Ethnomusicology, §II: History to 1945

II. Pre-1945

1. Background.

(i) Early sources.

Western interest in non-Western music dates back to the voyages of discovery, and the philosophical rationale for the study of foreign cultures derives from the Age of Enlightenment. Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–78) argued that music is cultural not natural and that diverse peoples would react differently to ‘diverse musical accents’; his *Dictionnaire de Musique* (1768) includes samples of Swiss, Iranian, Chinese and Canadian Amerindian music.

As early as the 17th century Europeans, including missionaries, explorers and civil servants, made contributions to music research in the colonies, through references in diaries and monographs. Captain James Cook (1728–79) recorded careful descriptions of the music and dance of Pacific islanders (1784); the Swiss theologian Jean de Léry (1534–1611) wrote about Brazil in *Histoire d’un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil* (1578), which includes musical notation and describes antiphonal singing between men and women and dancers in elaborately feathered costumes. Jacques Cartier (1491–1557) observed Canadian Amerindian singing and dancing on his New World voyages (1534, 1535–6) and his crew entertained the Amerindians with ‘trompettes et aultres instruments de musique’ (Biggar, 1924).

The early literature is particularly rich in writings on Chinese music. The French Jesuit Jean-Baptiste du Halde (1674–1743) based his monograph, *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique et physique de l’empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise* (1735), on reports of Jesuit missionaries to China from the 16th century onwards. The French cleric Joseph Amiot (1718–93) served for some 60 years as a missionary in Beijing, where he wrote the pioneering study, *Mémoire sur la musique des Chinois tant anciens que moderns* (1779). The Irish-born Earl of MacCartney in 1793–4
led an embassy from the King of England to China, where he met with Father Amiot (1793–4; published, 1962). The party comprised 95 persons including a six-man German band that played for the Chinese on an assortment of string and wind instruments (supplied by the English musicologist Dr Charles Burney). The German theologian and music critic Gottfried Wilhelm Fink (1782–1846) published a monograph on Chinese and Hindustani music, *Einiges über die Begründungsweise* (1831). He also proposed an early diffusionist theory of European music (1831, *Erste Wanderung der ältesten Tonkunst*).

Francis Taylor Piggot, author of *The Music and Musical Instruments of Japan* (1893), spent years with Japanese musicians; his valuable treatise describes many aspects of Japanese musical life, some now obsolete. For the Arab world the Frenchman Guillaume-André Villoteau (1759–1839) worked at the request of General Bonaparte during the Egyptian campaign. In his three major works Villoteau discussed Arab folk and art music, the music of minority groups in Egypt from Asia, Europe, and sub-Saharan Africa and Ethiopian, Armenian and Greek music (1812, 1813, 1816). The French composer, Francesco Salvador-Daniel, lived in Algeria from 1853 to 1865; he combined eastern and western systems in his compositions and compared them in his essay, *La musique arabe, se rapports avec la musique grecque et le chant grégorien* (1863), in which he argued that Arab and Greek modes were similar, contradicting Villoteau’s theory.

In modern times some ethnomusicologists have put these sources to good use, for example in the analysis of musical change. In her research on Tongan dance, Adrienne Kaeppler used the diaries of Captain James Cook’s third voyage (1784) to confirm that the structures of the *me’etu’upaki* formal ceremonial dance survived relatively unchanged after the conversion of the T’ui Tonga chief to Christianity in the late 19th century and that the informal *me’elaufola* dance, for which Cook describes graceful hand and arm movements, was renamed *lakalaka* after conversion to Methodism (Kaeppler, 1970).

The writings of Mungo Park (1771–1806) provide evidence of stylistic continuity in African music. Imprisoned during his travels, he recorded observations in his diary about native song and dance, for example this passage about the women’s songs of Bambarra, Niger (20 July 1796). They lightened their labour by songs, one of which was composed extempore; for I was myself the subject of it. It was sung by one of the young women, the rest joining in a sort of chorus. The air was sweet and plaintive, and the words, literally
translated, were these. – ‘The winds roared, and the rain fell. – The poor white man, faint and weary, came and sat under our tree. – He has no mother to bring him milk; no wife to grind his corn. Chorus. Let us pity the white man; no mother has he, &c, &c’ (Park, 1799).

This passage describes some important features of African music; its integration with work and play, the predominance of leader–chorus form and the use of improvisation. A useful anthology of early sources is given in Harrison (1972).

(ii) Scientific advances.

Scientific investigation of non-Western music was made possible by the invention of the phonograph in 1877 by Thomas Edison. The phonograph facilitated fieldwork, offering pioneering comparative musicologists the possibility of playback from which to transcribe and analyse.

Scholars were quick to use the phonograph, recording many two- to four-minute samples of music on wax cylinders, which they added to their collections of instruments, photographs and notations made ‘by ear’. The first field recordings were made by Jesse Walter Fewkes in 1890 among the Passamaquoddy Indians of Maine. In Hungary Béla Vikár (1859–1945) began recording in the field in 1896, and in Russia, Evgeniya Linoyova in 1897. The portable and convenient cylinder machine continued to be used in the field until the 1950s, even though more advanced technology, such as wire, and then tape recorders became available.

The English phonetician, Alexander J. Ellis (1814–90), an expert on the psychology of hearing and acoustics is often said, by English scholars, to be the father of modern ethnomusicology, and his publication ‘On the Musical Scales of Various Nations’ (1885), the first scientific and fair-minded appraisal of non-Western tuning systems, to mark the birth of the new study. Although he felt his hearing was faulty (or perhaps for this very reason), he devised the ‘cents’ system of pitch measurement, whereby the Western tempered semitone is divided into 100 cents, the octave into 1200 cents. The precision of his system allowed the objective measurement of non-Western scales. Musical scales, Ellis maintained, were the product of cultural invention and not based on natural acoustical laws. All musical scales were equally natural, hence equally good. The
pronouncement he read before the Royal Society in 1885 is a credo for modern ethnomusicology, that ‘the Musical Scale is not one, not “natural”, nor even founded necessarily on the laws of the constitution of musical sound, so beautifully worked out by Helmholtz, but very diverse, very artificial, and very capricious’ (p. 526). This finding brought into question the superiority of Western tempered tuning and led the way to open-minded cross-cultural comparison of musical systems. It dealt a harsh blow to the pernicious theory of the ‘contemporary ancestor’ as applied to music, whereby so-called ‘primitive’ music was understood to represent an early phase in the evolution of European art music.

Ellis was assisted in his investigations by Alfred James Hipkins (1826–1903), specialist on temperament and pitch, of the Broadwood piano firm. This team measured the non-diatonic and non-harmonic tunings of Asian instruments, breaking precedent by testing in a performance setting rather than in the lab. They studied visiting Japanese musicians (1885), Central Javanese music during a gamelan appearance at the London Aquarium (1882) and Chinese court music at the International Health Exhibition (1884). In their findings they debunked the prevalent notion that pentatonic scales had developed in Asian cultures because of insensitivity to the subtleties of the semitone: ‘It is found that intervals of three-quarters and five-quarters of a Tone, and even more, occur. Hence the real division of the Octave in a pentatonic scale is very varied’.

