ORAL TRADITION

Performance Literature II

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Performance Literature II

Special Editors

Drew Gerstle, Stephanie Jones, and Rosalind Thomas

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Performance Literature and the Written World: Lost in Transcription?

Rosalind Thomas

This number contains the second group of articles on Performance Literature that form volume 20 of *Oral Tradition*, and that began life as papers for the workshops on Literature and Performance in the School of African and Asian Studies (SOAS), London University, part of the larger AHRB (Arts and Humanities Research Board) Centre for African and Asian Literature.

As outlined in the Special Editor's Column in volume 20, no.1, the workshops explored the phenomenon of literature in performance and performance literature defined as literature written, created, or composed to be experienced in performance. It involved a large group of specialists in literatures and cultures from African and Asian societies as well as European.[1] Papers, discussants, questions, and successive workshops generated further research questions, and the selection of articles here, as in the previous number, is informed by those discussions, as well as reflecting the same spirit of interdisciplinary research.

The core questions surround the relation of the various types of written text to the performance, or the performance to the various attempts to record or memorialize that performance, and the social or cultural context of that relationship. One of the most striking features that emerges in this collection of studies is the richness and variety of links and relations between a "text" and the performance, the different levels and types of textuality and of their relations to any performance. Studies examine how oral performance might generate written texts of several different registers (see especially Idema, Shirane, and Gerstle in this number), and the written texts themselves have a variety of roles in relation to the live performance (part memorial, "complete" articulation, deliberately partial rendition, edited and partial release, and more). These differences are not so much a function

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[1] See the Centre website for full details: www.soas.ac.uk/literatures/Projects/ Projectsindex.html and www.soas.ac.uk/literatures/Projects/Performance/Performance. html.

of the general characteristics of oral performance or of the written word that might be read across cultures, as of the far wider social or professional standing of the performers (see, e.g., du Perron and Magriel in no.1, Gerstle in this issue), or the artistic and cultural preoccupations and workings of the society in question. As Karen Barber puts it (below), often texts depend on performance, and performance on text, and both are cultural artifacts.

Ruth Finnegan's paper begins by discussing the multisensory techniques and effects of performance, the kaleidoscope of impressions generated by any one performance, emphasizing the elements that cannot simply be preserved on the written page, and she suggests that crosscultural comparison undermines any two-fold division between any of the categories invoked. James Burns offers an excellent case study of performance in its cultural context, that of funeral drum music and its current development poised between tradition and modernity. C. Andrew Gerstle's paper on kabuki and the production of texts stresses the deliberate limitation on full written texts, but the proliferation of vivid visual and part written, part artistic "mementos" that were just as important in contemporary Japanese culture as a "bare" written text and indeed became a genre by themselves. So too, the complex and various types of textuality, and of textual relation to the performance, are examined in Japanese poetry by Haruo Shirane. The implications are striking for any scholars working on texts in other cultures where there are both long literary (and highly literate) traditions and a complex performance culture. Similarly, Wilt L. Idema examines the extraordinary variety of texts with different functions and the gradual creation of the "literary text" for medieval Chinese plays. The various textual representations of Chinese drama are also analyzed by Andrew Lo.

With the article by John Miles Foley, we return to the anthropological question of how a modern scholarly edition should or can represent the performance of poetry that was orally composed and recorded in performance (cf. also Schieffelin in no.1). A keen debate has surrounded the composition of oral epic poetry, propelled by the research on the South Slavic poetry by Milman Parry and Albert Lord, and the acoustic recordings deposited in the Parry Collection at Havard University. For these poems that have been the basis for so much argument, the radical methods of publication here envisaged include audio-publication to replicate the original sound, and they should transform our understanding of these performances—and therefore the theoretical possibilities of orally composed epic.[2] For other poetic traditions in which the poetry and performance are not on an epic scale, significantly different questions about memory, memorization, and fixity arise, and the articles by Karin Barber and Martin

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[2] See the electronic edition of *The Wedding of Mustajbey's Son Bećirbey* at www.oraltradition.org/zbm.

Orwin here both attempt to blur the conventional distinction between fixed written text and (unfixed) oral poem. They examine the possible conception of fixed "texts" that are entirely oral (that is, never written down) or performances within oral traditions that include elements that are "quotations," quotable and virtually fixed expressions that therefore seem to need an equivalent conception of "entextualizaton." Orwin finds in the Somali case an indigenous conception of definitive text that is not based upon the written word.

What emerges strikingly from these studies is how much more common the performance of literature is than the scholarly concentration on written texts usually implies, and the questions each separate study suggests for performance literatures in other societies are immensely productive. Relations between text and performance, performance and text, almost infinitely varied, are susceptible to intricately complex cultural or artistic factors. For those of us who study the written texts of past societies, the theoretical implications are sobering.

One of the most illuminating features of the SOAS Workshops was that they included recordings, tapes, videos of performances, fragments of live performance, as well as rich illustrations of performance made for Chinese, Japanese, and other audiences. It is therefore particularly appropriate and pleasing that the journal *Oral Tradition* has made it possible to replicate some of these with eCompanions (see www.oraltradition.org), and we thank the Center for Studies in Oral Tradition at the University of Missouri very warmly for making this possible.

Above all, I would like to use this opportunity to thank Stephanie Jones, Administrative Assistant to the SOAS Centre, for her tireless work on both the practical and intellectual aspects of the workshops and on the written papers that emerged. She should be regarded as one of the special guest editors for no. 1 also, and was omitted by an unfortunate oversight in a last-minute correction.

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Additional Note: Note that corrected PDF files of the contributions by Standish, Hughes-Freeland, and du Perron and Magriel from vol. 20, no.1 are posted on the *Oral Tradition* web site, at www.oraltradition.org.

