enters a collection, it encompasses all of these meanings and combines them with the meaning of the collection as a whole to take on a new significance. Because of the nature of this process, there is very limited access to all of the personal memories that have been associated with the object through time. Using these ideas, one can see how the meanings of each of the instruments change when they enter the collection. The above group biography takes this into account.

While underutilized and overlooked, the collection still has agency and a role in the social process of the Wesleyan music community. For those who are involved with it, even in a fleeting manner, it leaves an imprint on you. Also, in terms of everything from plans for a teaching museum to individuals borrowing from it, it informs social happenings around it, albeit limitedly. The group biography touches on this rather than just working with the more simple information found in the background of this chapter.
Chapter 5

Conclusion

Within the world of academia, several different disciplines, including ethnomusicology and archaeology deal with objects and their role in human lives. While vastly different, these two academic disciplines are bridged by studying objects that they have in common combined with utilization of an overarching analytical theory. The study of musical instruments using the anthropologically based theory of object biographies can help achieve this bridge.

The goal of the object biography, however, is not necessarily to bridge discussions within disciplines, although it certainly can achieve this. Rather, it attempts to display how an object can be better understood by discussing its life history. Referring back to the Igor Kopytoff quote at the beginning of the Introduction, we assert that humans have various biographies, such as professional and personal, and that these biographies help us to better understand the person. The same concept can be used with objects. If one understands the manner in which an object is treated and thought about by society, then one can grasp a fuller understanding of the object. The idea of human agency can also be applied to objects (as discussed in Chapter 1), though not completely. Humans directly act upon others, and while objects can be seen as doing this as well, it is in a more indirect manner since their ability to act depends more heavily on human attention given to it.

Musical instruments are often very personal objects that lead long lives. They can be passed down through families, and sometimes people (especially musicians)
associate themselves with a specific one, such as David Tudor’s association with his collection (discussed in Chapter 4). His instruments can be seen as helping to create his persona as a musician, similar to the way in which the hypothetical guitar player mentioned in Chapter 2 was associated with his guitar. Because instruments have these qualities, the object biography approach can really be helpful when analyzing them. My thesis focused on this idea, and applied it to the instruments in Wesleyan University’s world instrument collection. Economic issues and the idea of group biography were addressed, as well as personal interactions with the instruments.

To showcase the idea of an object having a life history that is pertinent to its role in society, in Chapter 3 I analyzed Wesleyan’s Javanese gamelan sets. By first placing them within their larger context via background on the gamelan in general and then discussing our gamelans, I was able to locate how the lives of our two sets have differed from the typical trajectory of a gamelan. I also attempted to elicit appreciation for these items, since often after hearing a story about an object and its travels, especially stories such as those associated with Wesleyan’s gamelans, one may not only feel a closer tie with the item but also see it in a different, more respected light. If the gamelan stories were more widely known, these two sets of instruments would be more likely to elicit awe. The biography also showed how differently this item may have been viewed in Java, especially the Ansberry gamelan and its age. Gamelans of such old age are no longer allowed to leave the country in an attempt to help Java retain its past. Also, the World’s Fair gamelan could be seen differently than the Ansberry gamelan by the Javanese because it was created as a nationalized commodity rather than a personal Javanese object. As the meaning of
the gamelans changed through their trajectories of acting on society around them rather than passively reflecting it, they have all combined to create a multi-faceted meaning. The life history approach helps to showcase these meanings.

The object biographical approach also showed the meaning of the instrument collection as a whole. Though it has a history of being more or less ignored, valiant efforts have been made which will hopefully lead to a better future. Because of my work with the collection, the idea of a biography of a group of objects came to be. I call this a group biography. While the history of each individual item in the group is important, they come together to form a larger, meta-narrative that tells the story of the whole collection. While seemingly different, the group biography achieves many of the same goals that the object biography does. However, certain things are downplayed such as economic status since those are more individually based. Nonetheless, the life history of the collection helps to illuminate what the collection means as a university asset and what its role in society and the Wesleyan community at large is as an educational tool, as discussed in Chapter 4.

Upon first starting my research, I found the collection to be a veritable treasure trove of objects. Even though I did not know much about them, part of me knew how grand a story they must have. By viewing them in a biographical manner, I felt that not only did I know more about them but that I was also closer to them spiritually. I feel that if others were able to learn as much about them as I have that they would also feel more personally involved in the instruments lives.