2. Northern and western Europe.

(i) Germany and Austria.

Cylinder collections from colonial holdings steadily mounted in the archives of Berlin, Vienna and other European capitals. Most of these early recordings were made during ethnological fieldwork. Within the scientific climate of the late 19th century, with evolutionary theories spawned by Darwinians prevalent in the social sciences, this mounting body of data fueled the development of Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft (‘comparative musicology’).

Psychologists and acousticians of the Berlin Phonogrammarchiv, including Carl Stumpf (1848–1936) and Erich M. von Hornbostel (1877–1935), studied hundreds of cylinders recorded by German ethnologists in colonial territories from Africa to the Pacific. From
analysis of this extremely limited and diverse material they posited ambitious theories about the distribution of musical styles, instruments and tunings. These included evolutionary schemes and later in the 1930s reconstructions of music history. This movement is often called the ‘cultural-historical school’.

Carl Stumpf’s landmark study ‘Lieder der Bellakula Indianer’ (1886), based on work with a touring group of Bella Coola Indians from British Columbia, is reckoned, by German scholars, to mark the birth of ethnomusicology as a scholarly discipline. Stumpf’s pioneering ethnography deals with the repertory of an individual group, with a description of musical elements, including transcriptions in Western notation and a discussion of the relationship of Bella Coola music to its cultural context. One of Stumpf’s assumptions was that the world’s musics can be divided into individual units, each with its own system and rational.

The Berlin school produced many monographs, particularly by Stumpf’s brilliant assistant Hornbostel, who, in his early writings, collaborated with Otto Abraham (1872–1926) whose special interest was psychology and absolute pitch. Many co-signed articles entitled ‘Phonographierte … melodien’, were appended to the great German ethnographies of the day, extended essays which dealt with the scales, tonal systems, and rhythms of the early cylinder collections. Marius Schneider (1903–82) and Mieczyslaw Kolinski (1901–81) assisted Hornbostel; and Curt Sachs (1881–1959), professionally trained in the history of art, joined with Hornbostel in their seminal classification for organology, Systematik der Musikinstrumente (1914). The Viennese scholars of this generation included Adler’s successor Robert Lach (1874–1958), Richard Wallaschek (1860–1917), Siegfried Nadel (1903–56), Walter Graf (1903–82) and Albert Wellek (1904–72).

The aim of comparative musicology was to outline the historical and genetic relationships between the music systems of the world, based on evolutionary models and genetic classification in biology. Many scholars of comparative musicology had trained in the natural sciences and this orientation was the hallmark of their research: Hornbostel was trained in chemistry, Boas in physics and geography and Abraham was a physician. The comparative approach of other scholars, for example Ellis, originated in linguistics. Their writings demonstrate historical relationships between musical systems described in terms
that are unacceptable in modern parlance, for example, the progression from ‘simple’ music to ‘complex’ and ‘sophisticated’ systems. This work presupposed a Eurocentric perspective posing such dichotomies as ‘primitive’ versus ‘civilized’ peoples.

Comparative musicology was relatively short-lived, lasting from around 1885 until the death of Hornbostel in 1935, even though the need to compare melodies from around the world to determine their age was introduced as early as 1863 by Friedrich Chrysander. Interdisciplinary in nature and world-wide in scope, this experimental field sought to explain the origins of music and its subsequent historical development in the broadest cross-cultural comparative terms. Using diffusionist theories, Hornbostel (1911), Kunst (1935–6) and Sachs (1938), claimed historical links between the music of insular South-east Asia and of Africa. A connection between Madagascar and South-east Asia was also suggested, based on instruments, tunings and linguistic relationships. A.M. Jones (1964) correlated other cultural elements (fine arts, agriculture), an extension of the theory that has been refuted. Drawing on limited samples of music, the Berlin and Vienna scholars used tonal measurement and psychological testing to develop theories, many of which have not held up in the light of new data collected after World War II.

The most ambitious of these was *Kulturkreislehre*, the ‘theory of culture circles’, a theory of the history of culture advanced by Fritz Graebner (1877–1954), and the clerics Father Wilhelm Schmidt (1868–1954) and Father Wilhelm Koppers (1886–1961). They proposed that culture developed in one geographical region, thought to be in Central Asia, and spread in waves of migration out from this centre. According to the theory, similarities between *Kulturmerkmale* or ‘culture traits’ (objects and forms of social organization) resulted from past migrations; traits discovered farthest from the centre were reckoned to be the oldest; and identical objects and ideas might exist thousands of miles apart. This notion assumed the fundamental uninventiveness of humankind (‘monogenesis’), and was espoused dogmatically by the Germans, rejected by the British and French anthropological schools and eventually dismissed by German-born anthropologist Franz Boas (1858–1942) and his students at Columbia University. Important studies which embraced this theory include: Ankermann, 1902; Hornbostel, 1933; Wieschoff, 1933; Danckert, 1937; and Hübner, 1935, 1938. Curt Sachs’ most ambitious study of musical instruments, *Geist und Werden der Musikinstrumente* (1929),
was based on *Kulturkreis*. In this instruments were historically ordered and organized into 23 areas using distribution and technological level; those found in scattered regions were thought to be older than those found everywhere. The impact of such a theory in ethnomusicology is puzzling in light of its limited and brief role in the history of anthropology.

The *Blasquintentheorie* (‘theory of blown 5ths’) of Hornbostel (1927), was the most sensational proposal of the Berlin school. Berlin scholars found many examples of equipentatonic and equiheptatonic scales while measuring the tunings of instruments in collections. These scales with equally-spaced tones appeared to be widespread and thus of particular significance. By testing Brazilian panpipes (and blowing harshly on some of the tubes), Hornbostel derived the hypothesis that many non-Western tuning systems were based on intervals of 678 cents (rather than on Pythagorean 5ths of 702 cents). However, Hornbostel failed to heed Ellis’ argument that ‘there is no practical way of arriving at the real pitch of a musical scale, when it cannot be heard as played by a native musician; and even in the latter case, we only obtain that particular musician’s tuning of the scale, not the theory on which it was founded’ (1885). When the *Blasquintentheorie* theory was disproved by Manfred Bukofzer for lack of empirical evidence (1937), the Berlin school lost credibility for much of its other powerful ethnographic work.

(ii) The Netherlands.

Early Dutch scholarship focussed on the music of their colonial holdings including the East Indies (now Indonesia), the Moluccas, the Dutch Antilles, and Dutch Guiana (Suriname) on the South American coast. Several important ethnographies on Java, the most densely populated island of the Indonesian archipelago, included music, beginning with the writings of the philologist J.A. Wilkens whose linguistic survey includes an inventory of the instruments and description of the gamelan orchestra (1850), J.P. Veth’s survey on Javanese music (1875), and J. Groneman *De gamelan te Jogjakarta* (1890), based on his years in Yogyakarta where he served as physician to the sultan. Groneman sent descriptions and photos of the court gamelan to Jan P.N. Land whose study of non-European scales and intervals (including Arab and Indonesian material) was researched
in consultation with Alexander J. Ellis. The descriptions were published as the ‘Foreward: On Our Knowledge of Javanese Music’ (1890), to the Groneman monograph.