The How of Literature

Ruth Finnegan

In a challenging article that starts not from the conventional Western literary canon but from traditional Japanese theatre, Andrew Gerstle (2000:43) has raised the interesting question of whether the concept of "performance literature" might be illuminating as an analytic and comparative tool when approaching the literatures of Africa and Asia. Further light on this has been shed by the impressive crosscultural range of the articles in this volume of *Oral Tradition* (20) and the comparative and interdisciplinary workshops that gave rise to them. My article also follows up Gerstle's question, seeing it as of potential relevance not just for Africa or Asia but also for any literary forms in which performance has a part and thus for theories of "literature" more generally.[1]

It is a question well worth addressing. For despite the now-accepted problematizing of the concepts of "text" and of "literature," conventional approaches to studying literature and literary theory still regularly bypass performance. As pointed out directly or indirectly in several of the articles here (notably those by Peter Middleton [2005] and John Miles Foley [2005]) the implicit starting point still seems to be that the defining heart of "literature" lies in "texts," prototypically texts in writing; and that this is how and where literature exists. Most textbooks and glossaries on literature contain little or nothing about the complex *performed* aspects of literature in the sense of its realization as a publicly enacted display in the here and now;

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[1] My paper draws heavily on presentations, discussions, and follow-up interchanges related to the four comparative and interdisciplinary workshops on "Literature and Performance," organized by Andrew Gerstle and Rosalind Thomas between 2001 and 2003 at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Since my previous work had mainly focused on African and Western literary forms I found the Asian examples particularly illuminating and challenging.

if this is mentioned at all it comes in as something marginal to the prior and enduring existence of the written text.[2]

It is, perhaps, scarcely surprising that the usual dictionary definitions of "literature" focus on "writings" or "written texts" or that scholars have conceived of "literature" as basically existent in this form. After all, we have long accessed past literary enactments—across centuries, even millennia—through the medium of verbalized texts-on-a-written-surface. *This* is what exists, it seems; here are the objects we can get our hands and eyes on. Non-verbalized and non-writable performance dimensions, ephemeral and elusive, could not be captured or directly transmitted from the past, and therefore (*sic*) could be passed over as lacking any abiding graspable reality. The written verbal formulation, something hard and permanent, appears as the essence, a notion further reinforced in a range of influential languages by the association of "literature" with alphabetic writing (letters). As a standard reference book has it, "at its most neutral, and broadest, *literature* signifies textual manifestations of writing" (Wolfreys, Robbins, et al. 2002:51). Or, more directly, in a statement that would probably be implicitly accepted by many, Peter Widdowson defines literature as *written* works, by which he means "works whose originating form and final point of reference is their existence as written textuality" (1999:15). Literature must be "reproducible in print," and (*ibid*.:127, 128)

> a centrally determining characteristic of "the literary" . . . is that it is realised in a tangible object which is readily present for close inspection or re-reading, and that it does not have to be performed (or pre-emptively interpreted) in order to be read for the first time as unmediated text.

The notion of performance seems to lie outside this ground of literature, even be opposed to it. Indeed those who have pointed to the significance of performance have been less the literary scholars than anthropologists, folklorists, cultural historians, ethnomusicologists, and other scholars (and practitioners) coming to the issues from first-hand experience of performance arts and forms outside the conventional high-art Western canon. These scholars have now been strengthened by perspectives rooted in the continually developing genres of popular culture and by the growing acknowledgment of the wealth and reality of non-Western literary forms.

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[2] There are, certainly, references to "performative language," with roots in Austinian "performative utterances," and discussions about "performativity" or "performing" gender (and so on) in postmodernist contexts, but these seem to follow up rather different issues.

This article, then, attempts to take up Gerstle's challenge by some direct consideration of the concept of performance in the context of literature. How, if at all, does literature exist in performance? What has "performance" to tell us about literature and literary theory? And can we indeed best appreciate the literary forms of Asia and Africa by recognizing them as "performance literatures"?

Literature *Can* Be Performed: The Reality of "Oral" Literary Forms

As is now well known in some circles—but worth adverting to again in this context—one way into tackling these questions has been through the notion of *oral forms* of literature. From some viewpoints this idea, of course, has never been contentious. The Homeric epics (in some sense at least "oral"), Elizabethan lyrics, performed poetry, folk tales, scripts for or from plays—all these have long been captured in writing and studied as literary texts. A next step, however, has been more radical: taking the *oral*-ness of such examples as a positive and essential quality of their nature. Through the so-called "orality" studies that have developed in various guises, mainly from the 1960s onwards, it has become increasingly clear that an oral performance can be analyzed not just as the contingent setting for some enduring—writable—text but as *itself* the central reality. There is now a large body of scholarship focusing on concepts like "oral," "orality," "oral literature" or "orature," concerned among other things to understand oral performance in its own (that is, oral) right.[3]

This has meant extending the concept of literary expression to include many unwritten forms and, equally significant, treating their orally performed qualities as crucial to their literary realization. South African Xhosa praise poetry, for example, declaimed in reverberating and unmistakable style by the praise singer, inspires its listeners through acoustic effects—rhythms, sonic parallelisms, strained mode of articulation, intonations, and ringing praise names (Opland 1998)—while the sophisticated artistry of Limba narrative in Sierra Leone lies not just in verbal content but in the vivid way the narrator voices the performance and the skillful use of vocal dynamics, tempo, and intonation (Finnegan 1967). Oral genres from throughout the world once dismissible as crude and "pre-literate," from Mongolian oral epics or the lyrics of Indian love songs to the

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[3] This is not a place for a survey of such work (more complex, variegated, and internally contentious than can be indicated here); see the treatments in Finnegan 1992; Foley 1995, 2002; and Honko 2000.

extensive unwritten performances of Africa, have now come to be analyzed as forms of literature—of "oral" literature.

Once we enlarge our gaze beyond the *written* objects alone, it also becomes clear that oral delivery is in fact a much more "normal" and frequent occurrence in the world's literary experience than we would imagine from the conventional closures of English literature studies. In medieval Europe, for example, written texts did indeed exist, but public oral delivery rather than private reading was the typical mode of literary realization (see for example Coleman 1996). Oral performance of poetry was fundamental to literary experience at the Japanese Imperial court, and recitation the predominant mode for Japanese narrative (Gerstle 2001). Nor is this only in the past or outside Europe. English poetry readings take place in schools, pubs, colleges, halls, and other public places (Middleton 2005), while in American clubs and coffee houses "slam" performers compete in their scintillating manipulation of the arts of oral poetry, with rhyme, alliteration, coded gestures, and "electric and continuous exchange between poet and audience" (Foley 2002:5). The concept of performed oral literature has opened up a more generous understanding of the diversities of literary realization, taking us beyond the narrow notion of written texts and offering a whole new range of material for the student of comparative literature.

This recognition of the *positive* features of oral forms admittedly sometimes led to some overplaying of their significance and distinctiveness. It seemed for a time as if one single process had been revealed that covered *all* unwritten composition and performance. Elements of one of the powerful foundational Western myths sometimes shaped this too: the tale of a binary opposition between two contrasting types of social and cognitive organization, the one oral, communal, emotional, non-scientific, traditional, undeveloped, and primitive; the other literate, rational, scientific, individualistic, creative, civilized, Western, and modern. This made it easy to fall in with the projection of a far-reaching divide between oral and written, with the corollary that in those cultures—or genres or situations—where oral performance was significant, the literary forms would similarly be more communal, collective, or emotive (and so on) than for the conventional forms of "normal"—written, Western—literary texts.