For archaeologists and ethnomusicologists, object biographies are a great new technique for analyzing objects. For example, archaeologists tend to specialize in the
material aspect of objects; however using object biographies would allow them to look more in-depth at the surrounding social relations. Likewise, ethnomusicologists tend to focus on grouping similar objects together (ex. organology), causing a specific instruments personal attributes to fall by the wayside. For both of these disciplines, object biographies would make a great addition to their theoretical oeuvre.

Object biographies are not perfect. While they take the best of some disciplines, such as detailed physical descriptions (common in archaeology) and viewing how others treat them (common in ethnomusicology), they are forced to let some practices go by the wayside. For example, since they chart the course of an object and analyze its movements between people, learning about how an object affected its owner after it had been given away or sold would be rare. Just as the presence of an object in someone’s life can affect them, so can its absence. Despite this downfall, the ability of an object biography to bridge disciplines is quite useful.

As mentioned earlier in this work, object biographies can show the roots and guts behind musical instruments. The chapters on the gamelan and the collection attempted to do this. While not done very commonly at this time, biographies of musical instruments can be quite helpful for studying their role in society. By locating a specific instrument or collection in time and tracking it, one can elucidate more meaning from it. The object biography of a musical instrument can truly be revealing, and it would be quite illuminating for future musical instrument studies to utilize this technique.
Appendix #1