The leading figure in Dutch ethnomusicology is Jaap Kunst (1891–1960), whose early music ethnography on the Dutch island of Terschelling (1915) is still used by the islanders. Kunst first visited Java in 1919 on an 18-month tour as the pianist of a trio. Kunst remained in Java to study the gamelan tradition of the palace of prince Paku Alam in Yoyjakarta. His prolific correspondence with Hornbostel during the 1920s and 30s (some 160 letters) illustrates the scholarly dialogue of the period between the World Wars and reveals Kunst’s methods for his classic De toonkunst van Java (1934).

Hornbostel and Kunst were fascinated by the two gamelan tuning systems, the seven-tone pélog and the five-tone sléndro, which Kunst measured with a self-devised monochord. Hornbostel used Kunst’s measurements to support the Blasquintentheorie and Kunst was surprised by Manfred Bukofzer’s disproof of it: ‘If ever I had had any confidence in a theory, it was this one’, he wrote to Bukofzer in May 1936.

In collaboration with his wife, Kunst also wrote authoritative and lengthy monographs on the music of Bali (1925), Flores (1942), Nias (1939) and Hindu Javanese instruments (1928).

(iii) France and Belgium.

The leading French musicologist of the early 20th century was André Schaeffner (1895–1980), who did exhaustive fieldwork with the Dogon people of Mali (formerly French Sudan). Schaeffner, a specialist in organology, worked with Curt Sachs and Sachs’s instrument study of 1929 was the impetus for Schaeffner’s work, Origine des instruments et musique. Introduction ethnologique à l’histoire de la musique instrumentale (1936).

Schaeffner includes Western art music in his study, and paints a picture of universal origins of instruments based on secondary sources and his own fieldwork.

In Paris, Dr L. Azoulay recorded 400 wax cylinders in 74 Asian, European and African languages at the World Exhibition of 1900, a collection that formed the basis of the first French archive, the Musée Phonographique de la Société d’Anthropologie de Paris, expanded in 1938 to become the Phonothèque Nationale. In 1929 Schaeffner established the Musée d’Ethnographie du Trocadéro, renamed Musée de l’Homme in 1937.
In Belgium, the music historian François-Joseph Fétis (1784–1871) was one of the first to recognize the value of non-Western music in his *Histoire général de la musique, depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu’à nos jours* (5 vols., 1869–76). He includes material on the music of China, Japan, India and the Central Asian Kalmyks, Kyrghyz, Kamchadals and other Siberian peoples. He recommends the study of ethnology, anthropology and linguistics for music historians. Both Fétis and the Bengali musicologist Sir S.M. Tagore (1840–1914) gave their instrument collections to King Leopold II. These instruments formed the basis of the Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire Royal de Musique of Brussels, 1877, a collection studied by the Belgian organologist Victor-Charles Mahillon (1841–1924), who developed a classification system for instruments, with four main categories, autophones, membranophones, chordophones and aerophones (1880–92), a scheme that was the foundation for the Hornbostel–Sachs system (1914).

Extensive Belgian research was carried out on the music of Central Africa, beginning with the study of E. Coart and A. de Haulleville (1902) based on the collection of Musée du Congo Belge at Tervuren established in 1837 (now the Musée Royal d’Afrique Centrale). A. Hutereau recorded some 210 wax cylinders in north-eastern Zaire between 1910–12, particularly of the Zande people. Musical instruments of the Belgian Congo were studied by Joseph Maes from 1912, Gaston Knosp (1934–5, published by P. Cullaer in 1968) and Olga Boone (1936).

(iv) Britain.

British colonial writings on Indian music begin with Sir William Jones’s (1746–94) *On the Musical Modes of the Hindoos* (1792). His music treatise was based on his reading (in Persian translation) of the *Saṅgīta-darpaṇa* of Dāmodarapandita (c1625), the *Saṅgīta-pārijāta* of Ahobala Paṇḍīta (17th century, also in Persian translation) and the *Rāga-vibodha* (1609) of Somanātha. The value of Jones’s treatise lies not in its essential accuracy or strength of argument but the role it had in bringing the traditions of North India to the attention of Western scholars.

This was followed by Captain N. Augustus Willard’s *A Treatise on the Music of Hindoostan* (1834), that includes descriptions of forms and an informative glossary. The Jones and Willard essays were reprinted in an early anthology, *Hindu Music from
Various Authors (1875), by s.m. Tagore, who influenced Mahillon, Ellis (1885) and Hornbostel and Abraham (1904, Phonographierte indische Melodien).

The scholarly exchange between English and Indian scholars includes: The Hindu Musical Scale and the Twenty-Two Shrutees (1910) by the Indian scholar K.B. Deval, who examined the 13th-century Saṅgīṭa-Ratnākara in the light of Western research; Introduction to the Study of Indian Music (1913/R) by Ernest Clements, who correlates modern Hindustani scales with the early scales discussed by Deval; and The Music of India (1921) by Herbert A. Popley, who consulted with the Indian theorist, v.n. Bhatkhande (1860–1936).

Around 1910 A.H. Fox Strangways (1859–1948) carried out research in India, recorded cylinders of North and South Indian classical music, Vedic chant, ghazal and tappa, and extremely valuable samples of Ādīvāśī and traditional music (1914).

A major figure was the Dutch-born London-based linguist and musician Arnold A. Bake (1899–1963). He began his research in the 1920s, did doctoral research at Tagore’s academy, Shantiniketan, learned to sing the songs of Rabindranath Tagore, Bengali kīrtan, traditional and some classical genres. He made several trips to India up to the 1950s, totalling some 15 years in the subcontinent. He collected material from eastern India, South India, Sind (now Pakistan), Ladakh and Punjab, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) and Nepal (Bake, 1949, 1957, 1970).

Interest in English traditions began in the first half of the 19th century. The first published folksong collection was John Broadwood’s Old English Songs as Now Sung by the Peasantry of the Weald of Sorey and Susse (1843). By the 1890s interest had increased and was marked by the publication of important collections by Lucy Broadwood (1893, 1908), Frank Kidson (1891) (1895, 1895–6) and Rev. Sabine Baring-Gould (1895, 1895–6). Also important was the work of the American scholar Francis James Child (see §4(iii)(a) below).

The most influential collector of English folksong and dance was Cecil Sharp (1859–1924). Sharp and his contemporaries believed that ‘authentic’ traditions were dying out and that scholarly interest had only been focused on them after they had been greatly affected by the Industrial Revolution, general education and urbanization. In the interests of urgent preservation they sought most of their material from singers over the age of 60.
Sharp advocated the use of folksongs in education and in the composition of an ‘authentic’ English repertory of art music. Maud Karpeles (1885–1976) and her sister were also leading figures in this movement, which came to be thought of as a folksong ‘revival’ (see Folk music; Folk music revival; England).