Generalized dichotomies of this kind may still be remarkably persistent but are fortunately now approached with more caution. Certainly most serious scholars with any experience outside the parochialities of modern Western culture would question the attempt to take as universal the powerful Enlightenment vision that invokes the rationality of language and literacy as the characteristic of Western civilization and imagines

fundamental divisions among humankind tied to the presence or absence of (alphabetic) writing.[4] Instead they would point to the existence of not a single "orality" but multiple forms of oral expression to be found in the urban contexts of today no less than "far away and long ago."

By now the diversities of oral literature are more widely recognized. Nor, contrary to what was once believed, does oral performance always emerge in the mix-and-match variability of composition in the moment of delivery. That is one form, certainly, famously attested in the Yugoslav heroic poetry studied by Parry, Lord, and other scholars in the "oral-formulaic" tradition.[5] But it has now become clear that oral literature also includes cases of prior composition and of exactly repeated delivery. Martin Orwin (2005) describes the unwritten "definitive texts" of certain Somali poetic genres that in a sense stand outside the moment of delivery and have their own abiding reality, with their qualities of exact repeatability and copyright. The same is true for some oral poetic genres in Oceania where the words of songs were composed in advance and great pains taken to ensure exact reproduction as they were rehearsed and eventually performed by choral singers. There is not just one form of oral literary realization but many different arrangements along a continuum of more or less crystallized and stable oral texts.

Nor is there just one relation between the "performed oral" and the "textual written" or always a clear distinction between them. As illustrated through many examples in this volume (20), and elsewhere, writing can interact with oral performance in many different ways: as performance score, dictated transcription, crib sheet, memory cue, hearing aid, prompt book, calligraphic representation, ceremonial memento, notes for a speech, printed version of a memorized poem, medium for scholarly exegesis, tool for helping audiences understand a performance as it develops, script for recreating or remembering a past performance—and multiple possible combinations or sequences of all of these and more. Wilt Idema (2005) describes the successive transformations of Chinese play texts, their varying functions and audiences, and, going along with this, their differing relations to performance, while Ardis Butterfield (2002) illustrates how refrains in thirteenth-century French romances hover and move between oral and written, performed and read. There are plentiful cases ranging from Japanese

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[4] For a forceful recent treatment of the implications of this particular myth, see Bauman and Briggs 2003.

[5] John Miles Foley observes that the original evidential foundation for this so-called "Oral Theory" was in fact rather narrower than once assumed ("balanced," as he puts it somewhat harshly, "on the head of a pin" [2005]).

court poetry or European medieval oral delivery to contemporary poetry recitations, pop lyrics, radio, and television, where textual formations shift back and forth between oral and literate modes and can partake of both. The relation may change over time too or develop dynamically. Daniel Meyer-Dinkgräfe comments on the transformative processing from written text to performance in the sequential phases creating theatrical performance. At first, performers (2003)

> read their lines from the text (script) in front of them, but by a certain stage in the rehearsal process, no further progress is possible while the performers still have the script in their hands. They need to take the big leap of speaking their lines from memory, without the script in their hands, at first perhaps supported by a prompt, but more and more having to rely on their memory within the framework set by the world of the play itself.

In other contexts, as Peter Middleton (2005) demonstrates from contemporary poetry readings, *both* silent reading *and* live performance may be necessary to experience a poem. Written and oral forms can overlap and intermingle, and are related in manifold and variegated ways rather than existing as distinctive modes having hard-edged properties.

With all their controversies and multiplicities, the central insight from these studies of orality is a far-reaching one: oral forms are not only comparable to written literature in the minimum sense of being reproducible as written texts paralleling recognized written genres, but also have their own qualities in which performance and declamation *aloud* and to an audience are of the essence. This has rightly challenged the Eurocentric and high-art paradigm of literature as the norm by which all forms of verbal art are judged, and allowed a greater appreciation of the literary reality of many African and Asian forms as well as of popular genres outside the traditional European canon.

From "Oral Text" to Multi-Media Performance

Despite its importance such a recognition hardly takes us far enough. Indeed too dedicated a focus on the "oral," illuminating as it is, can be counterproductive. It may lead to the implicit assumption that *the* crucial feature of literature in performance is its oralness.[6] It is right to explore the

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[6] The same is sometimes implied even in Gerstle's perceptive analyses (2000:59), otherwise notable for their attention to visual as well as "oral" features, or in Foley's (primary though not exclusive) focus (1995) on the "oral" dimension of performance and

"oral" but the result can sometimes, paradoxically, be to implicitly reinforce the model of literature as, in the final analysis, written text. Oral performances and transcripts are treated as literature in that, and insofar as, they can be formulated in writing: either literature in some qualified sense (orally performed, but acceptable since it can be represented in words, and words are in principle writable); or becoming eligible to be considered as literature proper once actually transformed into written text. Such approaches can extend, but not radically unsettle, the position that something is literature when it is "susceptible to reproducibility in print" (Widdowson 1999:127) with its reality lying in the (writable) words.

Too narrow a focus on the "oral" also has another consequence: exclusion of other perhaps equally significant elements of performance. For performances may *not* be principally a matter of "words"—or at any rate not *just* of words. Characterizing a performance as "oral" may actually turn us away from a full appreciation of its multiform mode of existence.[7]

There are besides the verbal many auditory features of performance that are well illustrated in a number of the articles in this volume. Those who create performed literary art do not just emit spoken words; they also play upon the flexible and remarkable instrument of the voice to exploit a vast range of non-verbalized auditory devices of which the prosodic devices that are up to a point notated within our written literary texts—rhyme, alliteration, assonance, rhythm, and acoustic parallelisms—are only a small sample. There are also the subtleties of volume, pitch, tempo, intensity, repetition, emphasis, length, dynamics, silence, timbre, onomatopoeia, and the multifarious non-verbal ways performers can use sound to convey, for example, character, dialect, humor, irony, atmosphere, or tension. And then there are all the near-infinite modes of delivery: spoken, sung, recited, intoned, musically accompanied or mediated, shouted, whispered; carried by single or multiple or alternating voices. Some combination from this array of

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its representation. This emphasis is complemented by the linguistic approach to performance that is often presupposed in literary theory (insofar as "performance" enters in at all), usually building on Austin's concept of performative utterances and speech acts. Thus a recent standard textbook explains "performance/performative" as "the act of public exhibition that results in a transaction between performer and audience; an utterance that, via its public display, causes a linguistic [*sic*] interaction with the exhibition's object" (Wolfreys 2001:305).