Summary of world instrument collection catalogue

All instrument types can be matched with their organological category in Appendix #2 (Oba’s analysis) on page 120.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catalogue Number</th>
<th>Instrument Name</th>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
<th>Instrument Type</th>
<th>Organological Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Hasapi</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Komungeo</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Zither</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Hyungeoem (Komungeo)</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Zither</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Kayageum (Folk)</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Zither</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 – 9</td>
<td>Kugomu Drum</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Kwaenggwa (sogum)</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Gong</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Popkum</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Zither</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Puk</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Kayagum (Sanjo)</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Zither</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Ketjapi</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Zither</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Gekkin</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Liu Qin</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Pi-Pa</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Atari-Gane</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Gong</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Biwa (Chikuzen)</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Qin (Ch’in)</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Zither</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Zheng (Cheng)</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Zither</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Biwa (Heikyoku)</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Pi-Pa</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Hichiriki</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Reed-pipe</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Hyoshigi</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Wood blocks</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Suzu</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Bell tree</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 – 28</td>
<td>Ko-Daiko</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Komabue</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 – 38</td>
<td>Koto</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Zither</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Ko-Tsuzumi</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Mame-Daiko</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Nokan</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42 – 43</td>
<td>No-Taiko</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Okawa (O-Tsuzumi)</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Ryuteki (Oteki)</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46 – 68</td>
<td>Shakuhaichi</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69 – 74</td>
<td>Shamisen</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Sho</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Free reed</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Taiko</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77 – 79</td>
<td>Adawuraa</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Bell</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>Agyegyewa</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81 – 83</td>
<td>Apentemma</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Instrument</td>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>Kete-Apentemma</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Apentemma</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86–100</td>
<td>Atentebeba</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101–110</td>
<td>Atentebeba-Ba</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111–112</td>
<td>Atumpan</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>Atsimewu</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114–133</td>
<td>Axatshe</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Rattle</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>Bima</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>Brekete</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136–140</td>
<td>Dawuro</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Bell</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>Akom-Dawuro</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Bell</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142–154</td>
<td>Donno</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155–156</td>
<td>Frikiyiwa</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Castanets</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157–162</td>
<td>Gankogui</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Bell</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163–164</td>
<td>Gyili</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Xylophone</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165–166</td>
<td>Kaganu</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167–168</td>
<td>Kidi</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169–170</td>
<td>Krobodzi</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171–172</td>
<td>Kroboto (Botodhi)</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173</td>
<td>Kusukurum</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174–175</td>
<td>Mmurubua (Aburukuwa)</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>176</td>
<td>Mpebi</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>177</td>
<td>Mpintintoa</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>178</td>
<td>Nkrawiri</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179</td>
<td>Nnawuta</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Bell</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180–182</td>
<td>Odurugya</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183–188</td>
<td>Odurugya-Ba</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189–190</td>
<td>Operenten</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>191</td>
<td>Patse</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>192</td>
<td>Petia</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>193–194</td>
<td>Sogo</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>195–197</td>
<td>Tamalin (Tambourine)</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>198–205</td>
<td>Saron Barung</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Metallophone</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206–207</td>
<td>Saron Peking</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Metallophone</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>208–209</td>
<td>Ketuk/Kempyang</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Gongs</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210</td>
<td>Ketjer</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Cymbals</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>211</td>
<td>Keprak</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Slit-drum</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212</td>
<td>Kenong</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Gongs</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>213</td>
<td>Kemanak</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Slit-drum</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214–217</td>
<td>Gender Wayang</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Metallophone</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>218–223</td>
<td>Gender Barung</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Metallophone</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>224–226</td>
<td>Gender Panerus</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Metallophone</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>227–230</td>
<td>Demung</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Metallophone</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>231–232</td>
<td>Bonang Barung</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Gongs</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>233–234</td>
<td>Bonang Panerus</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Gongs</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>235</td>
<td>Suzu</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Bell tree</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>236</td>
<td>Atari-Gane</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Gong</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>237</td>
<td>Ching</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Gong</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>238–239</td>
<td>Chabara</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Cymbals</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Instrument</td>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Category</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>240</td>
<td>Hsiang Lo (Xiao Luo)</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Gong</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>241–242</td>
<td>Ching Lo (Jing Luo)</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Gong</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>243–245</td>
<td>Ching Po (Jing Bo)</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Cymbals</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>246</td>
<td>Mu Yu</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Wood Block</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>247</td>
<td>Hyoshigi</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Wood Blocks</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>248</td>
<td>Kkwaenggvari (Sogum)</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Gong</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>249</td>
<td>P'eng Ling (Peng Ling)</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Bells</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250</td>
<td>Pan (Ban)</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Clapper</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>251</td>
<td>Sistrum</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>Cymbals</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>252</td>
<td>Samsa</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Thumb Piano</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>253–254</td>
<td>Angklung</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Rattles</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>255–256</td>
<td>Kulintang</td>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>Gongs</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>257</td>
<td>Ndruritana</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Clapper</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>258</td>
<td>Bende</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Gong</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>259</td>
<td>Kalaau</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Rhythm Stick</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>260</td>
<td>Ili Ili</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Castanets</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>261</td>
<td>Ipu</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Gourd Drum</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>262</td>
<td>Coconut Shells</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>263</td>
<td>Pu Ul</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Claves</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>264</td>
<td>Uli Ili</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Rattle</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>265</td>
<td>Kae Keeke</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Stamping Tube</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>266</td>