In English Folk Songs: Some Conclusions (1907) Sharp set out his principles of folksong evolution: continuity (the unfailing accuracy of the oral record); variation (spontaneous invention, the product of the individual); and selection (based on the taste of the local community). He collected 4977 tunes during his career some of which came from the trips he made with Karpeles to the USA. There they collected tunes and variants from people of English, Lowland Scots and Scots-Irish descent in the southern Appalachian mountains of North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky. They used this work to illustrate the theory of marginal survival, whereby traditions lost in their native environment have been preserved by immigrant groups.

After Sharp’s death Karpeles edited his two-volume English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians (Sharp and Campbell, 1917). Returning to the southern Appalachians in 1950 and 1955 she discovered that many of the traditional songs they had earlier collected were no longer performed. In 1935 she organized the International Folk Dance conference at Cecil Sharp House, hosting 800 dancers from 18 countries, after which the International Folk Dance Council was established.

Another major figure in the English folksong revival was Percy Grainger. He began his study of folksong at the North Lincolnshire Musical Competition in Brigg, 1905. During the next four years he collected about 500 songs, surviving on 216 cylinders, mainly from Lincolnshire, Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, as well as sea shanties from Dartmouth and vendor’s cries from London. Amid protests, he advocated the use of the Edison phonograph in fieldwork, presenting his case in ‘Collecting with the Phonograph’ (1908–9). Grainger was able to demonstrate that irregularities in folksongs were systematic; variations between verses significant; accents, dynamics and ornamentation essential to style; and that folksongs rarely could be analyzed in terms of conventional modes, as advocated by Sharp. In 1908 he persuaded the Lincolnshire singer Joseph Taylor to issue nine songs with the Gramophone Company; the first commercial recordings of folksong.
3. Southern and eastern Europe.
The collecting projects of southern and eastern Europeans of the second half of the 19th century were largely contributions to folkloric studies. These collectors feared that entire repertories were on the point of extinction, repertories that were thought a proper base for nationalist styles of art music. Early collectors were motivated by musical nationalism, theories of self-determination and by hope for a musical rationale for a pan-Slavic identity. Thus composers of the late 19th century, from Janáček, to Grieg, Sibelius, Bartók and Rimsky-Korsakov were indebted to the painstaking research of song collectors. Whereas German scholars focussed on small samples of music from distant colonies, eastern European collectors explored their own linguistic setting, amassing large collections, thousands of song texts and, later, tunes, which they sought to classify and compare. The approaches of folk music research and comparative musicology were synthesized after World War I in the studies of Béla Bartók for Hungary and adjacent regions, the Romanian collector Constantine Brăiloiu, Klement Kvitka for Ukraine, Adolf Chybinski for Poland and Vasil Stoin for Bulgaria. These later writings dealt with theory, method, documentation and analysis, in light of the orientation of the Berlin school.

(i) Bulgaria.
The leading Bulgarian scholar was Dobri Christov (1875–1941), who was the first to identify characteristic asymmetric rhythms (1913). Bartók started recording in Bulgaria in 1912 and referred to these rhythms as ‘Bulgarian’ (1938). A contemporary of Christov, Vasil Stoin (1880–1938) organized the collection of some 24,000 Bulgarian folksongs (without recording equipment), including instrumental tunes with indices classifying rhythms and scales (1928–39). His theoretical study (1927) was an important source for Hornbostel, Bartók and the Ukrainian scholar Klyment Kvitka. In 1910–11 the Russian scholar Nikolai S. Derzhavin recorded songs from the Bulgarian areas of Russia (1914) and worked until 1915 in the Taurian, Kherson and Bessarabian provinces.

(ii) South Slav.
Karol Štrekelj (1862–1912) amassed the first collection of Slovenian folksongs to include melodies (8000 texts including 200 melodies; 1895–1923), Štrekelj, and later Matija
Murko (1861–1952), headed the Slovenian language section of the Viennese project, *Das Volkslied in Oesterreich*; between 1906 and 1914, 12,000 songs and melodies were collected (Murko, 1929). Russian ethnomusicologist Evgeniya Linoyova recorded some 100 cylinders of Slovenian songs, housed in the Phonogram Archive in St Petersburg.

The Croatian musicologist Franjo Ksaver Kuhač (1834–1911) made the most important collection of southern Slav folksong, with 1600 songs, melodies, texts and piano accompaniments. His monumental study (fieldwork 1861–9) extended from Slavonia through central Croatia, Slovenia, Vojvodina, Istria, Serbia, Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria and Macedonia (1877–82); some of his massive collection remains unpublished. Between the wars the composer and ethnomusicologist, Božidar Širola (1889–1956) organized the instrument collection of the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb. Another leading Croatian scholar, Vinko Žganec (1890–1976), published song collections from his native Medjimurje (1924–5).

The first Serbian nationalist composer, Stevan St Mokranjac (1856–1914), based his choral suite *Rukoveti* on the folksongs of Serbia, Macedonia, Kosovo, Montenegro and Bosnia. He published a study of Serbian folk music and collected extensively in Kosovo, and notated the repertory of the Serbian Church chant (Bušetić and Mokranjac, 1902; Mokranjac, 1902, 1935). Vladimir R. Djordjević (1869–1938) published Macedonia and Serbian folksong collections (1928, 1931). The Belgrade composer and ethnomusicologist Kosta P. Manojlović (1890–1949) began the music section of the Ethnographic Museum; this collection was moved to the Musicological Institute of the Serbian Academy after World War II. He recorded in Serbia, Kosovo and Macedonia from 1932 to 1940.

In Bosnia, Herzegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro almost all folk music research before 1939 was carried out by outsiders: Kuhač from Croatia, the Czech Kuba and Mokranjac, and Djordjević and Manojlović from Serbia. Marko K. Cepenkov (1829–1920) from Macedonia, whose collection of folklore texts was gathered from 1856–1900, left material also on folk music instruments, with drawings. During 1934–5, the American scholars Milman Parry (1902–35) and Albert B. Lord recorded in Herzegovina, Bosnia, Montenegro and Macedonia, focussing on south Slavic heroic songs. They collected over 12,500 texts, 800 heroic song texts, and 2200 double-sided disc recordings.
of 350 heroic songs (Bartók and Lord, 1951). Parry and Lord also preserved on aluminium discs an archaic style of southern Slavic narrative song, mainly from Gacko, Hercegovina.

(iii) Poland.
Oskar Kolberg (1814–90) began notating Polish folksong in 1839, paying particular attention to the ritual and folkloric setting of the songs. He published 33 regional monographs under the title *Lud: Jego zwyczaje, sposób życia, mowa, podania, przysłowia, obrzędy, gusła, zabawy, pieśni, muzyk i tańce* (‘The folk: their customs, ways of life, language, legends, proverbs, rituals, spells, entertainments, songs, instrumental music and dances’) and 11 with the general title *Obrazy etnograficzne* (‘ethnographic pictures’).