[7] One complication is the ambiguity and inexactness of the term "oral": sometimes used to cover a broad range of meanings, but also commonly sliding into the narrower meaning (or at least strong connotation) of verbal, linguistic, and uttered by the mouth.

auditory resources, for the most part neither written nor easily-writable, is commonly central to both generic convention and performers' individual artistry. To say "oral" and look just to the (writable) words is only the start of a whole series of rich diversities. It goes beyond the vocal too, huge as that whole range is. Percussion and instrumental music can play a part too—well exemplified in several articles here; so too can the sonic ambiences and echoes of performance venues, even the noises that some may regard as external to the essential (verbal) text but may be an integral part of the event.

The complex auditory features of performance, though often overlooked, are happily now attracting wider interest. We get some real flavor of their significance from the way gramophone recordings are rightly drawn into this special issue on literature and performance (as in the papers by du Perron and Magriel and by Bauman and Feaster) as well as in Foley's detailed and meticulous analysis of the "acoustic reality" of a Slavic performance, Middleton's exposition of the sonic subtleties in poetry readings, or Schieffelin's vivid discussion of trying to capture the "verbal and aural components" of a Bosavi performance. Much remains to be done to further enhance our sensitivity to richness of sound, long blunted for many of us by the overwhelming book model into which we have been socialized; and, as Peter Middleton (2005) points out, the assumption that audio equipment of a fairly shallow frequency range is sufficient for recording vocal delivery (in contrast to music) may still be hindering our appreciation of some of the finer sonic effects of vocalization. But the increasing availability of auditory technology, ventures like the "e-companions" of this journal, and, not least, the kinds of widening insights evinced in this volume are allowing a fuller appreciation of the sonic features of performance.

But it is not, after all, just a matter of audition. Performers can also draw on an amazing constellation of visual resources. We can instance the uses of gesture, of facial expression, eye glances, bodily orientation, demeanor, visible movements, dress, ornament, and make-up. Material props like scepters, microphones, or pointers may enter into the act too, or associated visual images and exhibits: icons, pictures, prints, stage sets, and graphic displays. Touch and smell sometimes have a part too, and the corporeal experience of music with the tactile as well as musical and rhythmic interrelations of danced and embodied movement. The spatial and temporal dimensions of so-called "oral" performances bring their multiplex resonances too: the physical setting and arrangements, the timing and lighting, or the proxemic and embodied relations between the participants.

Time and time again performances turn out to be multidimensional rather than purely or essentially "oral."[8] Literary forms we are accustomed to read as verbalized texts, with perhaps a nod to their vocal delivery, may now need to be re-assessed as multisensory. As Rosalind Thomas among others makes clear, our texts of classical Greek lyric and choral poetry "silent on the written page, were originally accompanied by the lyre and other instruments, and choral poetry was sung by a group . . . accompanied by dance" (2003:349). Isidore Okpewho characterizes oral literature and performance in Africa similarly—"the words spoken are only part of a general spectacle designed to please both the ears and the eyes" (1992:48)—while Kpelle epic performances from Liberia intermingle singing, narration, dramatic enactment, and instrumental accompaniment with "sounds and movements textured with the voice . . . an aural type of texture augmented with dramatic gestures. . . . The epic is heard, seen and felt" (Stone 1998:135, 137).

We must remember too that this may not just be a matter of one lead performer pouring forth words in a vacuum—a picture it is easy to presuppose if we assume the model of single-line written text—but of a performance where the audience too may be a meaningful part of the event. There can be multiple interacting performers, and multiple participants in overlapping roles who between them build the atmosphere and drama of the art as a displayed realization in actual space and time. They co-create the multidimensional and embodied performance.

It is somewhere within this complex of commingling arts that performances have their existence: visual, kinesic, acoustic, proxemic, material, tactile, moving, and embodied. Performances are realized in varying selections and degrees, certainly, depending on the conventions of occasion, genre, and social expectations as well as on the creativities with which the participants tackle both their constraints and their opportunities. Some have more variegated mixes than others. But all literary performance is in one way or another multidimensional. These multisensory features are not mere contingent additions to the concrete reality of the abiding text— that "tangible object . . . present for close inspection or re-reading" as Widdowson states it (1999:127, 128)—they are themselves a solid part of the action.

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[8] I use "multiplex" and/or "multidimensional" as shorthand for the arguably more accurate but ponderous "multimodal and multi-media" (terms that in some ways differ, in others overlap and that I do not try to distinguish here; on this see Finnegan 2002:ch.2).

From Performance to Text to Performance?

This now seems to have re-driven a wedge between the bare single-line texts of "normal" written/writable literature and the exuberant multimedia life of performance. Trying to translate live performance into written transcript is indeed to shortchange its vital multidimensionality. Transferring a multi-faceted en-staged enactment into the simplex medium of writing may make a stab at capturing one dimension—writable words—but passes by those other elements in which it lives: "converting living species into museum exhibits" as Foley (2005) well expresses it. Correspondingly, a written script is surely a very different creature from the performance(s) into which it may ultimately be transformed. The two modes of realization—their means of existence—are simply not commensurate.

This is a significant issue, in the past only too often brushed aside. Thus performed African narrations were "reduced" (*sic*) to writing and treated as if the simplified texts that resulted had captured their reality. In ways now much more fully appreciated, a failure to take account of the multidimensional ontology of performance is to transform it, misleadingly, into something quite other than its original realization.[9]

However, before we are tempted again by the idea of some great divide between written text and multiplex performance three additional considerations need to be brought into the argument. First, the simplified contrast between performance—multisensory, dynamic, emergent—and written text—one-line, linear, fixed—misses the equally important fact that writing too is multimodal and contextualized. The multisensory characteristics of writing are often invisible to those brought up with the model of "the written word" as something abstract, mental, and context-free, another facet of the powerful model of literate rationality as prototypical of the high culture and destiny of the West. But a growing number of crosscultural studies of literacy have been challenging this ethnocentric myth to bring out the multimodality and materiality of writing.[10]

We need only reflect critically on our own experience. In approaching a piece of "writing" we attend to much else besides the lettered words themselves. The typographic format tells us at once whether it is to be read "as poetry" or "as prose." Layout, spacing, and orientation (all non-verbal) show how we should read the text: as dialogue, quotation, refrain, title,

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[9] For further comment on this—often highly political—issue, see Finnegan 1992:ch.9 and Honko 2000, as well as a number of papers in this volume.