<td>Cowbell</td>
<td>America</td>
<td>Bell</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>267</td>
<td>Timbale Cowbell</td>
<td>America</td>
<td>Bell</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>268</td>
<td>Small Woodblock</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Percussion</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>269</td>
<td>Large Woodblock</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Percussion</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>270</td>
<td>Sleigh Bells</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Bell Tree</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>271–274</td>
<td>Maraca</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Rattle</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>275</td>
<td>Hand Bell</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Bell</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>276</td>
<td>Orchestra Bells</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Metallophone</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>277</td>
<td>Xylophone</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Xylophone</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>278</td>
<td>Triangle</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Percussion</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>279</td>
<td>Crotales</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Percussion</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>280</td>
<td>Tambourine</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Frame drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>281</td>
<td>Peyote Rattle</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Rattle</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>282</td>
<td>Sistrum (Rattle)</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Rattle</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>283–285</td>
<td>Rattle</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Rattle</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>286</td>
<td>Shark Calling Rattle</td>
<td>Papua New Guinea</td>
<td>Rattle</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>287</td>
<td>Log Drum (? )</td>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>Tubular drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>288</td>
<td>Bass Drum</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>289</td>
<td>Roto-Tom</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Frame drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>290</td>
<td>Side Drum</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>291</td>
<td>Snare Drum</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>292–293</td>
<td>Tympani</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Kettle drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>294</td>
<td>Taiko</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Barrel Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>295</td>
<td>Mame-Daiko</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>296</td>
<td>No-Taiko</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Cylinder Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>297–298</td>
<td>Ko-Daiko</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Cylinder Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>299</td>
<td>Okawa (O-Tsuzumi)</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Hourglass drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300</td>
<td>Ko-Tsuzumi</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Hourglass drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>301</td>
<td>Changgo</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Hourglass drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>302</td>
<td>Sol-Changgo</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Hourglass drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>303</td>
<td>Puk</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Barrel drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>304 – 308</td>
<td>Kugomu</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Barrel drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>309</td>
<td>Huai Ku (Huai Gu)</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Barrel drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>310</td>
<td>T'ang Ku (Tang Gu)</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Barrel drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>311</td>
<td>Tan Pi Ku (Dân Pi Gu)</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Frame drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>312</td>
<td>Tan Pi Ku Drum</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Frame drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>313 – 315</td>
<td>Rebana</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Kettle drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>316</td>
<td>Bedug</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Cylinder drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>317 – 318</td>
<td>Thavil</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>319 – 323</td>
<td>Kanjira</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Frame drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>324 – 337</td>
<td>Mrdangam</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Barrel drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>338 – 340</td>
<td>Pakhawaj</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Barrel drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>341</td>
<td>Tasa (Tarsha)</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Kettle drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>342 – 355</td>
<td>Tabla</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Conical drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>356</td>
<td>Madal (Madala)</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Conical drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>357 – 358</td>
<td>Khol</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Barrel drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>359</td>
<td>Huruk</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Hourglass drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>360</td>
<td>Dholak</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Barrel drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>361</td>
<td>Damaru</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Hourglass drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>362</td>
<td>Daff (Duff)</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Frame drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>363</td>
<td>Bayan</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Kettle drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>364 – 378</td>
<td>Baya</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Kettle drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>379</td>
<td>Bayan</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Kettle drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>380</td>
<td>Dayreh</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>Frame drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>381</td>
<td>Kihembe</td>
<td>E. Africa</td>
<td>Conical drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>382</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>383 – 384</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Frame drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>395 – 392</td>
<td>Koto</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Zither</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>393 – 394</td>
<td>Ajaeng</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Zither</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>395 – 396</td>
<td>Hyon'gum (Komun'go)</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Zither</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>397 – 404</td>
<td>Vina</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>405 – 408</td>
<td>Tanpura</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>409</td>
<td>Bin</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Zither</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>410 – 412</td>
<td>Tanbura</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>413</td>
<td>Tanpura</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>414 – 423</td>
<td>Sitar</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>424 – 426</td>
<td>Sarod</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>427 – 429</td>
<td>Setar</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>430</td>
<td>Saz</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>431</td>
<td>Cura</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>432</td>
<td>Chogur</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>433 – 434</td>
<td>‘Ud</td>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>435</td>
<td>Gunbri</td>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>436</td>
<td>Bouzouki</td>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>437</td>
<td>Guitar</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Guitar</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>438</td>
<td>Kanun</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Zither</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Instrument</td>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>439</td>
<td>Shamisen</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>445</td>
<td>San-Hsien (San-Xian)</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>446</td>
<td>Haegum</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Fiddle</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>447</td>
<td>Dahu (Ta-Hu)</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>448</td>
<td>Erhu</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>450</td>
<td>Kao Hu (Gao Hu)</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Fiddle</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>452</td>
<td>Ching Hu (Jing Hu)</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Fiddle</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>453</td>
<td>Chung-hu (Zhong Hu)</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Fiddle</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>454</td>
<td>Yeh Hu (Ye Hu)</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Fiddle</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>455</td>
<td>Rebab</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Fiddle</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>460</td>
<td>Fiddle</td>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>Fiddle</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>461</td>
<td>Khamak</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>462</td>
<td>Aktara (Ektara)</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>463</td>
<td>Dilruba</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>464</td>
<td>Esraj (Esrar)</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>465</td>
<td>Sarangi</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Fiddle</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>468</td>
<td>Hoopla Ganba</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Fiddle</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>469</td>
<td>Lyre</td>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>Lyre</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>470</td>
<td>Shakuhachi</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>496</td>
<td>Yak</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>497</td>
<td>Tanso</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>507</td>
<td>Chok</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>508</td>
<td>Hsiao (Xiao)</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>511</td>
<td>Suling</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>513</td>
<td>Balobat</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>514</td>
<td>Surdam</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>515</td>
<td>Tongali</td>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>517</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>519</td>
<td>Ney</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>520</td>