The distinctive music of the mountainous Podhale region, south of Krakow, was studied by Stanisław Mierczyński (1894–1952), who notated by ear the free and complex rhythms and Lydian scales typical of this district (1930).

Helena Windakiewiczowa (1868–1956) published several analytic studies on Polish song including a work on rhythm (1897), poetical form (1913), musical form (1930), pentatonic scales (1933) and a catalogue of parallels between Polish and Moravian folksongs (1908). Jan Czekanowski (1882–1965) took part in the German Central Africa Expedition (1907–9) during which he recorded cylinders in Rwanda (Czekanowski 1911–27). Hornbostel published two articles on these cylinders of the Wakusuma and a transcription and analysis of 43 songs from Rwanda (1911, 1917).

Other early recordings were made by Bronisław Piłsudski (1866–1918) who, during political exile in eastern Siberia, recorded the Ainu, Gilyak and Orochi peoples of Sakhalin (1912), and the Gilyaks and Orochi (c1896–1905). 83 of his cylinders were deposited in the Phonographic Institute of the University of Poznań.

In 1930 Łucjan Kamieński (1885–1964) organized the Regionalne Archiwum Fonograficzne as part of the University of Poznań. In 1935 Julian Pulikowski (1908–44) organized the Centralne Archiwu, Fonograficzne in Warsaw. These two collections were destroyed during World War II.
(iv) Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia.

(a) Bohemia and Moravia.

The pioneer of Bohemian folksong collection was the Czech poet Karel Jaromír Erben (1811–70), who published 2200 texts and 811 melodies as well as games and other genres (1842–3 and 1862–4). His anthology is carefully documented and classified, and particularly significant for its complement of village material. Jan Rittersberk was first to publish Czech folksongs (1825), a collection notable for ribald humour and urban content, drawn from Bohemian and Moravian materials collected in 1819 by the Vienna Gesellschaft für Musikfreunde under Austrian decree.

The Czech musician and scholar Ludvík Kuba (1863–1956) collected Lusatian Serbian songs and instrumental melodies (1887, 1922) and songs from towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Kuba, 2/1984). His notes are impressive for their unique approach to folklore, with lucid writing and evocative comments, including statements by performers and accounts of performing practice, and Kuba’s professional sketches and drawings of instruments and regional costumes. His work covers a wide geographical area including collections from Lusatia, Old Serbia, Macedonia, Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The scholarly study of Czech folk music was established in two important studies by Otakar Hostinský (1847–1910) which include 16th-century material (1892) and statistical analyses of some 1000 secular melodies (1906).

Moravian collectors include the cleric František Sušil (1809–68), whose collection dates from the 1840s and 1850s (2361 texts and 1890 melodies); despite his ‘corrections’ of texts his anthology is comprehensive, including religious genres, ballads, love songs and some lyrics from broadsides (1860). The philologist Frantisek Bartoš (1827–1906) sought to gather the Moravian folk heritage before it was taken over by urban culture. His collection is marred by editorial faults, but remains important for its size and variety particularly the eastern materials from Slovácko and Valašsko (1882).

Leos Janáček (1854–1928) edited music from the 1898 and 1899–1901 Bartoš collections and published a discourse on Moravian music. In his own compositions he drew on the 300 songs he collected in the field. He served as the Czech-language director of the Moravian and Silesian section of the 1904 Viennese project, *Das Volkslied in Oesterreich*, for which he instructed collectors, contacted Moravian teachers, developed
methods and systems of notation, and organized cylinder recordings. In 1917 he declined to send the collection of 10,000 songs to Vienna, and it remains in Brno. His collection of Moravian love songs was published posthumously (Janáček and Váša, 1930–6). Janáček’s Moravia team recorded Slovak musicians from 1909 to 1912, including 25 Terchov part-songs. The French Pathé company, in cooperation with the Paris Institut Phonétique, recorded Czech singers and bands in Prague studios; noteworthy is the Chodsko collection, reissued for the 1962 meetings of the International Folk Music Council in Czechoslovakia.

(b) Slovakia.
The classic collection of Slovak folksong is Slovenské spevy (1880–1926), although compiled primarily by amateurs and lacking systematic organization, it remains an important source of folksong.
Béla Bartók recorded in Slovakia from 1906 to 1918 (1959–). The Hungarian Béla Vikár recorded in north-western Slovakia (Trenčiansko) from 1903 to 1907; his cylinders were transcribed by Bartók, who included them in his Slovak collection along with those of Kodály from the 1900s. In 1929, working for the French Pathé company, musician and film-maker Karel Plicka (1894–1987) selected Slovakian singers and instrumentalists (including musicians from Subcarpathian Russia) to be recorded in Prague. From 1924 to 1939 Plicka notated by ear some 8500 melodies and texts and additionally 10,000 texts (Plicka, 1961).

(v) Hungary.
Since 1832, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences has been responsible for the collection and publication of folksongs both to preserve ‘authentic song’ and to present composite versions of folksongs to form a national public aesthetic and musical taste. Early Hungarian work includes that of collector Károly Szini, who published 200 melodies in notation (1865); Áron Kiss prepared an important collection of Hungarian children’s games (1891); and István Bartalus (1821–99) produced Magyan népdalok (1873–96), a seven-volume work including items acquired through correspondence and pieces by contemporary composers.
The philologist Béla Vikár (1859–1945) was first to record Hungarian folksong with the Edison phonograph in 1895. Zoltan Kodály (1882–1967) began transcribing Vikár’s recordings in 1904. Scholars such as Lászkó Lajtha (1892–1963) and Antal Molnár (1890–1983) worked from the Ethnographic Department of the National Museum (later the Museum of Ethnography).

Kodály set out on his first collecting trip in 1905, Bartók in 1906. Working in collaboration, they divided the districts they hoped to cover between them. Bartók’s travels took him to neighbouring countries and led to comparative studies. Between 1906 and 1918 Bartók collected 3223 Slovak melodies and between 1908 and 1917, 3500 Romanian melodies. In 1913 he collected Arab music in Biskra, North Africa and in 1936 travelled to Turkey. His Hungarian collections include 2721 songs (1924). In *A magyar néodak* (Hungarian folksong) (1924) Bartók summarized his work with Kodály and presents 8000 melodies, attempting to reconstruct the evolution of Hungarian folksong through classification and typology. His work *Népzenénk és a zomszéd népenéje* (Our folk music and that of neighbouring peoples) (1934) presents a comparison of Hungarian, Romanian and Slovak songs, notable for the 1930s. Kodály’s *A magyar népzene* (Hungarian folk music) (1937) covers the entire oral tradition of Hungary including instrumental genres, folk customs and the relationship of music to culture. In 1953, Kodály founded the Folk Music Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (renamed the Folk Music Research Department of the Institute for Musicology in 1974); its major project has been publication of *Corpus musicae popularis hungaricae* (1951–). The collection of the Institute of Musicology is expanding (holdings of some 150,000 melodies) and research is ongoing, reflecting the changing scene.