[10] For example, Kress 2003, Street 1993, Tonfoni 1994, and Finnegan 2002:229ff.

footnote, emphasis, start, finish, and so on; here are visually displayed features that are not themselves words and yet all pertain significantly to the literary art. Pictorial image, color, and the materiality of the display can enter in too. This is so even in the alphabetic systems familiar to the West, most obviously (but emphatically not only) in their calligraphic and religious efflorescence where writing is so clearly a form of visual art. More striking still are the rich non-alphabetic writing systems of Meso-America or of Asia. Japan, for instance, has a long history of the creation and preservation of literary texts as art objects, often with illustrations (Gerstle 2005); a Japanese poem exists not only in live performance but also as physical object, realized through the calligraphy, the nature and color of the paper, and the sketches that illustrate it: the poem is meant to be experienced as material (Shirane 2005). Carpenter (2002) notes the "traces of the brush" in the arts of East Asia as the calligrapher interacts creatively with the challenges of different writing surfaces, significant elements of literary formulation. Nowadays too we are becoming increasingly familiar with the multiplex potential of new typographies and of computer decorated extravaganzas where color, shape, icon, and moving image play such a large part: visual arts where the boundary between picture, writing, and graphic dissolves.

Writing has an acoustic side too. As we have seen written texts can be, and quite often are, realized in being recited or read out, bringing home the intersection between the sonic and the visual. The literature of the classical and medieval worlds was often delivered aloud while now too parents and teachers read to small children, pupils prove themselves in audible reading, and for many religious adherents the full import of sacred writings comes as much through auditory declamation as in silent reading. "Audio books" and computer "multi-media" increasingly blur the boundaries between sounded and visible text. Some sonic elements are directly conveyed in writing, like the visual indications of rhythm, rhyme, or emphasis. Others are created through the reader's art, whether aloud or silently—for even "silent" reading is in a sense "performed" by the reader and, especially for poetry and dialogue, experienced acoustically through our "inner ear." The resonances of auditory speech come through in our literate experiences too, both in a general way and in acoustic echoes of the kind Peter Middleton (2005) so well describes as shaping later readings of a poem first heard in public performance. Musical associations too sometimes run through written formulations, from the musical resonances in written versions of early French romance refrains (Butterfield 2002), a printed lyric that can also be a song, to the explicit "musicalization" of certain literary narratives (Wolf 1999).

Even leaving aside the elements of touch or olfaction that sometimes play a part, it becomes clear that in its actual practice even alphabetic writing has to be seen as both material and multidimensional, a matter not so much of objective referentiality as of a mix of arts shot through with overtones and multisensory intertextualities. Other writing systems add to the range, each with differing potentials and practices for the visible display of particular features, such as the indications for musical or vocal delivery (as in some of the Japanese texts described in Gerstle 2001) or the pictorial presentation of color, shape, or movement. This complexity is enhanced too in the cultural variability of *how* people read and relate to writing and the contexts in which they do so (indicated in such works as Boyarin 1993, Coleman 1996, Foley 2002:65ff., and Street 1993). This involves far more than just visibly fixed words or verbally informative content but in a sense the reader's "en-performancing" of written alphabetic texts or (less familiar to Western readers but highlighted by the many striking examples of Asian literary arts in this volume) of other calligraphic and pictorial embodiments of literary forms. Far from being "unmediated text," as in Widdowson's statement above (1999:128), any form of writing—and of written literature—is full of media.

All this brings into question that supposedly unbridgeable gap between multimodal situated performance on the one side as against unilinear unmediated print on the other. In specific situations and conceptualizations, of course, particular formulations may indeed be displayed and conceived as distinctive or contrasting, and an awareness of such specificities—culturally contingent rather than some universal norm— needs to be brought into the picture. But as analytic and crosscultural concepts the superficial boundaries between "performance" and written/writable "text" become less clear. What may in some cultural frameworks be envisaged as a divide can also, from a more comparative perspective, be understood as a fluid spectrum of multiplex resources drawn on in differing ways and contexts for human expression, whether visual, acoustic, musical, pictorial, kinesic, verbal, material, tactile, or somatic.

To this we can add a second point, brought out by the perspective recently developed by some scholars in which text and performance can be seen not as opposed but as essential, complementary dimensions of literary realization.[11] From this viewpoint *all* instances of literature are double-sided: created in the magic moment of performance but also enlarged into or

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[11] Here I am drawing particularly on Barber 2005, Orwin 2005, Schoch 2002, and Silverstein and Urban 1996; also stimulating email comments by Ed Schieffelin and Daniel Meyer-Dinkgräfe 2003.

reverberating with something more abstracted, detachable as it were from the flow.

So, on the one hand, there is the "here and now" of performance. Literature is experienced in terms of its immediacy, in the temporal moment. This can come in a variety of forms: through embodied enactment, for example, or public theatrical display, or, more subtly, through the en-performancing of a written text, the "now" when the reader personally encounters and re-creates it—"performs" it. Performance lives "in the present" (Phelan 1993:146).

But then—and of particular relevance here—there is also the sense in which that performed literary realization exists *beyond* that temporal moment too, in some more externalized and, as it were, transcendent mode: something that can be referred to or in some way reproduced. As well as the performancing emergent in the present acts of the immediate participants, there is something more: the text *in* the performance. This too can take diverse forms. It can be intangible yet still in some sense abstractable, as with the Somali "definitive" and repeatable poem-texts (Orwin 2005) or the (somewhat more fluid) "mental texts" that Lauri Honko (2000) sees as lying behind performers' ability to deliver lengthy epics. It may be less verbally exact but still known as, say, a key plot, recurrent theme, performance convention, or building block for larger compositions. Or it may be a matter of visual and tangible forms "objectivated" in space, whether as physically written displays or as other material artifacts that in some sense encapsulate and parallel performance, like the Ashanti gold weights that represent proverbs or the visual images of dramatic characters or episodes in story or play.

The two dimensions overlap and intersect. The abstracted externalized text, detached from the immediacy of the temporal and personal present, carries the potential of meaning precisely insofar as its user has the experience to activate it here and now, while even in the midst of performance the experience is likely to be imbued with memories and connotations *beyond* the immediate moment. In her "Text and Performance in Africa" Karin Barber vividly formulates the inseparability of the two: "Entextualization . . . is not the opposite of emergent performance, but rather its alter ego; they proceed hand in glove with each other and are the condition of each other's possibility" (2005; 2003:332). In this light it makes little sense to set up either "text" or "performance" as separate things or to make assumptions about the prior ontology of either—which makes it difficult to work with a definition of literature that posits that the written text must count as the "originating form or final point of reference" (as in Widdowson's comment [1999:15] quoted above).

This leads to a third consideration. It is fair enough to point out the limitations of transcripts that aspire to transform performance into written text: such points still need making. But in our human culture such translations are in fact constantly happening. They are not confined to contrived scholarly transcriptions (though these too are part of the scene) but include regular transformations and interchanges among the many different modes of literary formulation.