<td>Duduk</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>521</td>
<td>Kaval</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>522</td>
<td>Flute (tenor)</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>523</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>524</td>
<td>Flute (soprano)</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>526</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>527</td>
<td>Flute (bass)</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>528</td>
<td>Flute (alto)</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>529</td>
<td>Slide Whistle</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>530</td>
<td>Alto Recorder</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>532</td>
<td>Tenor Recorder</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>533</td>
<td>Bass recorder</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>534</td>
<td>Recorder (soprano)</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>536</td>
<td>Flute (soprano)</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>537</td>
<td>Sopilka</td>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>538</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>539</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>540</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Czech</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>541</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>542</td>
<td>Pinkillo</td>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>543</td>
<td>Tlapitzalli</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>544</td>
<td>Nokan</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>545</td>
<td>Komabue</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>546</td>
<td>Ryuteki (Oteki)</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>547</td>
<td>Chunggum</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>548 – 550</td>
<td>Sogum</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>551 – 553</td>
<td>Taegum (Sanjo)</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>554 – 559</td>
<td>Taegum</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>560 – 561</td>
<td>Di</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>562</td>
<td>Pang Ti (Bang Di)</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>563 – 565</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>566 – 570</td>
<td>Bansri</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>571</td>
<td>Flute?</td>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>572</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Nederlands</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>573 – 574</td>
<td>Piccolo</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>575</td>
<td>French Horn</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Horn</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>576</td>
<td>Hichiriki</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Reed</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>577 – 579</td>
<td>Hyang-P’iri</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Oboe</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>580 – 583</td>
<td>Se-P’iri</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Oboe</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>584 – 587</td>
<td>Tang-P’iri</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Oboe</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>588</td>
<td>Sarüee Etek</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Oboe</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>589</td>
<td>Sarunee</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Oboe</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>590</td>
<td>Sarunee Bolon</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Oboe</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>591</td>
<td>Pupuik</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Oboe</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>592 – 593</td>
<td>Sarunee Bulu</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Oboe</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>594</td>
<td>Pupuik</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Oboe</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>595 – 596</td>
<td>Serunai</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Oboe</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>597 – 598</td>
<td>Shahnai</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Oboe</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>599</td>
<td>Tundi</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Reed-pipe</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600</td>
<td>Nagaswarum</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Oboe</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>601 – 602</td>
<td>Otto</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Oboe</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>603</td>
<td>Sho</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Panpipe</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>604</td>
<td>Gezi</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Reed</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>605</td>
<td>Harmonium</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Keyboard</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>606</td>
<td>Hun</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>607</td>
<td>Kazoo</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Pipe</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>608</td>
<td>Sicu (Panpipes)</td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>Panpipe</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>609</td>
<td>Panpipes</td>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>Panpipe</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>610</td>
<td>Elephant Tusk Horn</td>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>Horn</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>611</td>
<td>Whistling Jar</td>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>Whistle</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>612</td>
<td>East African Trumpet</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Horn</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>613</td>
<td>No (naw)</td>
<td>Laos</td>
<td>Panpipe</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>614 – 615</td>
<td>Lu Sheng</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Reed-pipe</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>616 – 617</td>
<td>Khene</td>
<td>Laos</td>
<td>Panpipe</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>618</td>
<td>Ocarina</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>619 – 621</td>
<td>Violin</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>622 – 624</td>
<td>Viola</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>625</td>
<td>Violin</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>626 – 629</td>
<td>Claves</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Claves</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Instrument</td>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>630</td>
<td>Kendang</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>631 – 632</td>
<td>Kulanter</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>633</td>
<td>Tanbur</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>634</td>
<td>Reed Organ</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Keyboard</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>635</td>
<td>Console piano</td>
<td></td>
<td>Keyboard</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>636</td>
<td>Sousaphone</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Horn</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>637</td>
<td>Harpsichord</td>
<td></td>
<td>Keyboard</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>638</td>
<td>Lap Organ</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Keyboard</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>639</td>
<td>Toy Piano</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Keyboard</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>640</td>
<td>Bālābān</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>Oboe</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>641</td>
<td>Penny Whistle</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>642</td>
<td>Neylavak (Neilabaki)</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>643 – 644</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Papua New Guinea</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>645 – 646</td>
<td>Zurna</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Oboe</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>647</td>
<td>Nagaswarum</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Oboe</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>648</td>
<td>Nagaswarum Bell</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Bell</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>649 – 653</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>654 – 656</td>
<td>Khene</td>
<td>Laos</td>
<td>Panpipe</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>657 – 658</td>
<td>Sicu (panpipes)</td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>Panpipe</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>659</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td></td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>660 – 662</td>
<td>Tongali</td>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>663 – 667</td>
<td>Suling</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>668 – 669</td>
<td>Ethiopian Drum</td>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>670 – 671</td>
<td>Talking Drum</td>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>672 – 673</td>
<td>Thumb Marimba</td>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>Keyboard</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>674</td>
<td>Ghanaian Xylophone</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Xylophone</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>675 – 676</td>
<td>Barrel Drum</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Barrel drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>677</td>
<td>Tall carved drum</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>678</td>
<td>Harp</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Harp</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>679</td>
<td>Ghanaian Tambourine</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Frame drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>680 – 681</td>
<td>Seed pod chain rattle</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Rattle</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>682 – 683</td>
<td>Gankogui</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Bell</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>684</td>
<td>Atsimevu</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>685</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>Membranophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>686 – 688</td>
<td>Atoke</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Bell</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>689</td>
<td>Rattle</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Rattle</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>690 – 691</td>
<td>Whistle</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Whistle</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>692</td>
<td>Seed pod chain rattle</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Rattle</td>
<td>Idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>693</td>
<td>Bamboo flute</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Aerophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>694</td>
<td>Kora</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>695</td>
<td>Lutundo</td>
<td>Conga Islands</td>
<td>Harp</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>696</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Lute</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>697</td>
<td>Sarangi</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Fiddle</td>
<td>Chordophone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2