(vi) Romania.

The leading figure of Romanian musicology was Constantin Brâiloiu (1893–1958), who founded the Folklore Archives of the Society of Romanian Composers in 1928. Noted for his thoroughness and method, for using the phonograph, cameras and questionnaires, Brâiloiu outlined his system in ‘Esquisse d’une méthode de folklore musical’ (1973). His interest in *colinda*, wedding songs and laments is reflected in his various collections (1931, 1936, 1938). He was first to identify the syllabic giusto of Romanian traditional
song (1948), the asymmetrical aksak rhythms of eastern Europe (1951) and the antiquity and universality of the three-tone pitch system. Brăiloiu rejected the German focus on extra-European musics (1959) and sought to reconstruct the history of traditional song of his own country, identifying more or less advanced states of dissolution.

(vii) Russia and Ukraine.

During the mid-19th century, Prince V. Odoevsky and A. Serov sponsored the scientific study of Russian folksong, including the connections of music with ethnography, cultural history, philology and physiology. Examining only folksongs before the time of Peter the Great (1672–1725), considered distinctively ‘Russian’, they sought to examine the material on its own merits rather than by the standards of European music. They compared the rhythms and modes of the Russian repertory to those of ancient Greek theory. Odoevsky also conducted research on Russian orthodox chants (1867, 1871). Serov dealt with the harmonization of folksongs and their use by nationalist composers (1870–71).

The Russian nationalist composers Mily Balakirev (1837–1910), Nikolay Rimsky-Korsakov (1849–1908) and Modest Musorgsky (1839–81) acknowledged the importance of folksong in creating a nationalist school of composition. Balakirev’s important collection of folksong appeared in 1886 and Rimsky-Korsakov transcribed seasonal songs and Ukrainian dumy (epics; 1876–7; 1882). The Ukrainian collector Mykola Lysenko (1842–1912) was a pioneer in the study of folksong; he published some 1000 Ukrainian songs (1868–1906; 1874; 1896) and studied instrumental music (1894). The first transcriptions of Russian folk choral polyphony were published by Yuly Melgunov and Nikolay Palchikov, fascinating a cappella pieces with simultaneous improvisation by individual choristers. Distortions were introduced as Melgunov homogenized the individual variants and rendered them as a piano score (Melgunov, 1879–85; Palchikov, 1888).

P. Sokalsky’s theoretical monograph (1888) identified three ages of song, that of the interval of the 4th, the 5th and the 3rd. He emphasized the union of song tune and text, the problems of notating irregular folk rhythms and intonation and the common source of Russian and Ukrainian music.
The first recordings of Russian music were of the *byliny* epic bard Ivan Ryabini in Moscow around 1894. Evgeniya Lineva took the Edison cylinder machine to the field in 1896, recording in the central Russian and Novgorod provinces (1897–1901), Ukraine (1903), the Caucasus (1910) and Austria-Hungary (1913) (e.g. Lineva 1904, 1909). She accompanied her collections with interviews of musicians and descriptions of performances. In 1901 the Music-Ethnographic Commission supported a team of ethnologists to record *byliny* from Arkhangel’sk district, the White Sea region, Don Cossacks part singing (1904), and choral songs from Voronezh district; the Commission published five volumes on methods of collecting, notation and analysis (1906, 1907, 1911, 1913, 1916).

After the Revolution of 1917, The Association of Proletarian Musicians (1923–32) declared traditional village music harmful to the Proletariat ideology. Nonetheless, collectors continued their work although the many collections of the 1930s sometimes include material composed to illustrate Soviet realism.

Ethnomusicology in the former USSR began with the research of Filaret Kolessov, Evgeny Gippius and Klyment Kvitka. Kvitka (1880–1953) began his collection of Ukrainian song in 1896 and also worked in southern Russia, Belorussia, Moldavia and Crimea. He published comparative studies including the mapping of song types, their structural characteristics and associated rituals. In 1922 Kvitka organized the Bureau of Musical Ethnography of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and in 1937 the Bureau of Study of the Musical Creation of the Peoples of the USSR at the Moscow Conservatory.

Gippius accompanied Belorussian Zinaida Evald on the 1926–30 expedition to the northern Russian rivers, where they recorded over 500 cylinders (*Iskusstov Severa*, 1927–8). Gippius’ 1933 essay on methodology criticizes Western ethnomusicology and discusses a ‘production-consumption’ music function model. In 1926–7 he founded the Music-Ethnographic Bureau at the Leningrad Conservatory and the Phonogram-Archive (later the Phonogram-Archiv of the Pushkin House, Institute of Russian Literature).

Kvitka’s student, Moshe Beregoviski (1892–1962), was the foremost scholar of his generation of the music of Eastern European Jewry. He set new standards of fieldwork, documentation, transcription and analysis. He was harshly critical of Bartók, whose research was based on notions of a ‘monolithic and inert peasantry’, an assumption that
could not account for the rich musical repertory of urban Jewish workers, artisans, and businessmen.


(i) Amerindian music.

American ethnographies of late 19th century and early 20th avoided Germanic theories, concentrated on Amerindian music and were based on extended fieldwork with individual tribes. American scholars used the phonograph to preserve the vanishing traditions of aboriginal peoples.

The ethnologist Jesse Walter Fewkes (1850–1930) was the first to use the treadle-run Edison cylinder machine in the field during his research with the Passamaquoddy Indians of the north-eastern USA (1890) and in the south-west with the Zuñi Pueblos (1890) and the Hopi Pueblos (1891). Fewkes’ recordings were transcribed and analysed by the American psychologist Benjamin Ives Gilman (1852–1933) who concluded that these peoples had conscious norms for the intervals in their songs. Later in an article on Zuñi melodies he described the minute differences between the Amerindian tonal system and the Western tempered scale (1891).

Alice Cunningham Fletcher (1838–1923) was noteworthy for her lifelong collaboration with the Omaha Indian singer Francis La Flesche (1857–1932), son of the Omaha chief and the first Amerindian ethnomusicologist. For their first work, A Study of Omaha Music (1893), songs were collected by ear, the informant repeating the item as necessary. The melodies were notated and harmonized by piano teacher John Comfort Fillmore (1843–98), who prepared the transcriptions for Fletcher’s early work and wrote on the theory of Indian music. Fillmore believed that Omaha songs had pitch ‘discrepancies’ because the Indians had an inferior sense of pitch discrimination. The Omahas sang in unison, and octaves (men and women singing together, sometimes in falsetto), and to Fillmore a sort of harmony seemed to be achieved. He tested his chords against the Indians’ perception of the songs, and settled on those harmonies claimed by his subjects to be most pleasing to Indian ears. He asked ‘many times’ and the informants, confronted by the satisfied transcriber, had to choose between unsatisfactory alternatives.
Fillmore tried to reduce Omaha Indian songs to pentatonic or minor scales, but: ‘there remained some very puzzling cases of songs whose tones could not be reduced to either the major or the minor scale’. He also had a problem when Indians sang the note ‘about a quarter of a tone above the pitch’, which he tried to resolve by ‘syncopation’. He struggled with the phrasing, which, he said, had a ‘rich variety’ with anywhere from two to seven measures to a phrase.