Thus classical and medieval literature could be displayed through oral delivery, through multimedia theater, and in writing; Hausa literary forms in northern Nigeria were disseminated in parallel written and oral modes; Japanese court poetry was composed and appreciated orally but also circulated in writing and print; novels are read aloud or presented as "audio-books." Similarly European ballads, songs, and stories have been realized through varying media, both concurrently and sequentially—in writing, in print, in live sung or spoken or mimed performance, in broadcast, and in electronic modes. A poem can be viewed in print, read aloud, sung in musical setting, taken down in dictation, recited from memory, enacted as a theme with variations, celebrated in vanity publication, embellished in beautiful illustrated format—and all of these are accepted in at least some sense and some contexts as versions of the same thing. Specific intermedial transformations may in some contexts be well accepted, in others highly political and contested, but in practice they are a regular part of literary experience and take place within as well as between cultures, languages, genres, and presentational modes.

Such transformations are part of our familiar lives, and neither readers nor listeners, performers nor composers, transcribers nor live participants are without some experience of their interactions. One medium intersects with another as the overtones from one form of realization seep into others. Peter Middleton (1995) explores vividly how both hearing the "readings" aloud and visually perusing the written texts play essential roles in the poetry performances he describes—their mutual and supportive interaction are familiar aspects of the scene that participants have no problem in utilizing. Though each case has to be considered within the accepted cultural conventions of its time, genre, or participants, this basic experience is scarcely rare. A performance brings memories not only of other performances but of other modes and re-creations. Print too may carry the sonic echoes of a sung acoustic performance. Someone who has once heard a poem performed by the Jamaican dub poet Lillian Allen, for example, or sung a hymn by George Herbert will surely always hear it in the printed book too: the performance *in* the text. Scripts may be intershot with

theatrical associations as they are variously used for private reading, prompts for learning, cues for action, or re-creations of performances; Kabuki illustrations may both evoke memories and give a stimulus for future embodied enactments; multisensory memories can move back and forward between oral, written, pictorial, or danced displays. "Reproductions" of performances can be imbued with the sounds and sights of the events from which in a sense they arise at the same time that they form a base for yet further realizations and exegeses, perhaps in different media, with the intertextualities—the multidimensional memories and associations—running variously through all of them.

There is no need to multiply examples, for such transformations, complex as they are, are a common feature of human life. Newly developed and/or changing formulations, or their recontextualized uses as they take on lives of their own, are not "artificial" devices whose "true" existence can only be grasped in terms of notionally more "original" or "authentic" manifestations but familiar points in the unending cycles of human creation. Insofar as there *is* a divide between performance and written text—and there are certainly circumstances in which such divides are signaled—then this is at least a divide that is in one way or another bridged every day, and in varying and variously used transformations that are themselves part of our multiplex experience.

Such transfers have their problems and debates, certainly, and specific instances are rooted, as ever, in particular historical situations. Some media may be more highly prized than others, or particularly emphasized in certain circumstances and not others—transformations that may perhaps be recognized as familiar but even so may not necessarily be experienced by everyone as in all respects identical (plenty of room here for inter-group and intercultural misunderstanding). Far from being limpid reflections, intermedial processes are shaped by human concerns and ideologies. Just as the articles by Bauman and Feaster and by Isolde Standish suggest that it is not self-evident how representations in early recordings or silent films would have been arranged or conceptualized, so too cultural choices and controls will always affect the shifting assumptions about "equivalences" and transfers between different modes of expression, including, but not limited to, those between "live" performance and print. But if the bridgings and the multiple media in play are familiar elements of human experience, this is something we need to recognize as part of the reality, rather than either

ignoring them or imposing narrowly conceived paradigms about some *a priori* importance of any one of these many variegated forms of display.[12]

These minglings of arts run along multiple dimensions, then, as they are formulated in particular manifestations and realizations. Performance and text are not, after all, two opposed or independently existing entities or states. Once we take account of the pervasive multimodality and intermedial nature of human expression these once-clear boundaries dissolve. Literary displays turn out to range through a multiplex spectrum of overlapping and intermingling modes and media, human usages, temporal moments, and spatial incarnations. We may be right to continue to worry about the purposes and powers that particular agents may exert in their capture of human expression—as transcript, audio-recording, film, "tradition," and so on. But we would also be wise in any given case to avoid prior preconceptions about which manifestation is the "real" or the "original," whether in terms of the media drawn on or of the specific nature of their exhibition in spatial or temporal terms. Transformations and intersections among a cornucopia of modes are, after all, commonly recognized processes. Rather than just juxtaposing "text" and "performance," it may be more illuminating to explore the varying ways that humans draw selectively on a multi-faceted abundance of expressive resources and formulations.

How is Literature?

Does that mean that amidst all this multiplexity the notion of "literature" has dissolved? Are we left just with the multifarious and, no doubt, wonderful array of human expressive media and modalities but no viable idea of literature?

In my view that would be to go too far. My argument is not that we should collapse the study of literature into "cultural studies" or abjure such notions as "literary" (in fact the observant reader will have noticed that I have begged the question by using it from the start). I believe we should

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[12] While not proposing it as a technical term, I like the broad coverage conveyed by the term "display," which can bridge both literary text and literary performance (insofar as these are distinguishable): it functions both as verb (e.g., displaying by reading aloud, exhibiting through a film, performing on stage) and as noun (e.g., display as material and visual object, spectacle). The term "display" also usefully carries the idea of some thing or action singled out for special attention (more, or less) but without prior commitment as to what media are involved (the terms "text" and "discourse" are sometimes used in somewhat similar senses but their heavily linguistic/verbal connotations make them less appropriate for my purposes).

retain the concept of "literature." But I suggest that we should envisage it not as definable by reference to Western written genres, but as an umbrella notion that can embrace all those displayed forms and events in which verbal artistry in some way plays a significant part.

"Literature" in this light is a relative and a plural concept. "Verbal artistry playing some significant part"—that is a matter of degree and of interpretation. In some instances the verbal element may indeed be dominant, though it remains important not to jump to conclusions about its priority or assume it can best be treated in isolation. In other cases—or for some participants, other occasions—words as such may indeed play a role but in some senses be subservient to, or in essential symbiosis with, music, rhythm, or dance. The lyrics of some contemporary rock songs, for example, are certainly verbally articulated but, as Simon Frith well argues (1998), the joys of embodied movement and excitement carry as much import for their participants as the apparent messages of the lyrics. We can recall too the Japanese playwright and theorist Zeami's insistence that in composing a Nô play the musical and theatrical structure and the dance patterns come first, the words later (Gerstle 2000:47), the importance of drum-language patterns in Ewe funeral chanting (Burns 2005), and the priority of music over verbal text in Hindi _khyal_ songs (du Perron and Magriel 2005). Foley (2005) refers us to the question of music in South Slavic epic performance where, contrary to the "normal" book-based model of the verbal text as bedrock, music "not only accompanies but idiomatically cues the narrative . . . a full partner in the holistic experience of performance." Or again, the pictorial or artifactual may take priority over, or at the least play a complementary role alongside, the more verbal dimensions of the text. Haruo Shirane (2005) describes the high standing of Japanese calligraphy and its interaction with poetry, so that "a poor poem with excellent calligraphy was probably preferable to a good poem with poor calligraphy." The voice-over narrations of the "photo-interpreters" of Japanese silent films (Standish 2005) or the spoken dialogues of later sound films and videos can be appreciated as forms of literary expression, in these cases rooted in a setting of moving visual images. In other cases still, the verbal artistry may be experienced in more tenuous or elusive ways, working through evocations and associations rather than in explicit verbal articulation, as with Japanese Kabuki prints or classical Greek vase paintings of characters or episodes that also figure in drama. Amidst all these just where we decide to set the boundary of "literature" becomes a matter not of principle or of "normality" but of judgment.