Junko Oba’s 1994 Report on the State of the Collection

Note: Appendices i and ii and part of original document

The World Music Instrument Collection
Wesleyan University
Department of Music
Middletown, Connecticut 06459
(860)685-2650

I. Nature and Function of the Collection

The World Music Instrument Collection (WMIC) is an integral part of the broader program in World Music at Wesleyan University. It began in the mid-1960's when visiting teachers and performing artists began purchasing large numbers of instruments for instructional and performing purposes. It is important to note here that the Collection was born out of a practical need to handle instruments connected with an active educational and performance program.

This function gives the Collection a dual character: an "instrument lending library" as a former curator H. Collins Lein defined it; and an important research resource of ethnomusicology. Thus all the instruments in the Collection should be kept in usable conditions for research, teaching and learning, and performance for Wesleyan faculty and students as well as for artists and scholars outside the university.

Foci of the Collection are determined by courses offered in the World Music Program. We presently house a large number of musical instruments from these areas:

a) Ghana (mostly drums)
b) North and South India (various types)
c) Indonesia (gamelan instruments)
d) East Asia (various types)
e) Trinidad (steel drums), and
f) The West (orchestral instruments)

The Collection also includes the David McAllester Collection of Native American musical instruments; the instruments were collected and donated by Dr. McAllester who is a co-founder of the World Music Program.

The central location of the Collection is the Music Studios, Room 101 (MS101) in the Music Department. However, the above mentioned instruments except those of the McAllester collection are stored in different places, under the separate jurisdiction of
the instructors. In order to keep track of conditions of these instruments which are supposed to be most often used, and therefore need good maintenance, I believe annual systematic inventory is necessary.

In the MS 101, there is a full display of other instruments. A graduate student curator, who is annually assigned to this position by the Director of Graduate Studies in Music, is responsible for running this part of the Collection. The curator's responsibilities include:

1. to maintain the Collection's physical integrity;
2. to expand the Collection over time with good quality; instruments;
3. to catalog and document the holdings, and to regularly update the information;
4. to develop an adequate arrangement for permanent display;
5. to publicize the Collection and expand the opportunities for its use;
6. to loan the Collection out for relevant academic uses; and
7. to maintain contact with other similar collections for mutual research benefit and simply sharing of ideas.

II. Current State of the Collection

The following report explains the Collection's current situation in the light of these seven proposed goals.

1. Physical Condition: Despite some previous curators' efforts to improve storage conditions of the MS 101, the instruments in this room in general have seriously decayed over many years. The Collection needs a serious attention and professional help of the organologist, museum conservator etc if possible.

2. Acquisition: Because there is no budget available for the Collection to use for this purpose, we have not been very active or positive in increasing our holdings in recent years. Generous gifts and various types of loans (permanent, semi-permanent etc.) from scholars, musicians, and other people who have the musical instruments for some reason are the only acquisitions to the Collection now. In April, 1994, we have acquired an Afghan rebab as a gift from Mr. Theodore Gochenour, through the efforts of Professor Gage Averill. In 1996, Matt Rogalsky (MA '95) donated a wooden elephant tusk-shaped side-blown horn of Kenya.

3. Cataloging: Although the Collection is pretty well documented in the form of card catalogs, there has been no meaningful cataloging system applied ever since it established in the 1960's. Formation of a new (actually the first) and original Wesleyan cataloging system partly based on Hornbostel-Sachs system of classification is now in progress. The new system consists of 4 different levels of classification:

   Level 1 -- Organological classification based upon Hornbostel-Sachs system.
Level 2 -- Musical/cultural geographical classification. Current display of the Collection in the MS 101 seems to be based on this idea. H. Collins Lein, curator in 1981, explains the purpose of this display as "one can see the continuity as well as the diversity between musical instruments in a given area using this system" in the literature he prepared for introducing the Collection. However, the card catalogs are in alphabetical order as Americas, China, Eastern Europe, Ghana, and so on. This alphabetical order is very inefficient in showing the musical/cultural continuity and diversity, for example, of East Asia: China, Japan and Korea. In the new system, data will be filed hopefully in more meaningful order in terms of their cultural geographical background.