Fillmore’s work was bitterly criticized by Gilman who rejected Fillmore’s theory of latent harmony. Gilman published his Hopi and Zuñi transcriptions without key or time signatures, ridiculed Fillmore’s use of Western notation and experimented with a 45-line quarter-tone staff. During his work sessions with cylinder recordings, Gilman recorded the rotation speed of the machine, the condition of the batteries as well as other details of method.

Frances Densmore (1867–1957) was the most prolific collector of the period, employed for 50 years by the Bureau of American Ethnology at the Smithsonian Institution. She collected over 2000 Indian melodies and wrote over a dozen monographs on the music of individual tribes from every part of North America including the Chippewa (1910–13), Teton Sioux (1918), Papago (1929), Choctaw (1943) and Seminole (1956).

The anthropologist Franz Boas (1858–1942) taught the holistic study of musical cultures through contemporary anthropological fieldwork methods to a new generation of students at Columbia University, including Helen Heffron Roberts (1888–1985) and George Herzog (1901–84). Boas opposed the speculation, reductionist thought, and armchair studies of the German school and stressed thorough ethnographic description. He encouraged anthropologists to study music, included musical transcriptions in his publications and made important analyses of rhythm in Northwest Coast Indian songs (1887). He also published the first comparative study of the same song as transcribed by different scholars (1896, 1897).

(ii) Black American Music.
(a) Pre-Civil War.
Descriptions of music before the Civil War attest to African features of slave songs, for example, Benjamin Latrobe’s descriptions of celebrations in Place Congo, New Orleans,
including drums, a string instrument, singing and dancing. James Eights presents a more fair-minded account of the Pinkster celebrations of New York slaves, written at the time of the Revolutionary War (1867). Thomas Jefferson notes that slaves play the ‘banjar’ and ‘in music they are more generally gifted than the whites’ (1782). Richard Allen, first bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, compiled the earliest book of black hymns and ‘wanderings strains’ (1801).

During the Second Great Awakening, as camp meetings were attended by blacks and whites alike, observers noted the enthusiasm and idiosyncratic performing practice of the blacks. Voicing a characteristic White Victorian sentiment, John F. Watson criticized blacks for dancing during worship and for singing ‘merry airs’ (1819). Motivated by political and moral agendas, White observers heard black music accordingly: advocates of slavery reported that slave songs were happy; abolitionists found them sad. The abolitionists, William Francis Allen, Charles Pickard Ware and Lucy McKim Garrison collected and published *Slave Song of the United States* (1867), which includes examples of sacred music from South Carolina, Georgia, the Sea Islands and some inland slave states. Allen’s introduction discusses performing practice including harmony, intonation, leader-chorus form, tempo variation and describes the ‘shout’, noting regional variations.

**(b) Musical origins.**

The early studies of black music by musicologists tried to pinpoint the origins of African-American style. Richard Wallaschek found scant evidence of Africanisms in transcriptions of Negro spirituals, and claimed they were imitations of European song (1893). Hornbostel concluded that African and European musics are ‘constructed on entirely different principles’ and could not be combined (1928).

The success of the Fisk Jubilee Singers of the 1870s, the first of many popular ‘Jubilee’ choirs from black colleges, stimulated publication of their song arrangements and reviews of their concerts (Marsh, 1875). Spiritual collections of this period include Johnson and Johnson (1925, 1926), Grissom (1930) and Work (1940). Spirituals were the first black musical genre to receive comprehensive scholarly attention. Early in the 20th century a controversy arose that lingered on until the 1990s. In *Afro-American Folksongs* (1914)
Henry Edward Krehbiel (1854–1925) asserted that black American music was purely African material, that it sprang, without any outside influences, from its unique historical position. In *White and Negro Spirituals* (1943) George Pullen Jackson (1874–1953) put forward the ‘white origin theory’, arguing that black music had been influenced by Anglo-American song and constituted an integral part of the British tradition. Jackson discovered many of these white spirituals published in shape-note hymn books of the early 19th century. For example, the black spiritual ‘Down by the Riverside’ is derived from the white spiritual ‘We’ll Wait Till Jesus Comes’, published in 1868. The black spiritual ‘I want to Die A-Shouting’ uses a variant of the tune from the white spiritual ‘New Harmony’, but takes parts of its text from three other white spirituals: ‘Amazing Grace’, ‘Jesus My All’ and ‘Am I a Soldier’. This ‘white origin theory’ was rejected by James Weldon Johnson and J. Rosamund Johnson (1925–6), John W. Work (1940), Mieczysław Kolinski (1969) and John Lovell (1972).

During the 1940s, anthropological theory weighed in heavily on the debate over the origins of spirituals. Melville J. Herskovits (1895–1963; *The Myth of the Negro Past*, 1941) and his student Richard A. Waterman (‘African Influence on the music of the Americas’, 1952) developed important anthropological theories based on hypotheses of culture change that included acculturation, syncretism and cultural focus, and demonstrated how European and African forms had blended to produce new genres bearing features of both parent musics. European and African music, they argued, have many features in common, among them diatonic scales and polyphony. When these two musics met, during the slave era, it was natural for them to blend; a lack of shared features explains why European and Amerindian musics failed to combine.

Herskovits and Waterman maintained that musical survivals, ‘Africanisms’, were stronger in areas of the New World where blacks predominated numerically. In the West Indies, particularly in Haiti, Jamaica and Trinidad, for example, Shango and Vodou cult songs (which derive directly from Africa) are still sung (these songs may have changed or even died out in their original African setting). In the USA the cotton plantation system placed blacks in close association with white musics, and fewer pure Africanisms can be identified in black folksongs of the American South. Herskovits proposed a scale of intensity, rating music as ‘a little African’ in the urban North, ‘quite African’ in the rural
South, and ‘very African’ on the Gullah islands (Herskovits, 1941; Waterman, 1948, 1951, 1952).

(iii) European American music.

(a) Early collections.

*The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (1883–98) by Francis James Child (1825–96) contains some of the oldest ballads of the English tradition, including multiple versions, and a variety of topics: apocryphal legends, Christian miracles, outlaw tales, history and lore, feuds and raids and domestic quarrels. The ‘Child ballads’ mentioned in practically every subsequent study refer to the 305 songs in his collection. Over 100 Child texts and around 80 tunes have been collected in the USA (Child himself made no special search for New World variants, discovering only 18).

American collecting methods differed from those of the British, due in part to the size of the continent and the fact that Americans were more inclined to accept newly composed popular folksongs. Some collections were based on fieldwork, but many were assembled through correspondence with friends, relatives, students and state folklore societies.