Literature is thus seamless at the edges not just for all the well-hewn arguments about the canon, the nature of "art"/"aesthetic," or "high" versus

"ordinary," but also in any given case for how, and how far, verbal art plays a significant part. It varies with genre, situation, participants, cultural tradition, and ideology. Even what at first sight looks like a thoroughly verbal formulation (and perhaps conceptualized as such for some contexts or purposes) may in practice be shot through with acoustic resonances, visual imagery, or material exhibition—varying with differing participants or differing cultural expectations but nonetheless a significant part of the mix. Rather than "extra-literary" or "protoliterary," such features are an essential part of the full literary realization. Alongside the other issues with which they deal, our theories of literature need also to recognize the problematics around the relative significance and role of the verbal component within the multidimensional web in which it is set.

A multidimensional view of literature's basis of reality is the more timely given the increasing spread and accessibility of modern audio-visual technologies. The prime locus for capturing the ephemerality of embodied speech and action might once have seemed to lie in the permanence and replicability of print, thus giving a privileged ontological status to the written word ("seemed" because it is surely only the linguistic bias of certain sections of Western tradition that has allowed us to downplay the relative permanence and, for many centuries now, repeatability of pictorial representation). But now that storing and transmitting sound, image, and movement have become commonplace, an enhanced sensitivity to the realities of multi-media literary displays can scarcely be regarded as revolutionary.

Taking this more plural approach to literature gives a vantage point for comparison. How far are particular literary genres or displays realized in more or less visual and spatial form? En-gestured, en-verbalized, en-danced? Enacted through a mixture of media, including material artifacts? Co-created in the joint or differentiated contributions of plural participants or dialogic exchange? Or realized at specific points in time and/or formulated as detachable from the flow of the moment? And what are the relations, changing no doubt in different phases and circumstances, between these various features? All these become sensible and illuminating questions for comparative study, central rather than marginal to the study of literature. In the conventional Western literary canon—one wonderfully elaborated tradition but *only* one among many—literary art has often taken the form of visually displayed words to be experienced and analyzed in sequential linear form; whereas what strikes an outsider about many Asian literary forms is their pictorial-cum-theatrical spectacle and their association with physically embellished art objects; a somewhat different prioritizing again from the

often musicalized, en-danced, and verbalized, rather than artifactually materialized, bent of African literary forms. Of course, one no sooner essays such generalizations than exceptions and qualifications abound, not least the profusion of variegated forms in all these areas and the long mutual contacts between the manifold human forms of literary display over the centuries and across the continents. All one can say is that, first, such questions are worth asking, though doubtless for particular genres and examples rather than for wide regions of the world, and second, that any analysis of literary forms needs to be sensitive to the *multiple* dimensions likely to be in play—these are not deviations but part of the reality of literature.

Underlying the discussion here has been the creative idea of "performance," the stimulus for alerting us to aspects too little considered by literary scholars and of greater comparative reach than the closures of "literature" into "written text." The concept of "performance literature" has perhaps turned out less illuminating as a crosscultural analytic term than it seemed in prospect, at least in the sense that it does not after all correspond to some special category of literature. This is partly because, as suggested earlier, *all* literature is in a sense "performed": the interesting question is more about "how" than "whether." There are also problems about a twofold model (whether phrased as written/oral, text/performance, written literature/performed literature) where the first term may seem to count as "normal" literature, the second as literature only in a qualified way. In practice it has emerged that rather than two contrasting categories there are a multitude of ways in which creativity-cum-convention can be artfully realized through words intermingled with other media. In some cases written or spoken words may indeed be used to play a leading role, while in others they may have some part but only as interwoven with, perhaps outranked by, dance, music, gesture, visual images, or tangible artifacts; and it is only in and through this multisensory mediation that words reach their full realization. It is to the cross-cutting multiplexities and relativities of time, space, multiple participants, and multiple media, rather than to some special class of "literature," that Gerstle's fertile challenge and, with it, the seminal concept of "performance" can direct us.

Finally, let me both qualify and reiterate the case for retaining the familiar concepts of "literary" and "literature." These concepts, together with the (English) terminology of "words," "the verbal" or "the linguistic," do not and cannot altogether get away from culture-bound connotations and ambiguities. The same applies to the hidden assumption, prevalent in many Western scholarly sites, that the literary is somehow the "top art," and the linguistic—and especially the written—*the* pre-ordained mode for truly capturing reality. An alternative approach, and one arguably more congenial

to some cultural traditions, might have been to start from dimensions that transcend linguistic articulation, like, say, "the musical," "the danced/embodied," or "the pictorial," and bring together some comparative conspectus of how *these* realizations too involve a shimmering crosscultural constellation of arts (that may or may not include the verbal in any given instance). But it is surely also reasonable to pursue the complementary strategy of taking a comparative look at the *literary* displays of human art. The verbal role in these variegated displays may indeed be elusive, relative and contested, and always needs to be understood in its multidimensional framework. But the recognition of this multiplexity, far from undermining our study of the wonderful human artistries and practices of literature, in fact gives us a better handle on understanding the modes in which they exist. It makes it possible to get away from the idea that there is just one "proper" form of literature with its essential reality lying in written alphabetic texts, while still retaining a commitment to the understanding and appreciation of literatures—relative and plural as that notion turns out to be—across the world.