Level 3 -- Classification based on the musical instrument's physical condition. According to the nature of the Collection as an "instrument lending library," this kind of classification is crucial for our data. Our current card catalogs include some information about the instruments' conditions. They are classified into three levels as A=usable, B=need repair, and C=irrepairable. As the decay of the instruments has become worse in general since the date of this information, we may need to update the information, and classify even more precisely such as:

- A1=loanable for all purposes (performance, research, and display),
- A2=loanable for research and display,
- A3=loanable for research use only,
- A4=in-house display only etc.

Level 4 -- Location of the instrument. As mentioned earlier, a large portion of the Collection is stored or used in different places under different jurisdictions. In order to prevent the possible loss of the instruments which has frequently happened in the past indeed, it should be clarified where and under whose jurisdiction the instruments are placed. Without this kind of information, the earlier proposed annual systematic inventory is impractical.

4. Display: In 1993, Music Department installed many new shelves and peg boards in the MS 101 which would enable us to make a better display of much more instruments. I have been working on the new display plan in conjunction with the new cataloging system. Except for the aerophones including some 100 flutes which need identification, the display installation would have been completed by the end of this semester.

In addition to the showcases in the Music building, I am interested in using the other showcase placed in the Music Library. Music librarian, Mr. Jim Farrington, has been organizing a series of mini exhibitions there, displaying records, books, scores, and other items on particular themes. It would seem a good idea to display musical instruments and sound recording examples of them, in collaboration with the Music Library. (For a practical reason, the showcases in the Music Department are suitable only for small or flat instruments, but not good for showing larger instruments such as
5. Publicity: No effort has been made for publicity so far because there has been too much to do for one person, and because the Collection has been quite unorganized and not been ready yet for full-operation yet. When the Collection is fully organized under the new computerized cataloging system, all the data should be made easily accessible for the faculty and students of music through the Music Department and the Music Library. We should publicize it to the larger university community as well so that students of anthropology, art and area studies for example can use the Collection for their studies too.

6 & 7. Communication with other musical instrument collections: At this point, we have not been very positive in making contact with other institutions from us, although we have had a number of inquiries from scholars who belong to other institutions and somehow know of our Collection. Because we replace curator every year and one person sits on the position only for nine months, it is in fact very difficult to establish and maintain channels of frequent communication.

III. Problems

As mentioned earlier, there seem to be two serious problems that the Collection is facing.

1. Many of the instruments in the Collection are ageing and decaying, and seriously need repair, conservation and maintenance work. However, there is no professional in the Music Department who continuously care those instruments. Even if we cannot afford a professional full-time curator, can't we have someone like Fred Stubbs and Dennis Waring come and check the condition of the Collection once every year or two? That would prevent the situation from getting so critical as we have to get a grant to invite someone from the Smithsonian or elsewhere.

2. There is no consistency in any aspect of the management of the Collection. One of the reasons for such chaotic condition is that each jurisdiction is independent, and has different policies and different sources of budget for purchase of new instruments, instrument loan, maintenance etc. It is very difficult for the curator to have a grasp of the situation outside the MS 101.

The absence of professional curator who is to keep track of the Collection over the longer period of time is another problem contributing to the current chaotic state of the Collection. A number of student curators tried to organize things in their own ways because of the lack of an established system. Despite their enthusiasm and effort, it is very likely that they ended up messing up things even worse. If this does not happen, they would find their terms are over just figuring out what is going on for nine months in that dusty room.

The first part of the report, "Nature and Functions of the Collection" is based upon the
Appendix i

CLASSIFICATION --- LEVEL 1

Example: classification [Hornbostel-Sachs number(s)]

I. IDIOPHONES

1. Clappers [111.11, 111.12, 112.111]
2. Castanets/cymbals [111.141, 111.142]
3. Xylophones/metallophones [111.211, 111.221, 111.222]
4. Slit-drums (percussion tubes & vessels) [111.231]
5. Stamping tubes & sticks [111.232]
6. Gongs [111.241]
7. Bells [111.242]
8. Rattles [112.13, 112.122, 111.242]
9. Scraped idiophones [112.211]
10. Plucked idiophones [121.12, 121.2]