The earliest systematic collection was *Games and Songs of American Children* (1883) by poet and literary scholar William Wells Newell (1839–1907), a Harvard student of Frances James Child. This collection of tunes, texts, formulae, rules and movements was gathered during fieldwork with children (some on the streets of New York) and interviews with adults, and is a product of the late 19th-century romanticized vision of the freedom and adventure of childhood. Newell challenged the theory of Francis Barton Gummere (1855–1919; 1896), which claimed that ballads were derived from group-sponsored dance-songs, at its ethnological roots, and proposed a ballad history for the Old and New Worlds based on literary evidence.

In 1888 the American Folklore Society was founded by Newell, Child and Franz Boas, modelled on the Folklore Society of Britain. The centennial of American independence stimulated a review of national culture incorporating folklore of the frontier experience, the social experiment of democracy and American social pluralism. Newell, executive secretary of the Society up to the time of his death, served as editor of the *Journal of American Folklore* (1888–1900) and for the first nine issues of *Memoirs*. These
publications served as a forum for early collectors, the issues reflecting changing approaches and attitudes in American folksong research.

Music found its place in folksong study, first in the UK with the work of the Folk-Song Society (founded in 1898), and in the USA with the work of Philips Barry, who investigated text, tune, performance and transmission. Unlike his English counterpart Cecil Sharp, Barry collected broadsides and music-hall ballads, refusing to make a distinction not recognized by the folk. Barry demonstrated the history of communal recreation by comparing ancient ballads with their modern variants including those he had collected in New England, beginning in 1903. He argued for the vitality of the ballad tradition, self-renewing, flourishing in cities as well as countryside, embracing popular forms and at times perpetuated via the printed page (1905, 1913).

Henry Marvin Belden (1865–1954) began collecting in Missouri in 1904. He proposed a programme to recover American versions of Child ballads and to answer questions regarding the origins of the American repertory (1905). Belden emphasized documentation including the circumstances of recording, biographical information and local concepts of song origin. He argued for comprehensive collection (including printed versions), contrary to the selective methods of European contemporaries, who rejected popular and broadside material. While acknowledging Gummere’s important contribution to ballad study (1911), he mounted a vigorous attack on his communalist theories (1909).

In the early years of the 20th century state folklore societies were founded, dedicated to collecting and preserving Old World folksong. In 1914 the US Department of Education instigated a rescue mission for ballads and folksongs, stimulating an era of collecting by local enthusiasts and academics that lasted through the Depression until World War II.

The extensive regional collecting between the two World Wars reflected the amount of unstudied material, a reaction against the theoretical preoccupations of the earlier generation and a search for a sense of national tradition in the face of striking regional diversity.

These regional eclectic collections are nondiscriminatory, include all material sung from memory and cite all known variants, including imported and indigenous narratives, lyric songs, popular music-hall songs, game songs, instrumental music and black songs (mostly collected from White informants). The first major collection of southern
folksong, from members of both black and white populations, was Tennessee-based E.C. Perrow’s *Songs and Rhymes from the South* (1912).

Three typical essays of the early 20th century illustrate cross-cultural historical studies of ballad themes: G.H. Gerould, ‘The Balad of the Bitte Withy’ (1908); Walter R. Nelles, ‘The Ballad of Hind Horn’ (1909); and Paul Franklin Baum, ‘The English Ballad of Judas Iscariot’ (1916). Characterized by broad comparisons, they are summations of the sparse evidence then available.

**(b) The populist movement.**

John Avery Lomax (1867–1948) was a pioneer in the study of south-western lore. At Harvard in 1907 he encountered folklorists Kittredge and Barrett Wendel, who encouraged him on a venture to collect the songs of cowboys, miners, stage drivers, freighters and hunters, through correspondence as well as field trips. He was the first scholar to collect Anglo-American folksongs with the Edison phonograph (Lomax and others, 1947). Lomax’s *Cowboy Songs and Other Frontier Ballads*, with 112 song texts and 18 tunes, was published in 1910. Lomax presented his collection as ‘indigenous popular songs that have sprung up as has the grass on the plains’, a romantic interpretation that supported the communalist views of Kittredge and of Wendell, who wrote an introduction to the Lomax collection. Lomax cleaned up the language and combined lines from different versions to produce a ‘complete’ song, violating the ‘ethics of ballad-gatherers, in a few instances, by selecting and putting together what seemed to be the best lines from different versions, all telling the same story. Frankly, the volume is meant to be popular’ (1910).

In 1931, Lomax resumed his collecting career, setting out with Alan, his son, on a four-month, 16,000-mile trip to record black American songs (1934). In southern prison camps they encountered prisoners who still sang old work songs. In one of the jails in 1933 the Lomaxes met Leadbelly (Huddie Ledbetter) (1885–1949), a black American songster, blues singer and guitarist. They engaged him to record much of his repertory of some 500 songs for the Library of Congress Archive (1935–40). *Negro Folk Songs as Sung by Lead Belly* (1936) is one of the first extensive presentations of an individual repertory.
The composer Ruth Crawford (1901–53) transcribed, arranged and edited hundreds of recordings from the Archive, many of which were published by John and Alan Lomax in *Our Singing Country* (1941). In the collection, *Folk Song USA: the 111 Best American Ballads*, John and Alan Lomax and Charles and Ruth Seeger (née Crawford) presented a popular anthology with piano arrangements and annotations (1947).

A market for commercial folk music steadily developed from the 1920s to 1940s as recording technology improved. With the popularization of folk radio broadcasts prior to World War I, record sales plummeted (Alan Lomax was featured as a radio personality for many years on ‘Well-springs of America’, ‘Transatlantic Call’ and ‘Your Ballad Man’). During the 1920s, in a search for new material, record producers turned to folksong, black and European (especially race and hillbilly; pejorative terms later replaced by blues, soul, country and western). In 1939 Moses Asch (1905–86) founded Asch Records (later Folkways), releasing recordings of Leadbelly and Woody Guthrie. Other labels featured Josh White, Burl Ives and Carl Sandburg. On the Folkways label Asch amassed a huge collection of commercial folk music with help from colleagues Henry Cowell and Pete Seeger.

(iv) **Canadian studies.**

The foremost collector of French Canadian materials was anthropologist and ethnologist Charles Marius Barbeau (1883–1969). In 1946 in collaboration with his leading disciple, Luc Lacourière, he founded the Archives de Folklore at Laval University, the first of several folklore programmes at Canadian Universities and the repository (together with the National Museums of Canada, Quebec City) for field recordings of the French tradition. The publication of *Les archives de folklore*, organ of the Archives, began in the same year. Barbeau’s writings include *Alouette: nouveau recueil de chansons populaires* (1946), ‘La guignolée au Canada’ (1946) and *Le rossignol y chante* (1962).

Seminal anthropological studies of Inuit culture were made by Franz Boas (1888). Zygmunt Estreicher (1917–93), a Swiss musicologist of Polish origin, wrote his doctoral dissertation on Canadian Caribou Eskimo dance-songs (1948) and in 1954 Laura Boulton (1899–1980) issued her Folkways recording and booklet summarizing the Hudson Bay and Alaskan traditions.

Helen Myers