II. MEMBRANOPHONES

1. Kettle drums [211.1]
2. Tubular, barrel-shaped, hourglass-shaped drums
   a. Single-headed [211.2, 211.261]
   b. Double-headed [211.23, 211.24]
3. Frame drums
   a. Single-headed [211.311]
   b. Double-headed [211.312, 211.322]
4. Rattle drums [212.24-6, 212.222]
5. Plucked drums (khamaks) [22]
6. Friction drums [231.2-922, 232.2]
7. Singing membranes (kazoos) [241.242]

III. CHORDOPHONES

1. Musical bows [311.12, 311.21]
2. Tubular zithers [312, 312.12, 312.22]
3. Board and box zithers [314.11, 314.12]
4. Lyres [321.21]
5. Plucked lutes [321.321-6, 321.322]
7. Plucked spike lutes [321.312]
8. Bowed spike lutes [321.311-7]
9. Harps [322.11-2]

IV. AEROPHONES

1. Free aerophones [412.22]
2. Free reeds [412.132]
3. End-blown flutes [421.111]
4. Transverse flutes [421.121]
5. Duct flutes [421.211, 421.221]
6. Globular flutes [421.13]
7. Panpipes [421.112]
8. Reedpipes I (oboe type) [422.112]
9. Reedpipes II (clarinet type) [422.212, 422.22]
10. Trumpets [423.233]

V. OTHERS
MUSICAL INSTRUMENT LOAN AGREEMENT
Wesleyan University, Department of Music

A ______________________, __________, and ________________________
(name of instrument)     (catalog no.)      (its accessory, if any)

has been borrowed by ___________ _____________ for the period
(last name)     (first name)

from ______________ to ________________.

All instruments in this collection should be kept in usable condition for research, teaching, and performance for Wesleyan faculty and students, and for relevant academic uses outside the university as well. I understand that I share the responsibility for the instrument I loan.

I understand that it is my obligation to return the instrument by the date fixed in the same condition in which I received it, and that I will be held financially responsible for any damage, alteration of any part and for loss of the instrument that is due to my negligence and/or misuse.

I will handle the instrument with the greatest possible care for its use, storage, and transportation. When the instrument travels out of the Middletown area, I have to notify the curator and obtain a written permission in advance together with handling advice.

I (if student) will deposit a check of $75.00 which will not be cashed as far as the above-mentioned conditions are observed. In the case that damage/loss occurs, the deposit will be a part of necessary cost for repair or making good a loss.

Signed________________________________
Campus Address_________________________
Phone Number__________________________
Student ID #___________________________
Permanent Address_______________________
Phone Number__________________________
Faculty Supervisor_______________________

Deposit $______________________________
Received by ______________________ Returned to ______________________
Date______________________________ by ______________________

Copy O.__ U.__, Deposit O.__, File __
Appendix ii

CLASSIFICATION --- LEVEL 2

Example: MUSICAL/CULTURAL AREA: country, culture etc. whose musical instruments are housed in the Collection, and/or which represent the area.

I. EAST ASIA: China, Japan, and Korea.

II. SOUTHEAST ASIA: Indonesia, Philippins, Thailand etc.

III. SOUTH ASIA: North and South India etc.

IV. WEST ASIA: Iran, Turkey, Afghanistan etc. and Greece.


VI. EAST EUROPE: Czech Republic, Slovak Republic, Roumania, Yugoslavia etc.

VII. WEST EUROPE: Germany, France, England, Spain, Italy etc.

VIII. THE SCANDINAVIAN: Norway, Sweden, Finnland.

IX. NORTH AFRICA: Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia etc.

X. WEST AFRICA: Ghana, Senegal, Nigeria, Liberia etc.

XI. OTHER SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA: Kenya, Uganda, Egypt etc.

XII. SOUTH AFRICA: Tanzania, Angola, South Africa etc.

XIII. THE CARRIBIAN: Cuba, Haiti, Jamaica, Trinidad etc.

XIV. THE NATIVE AMERICAN

XV. NORTH AMERICA: the U.S.A. and Canada

XVI. CENTRAL & SOUTH AMERICAS: Mexico, Brazil, Argentina etc.

XVII. THE PACIFIC: Hawaii, Australia, New Zealand etc.
References

Written Sources


Interviews


Kuivila, Ron. (February 6, 2008). Personal Interview.

Miller, Chris. (October 29, 2007). Personal Interview.

Oba, Junko. (December 6, 2007). Personal Interview.


Slobin, Mark. (December 12, 2007). Personal Interview.

Sumarsam (December 13, 2007). Personal Interview.

Waring, Dennis. (November 20, 2007). Personal Interview.