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The Culture of Play: Kabuki and the Production of Texts
eCompanion at www.oraltradition.org[1]

C. Andrew Gerstle

Text as Art

Japan is an interesting comparative point in the broader history of modes of reading and literary/artistic composition, and in understanding the role of performance in literary culture, although it has rarely been brought into the discourse on "oral traditions."[2] One reason for this is that it has a relatively long tradition of literary production in both popular and elite genres. The creation and survival of literary texts in manuscript and in woodblock print (commercial woodblock printing from the early 1600s to the 1870s) is also considerable, and the many types of extant literary texts— illustrated scrolls, poetry sheets, manuscripts, woodblock printed book genres—have been treasured as precious objects. Court culture, from as early as the seventh century, demanded high literacy (including the skill of composing poetry) from those who participated in the aristocracy and government. Reading and literary composition (including in Chinese) has continually been a prized skill among the elite (courtiers, clergy, samurai, or merchants). As a consequence literacy rates have also been relatively high, particularly from the early modern Tokugawa period (1600-1868), and especially in the cities and towns. Along with this long history of the creation and preservation of literary texts as art objects, often with illustrations, we also see a culture that has consistently encouraged active participation in the arts, not only from the elites, but also at the popular level.

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[1] All figures referred to below may be viewed in the eCompanion to this article at www.oraltradition.org.

[2] In this essay the word "performance" is used to refer to a wide range of activities such as reciting texts, composing poetry orally, singing, dancing, and stage productions. Essentially it is in opposition to the reading of a text silently.

This tendency to cherish physical texts as art objects (perhaps bolstered by the strong East Asian tradition of the high status of calligraphy as art), however, has not meant a diminishment of the importance of oral performance in literature. Ironically, the opposite seems to have been the case. "Orality" has remained central in Japanese literary culture even at the most highly literate levels. This has usually meant participation in a group activity, a performance of some kind, in which the individual takes a turn at being the reader/interpreter (audience) and at being the creator (performer).[3] As a consequence, performance has been a key element in the process of both literary composition and literary reception, whether in poetic, narrative, or theatrical genres. Performance has also been an important stimulant for the visual arts.

The relationship between a performance (using the term in its broadest sense) and its physical representation is an essential aspect of literary cultures throughout the world. In this essay, I will make a case that performance in Japan has been a catalyst for the artistic production of physical objects, both visual and literary texts. Furthermore, I shall argue that it is more useful to consider such physical texts not simply as representations of performance. They, of course, may have been created directly in response to a performance (or in anticipation of a performance), but as physical objects they became something entirely distinct and of a different genre. Such objects (texts) existed on their own and usually served various functions, one of the most important of which was to stimulate new performances.

Performance as Text

Another fundamental premise of this essay is that a performance should also be viewed as a "text," one that has a physical existence in sound and movement, but which dissipates as it passes through time, continuing to exist only in the memory of the participants. Work on oral poetry[4] has helped us to understand how an oral poem or story can be perceived as a text, and Haruo Shirane (1998) makes the point that most performances are repeated, thus creating forms that are held in the communal memory. These points may seem to be but truisms to readers of *Oral Tradition*. We need to

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[3] See Haruo Shirane's article in this issue for details on the process of creating traditional poetry.

[4] See articles by Karin Barber and Martin Orwin in this issue.

be continually reminded of it, nevertheless, because the physical object (text) sits in a privileged position within the modern academy (and the modern world of print) in relation to performance, which cannot be fully packaged and brought back to the library. The academy has tended, not unexpectedly, to make the physical text the focus of analysis, rather than the performance that dissipates into thin air.

The history of reading habits in Japan is still a relatively unexplored area. Peter Kornicki's recent work, *The Book in Japan* (1998), covers related research and suggests that while oral recitation continued to be common as a style of "reading" well into the late nineteenth century, reading alone and silently was also a mode of "reading" (251-76). Much work needs to be done until we can be more certain of the variety and styles of reading in Japan. We do know, however, the extent of book production and book circulation both in manuscript form and in woodblock print, which continued until the 1870s. Commercial publishing and commercial book-lending libraries were well developed and extensive in Japan from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards.[5] Maeda Ai, stimulated by Marshall McLuhan and other work on the role of orality in culture, many years ago made a case (1973) that it was common to read aloud in Japan well into the late nineteenth century. Although this phenomenon has been acknowledged in research on Japan, its significance or extent has remained elusive.

With the growth of university literature departments in the twentieth century, scholars have come to see the reading or study of literary or dramatic texts almost entirely as acts of interpretation and analysis, rather than for the purpose of the re-creation of new literary texts. I want to take a different approach to the history of reading by tying it more closely to the history of literary and artistic composition. I want to argue for a different sense of what reading means in the literary genres in which performance is essential and in which the purpose is creative fun and pleasure. In some genres the act of reading (or the watching of/listening to a performance) is primarily for the purpose of artistic creation or re-creation. Although coming from a very different perspective, this approach does echo Roland Barthes' idea that we should view a "text as score to play on." One reads (or takes part in a performance) to be stimulated to engage creatively with a text and to use it as a catalyst to create a new "text."

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[5] Nagatomo Chiyoji has explored the range of publishing and reading in the Tokugawa period in several major studies: *Kinsei kashihonya no kenkyū* (1982), *Kinsei no dokusho* (1987), *Kinsei Kamigata sakka, shoshi kenkyū* (1994), and *Edo jidai no shomotsu to dokusho* (2001).

Among those of high literacy ("professional" poets and writers), however, we see an interesting phenomenon. Regardless of whether or not an individual read a text alone silently, we see a persistence of oral performance as essential to the composition and reception of literature. This is evident in the court practice of poetry compositions (*uta-awase* competitions, *daiei* composition on themes at banquets) and in the development and flourishing of linked-verse composition by a group of poets (*renga*, and later *haikai no renga*, haiku). Ogata Tsutomu (1973) and Haruo Shirane (1998) have shown how important the communal context was for the production of haiku poetry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The development of Noh drama from the fourteenth century and its appropriation by successive samurai governments until the nineteenth century is particularly significant. Training in the recitation and performance of Noh drama became an essential part of samurai education, and gradually a hobby that many non-samurai as well continued throughout their lifetimes. Haiku linked-verse (*haikai no renga*) and Noh drama recitation (*utai*) during the seventeenth century came to be considered fundamental training for anyone interested in participating in literary culture. This was true for the rising merchant class in the cities and the wealthy farmers around the country, as well as among the clergy and samurai.

For those interested in literature, aside from the actual practice of calligraphy (which can, of course, be considered a performance art), participation and training was fundamentally that of performance. Because one was expected to perform on occasions, one "read" to memorize in order to compose poetry in a performance session of linked verse. In the case of Noh drama, one "read" (or more commonly chanted) in order to perform at recitals. This is close to the situation described in medieval Europe by Mary Carruthers in *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (1990), where physical texts (manuscripts) were considered useful primarily as an *aide-mémoire* for one's oral performance (lecture, storytelling, and so on).

From the seventeenth century onwards, with the flourishing of commercial publishing using woodblock print technology, we see an expanding rate of participation in literary and performance culture among the Japanese populace. Amateurs took lessons in performance arts and joined poetry circles. Individuals paid for books and fees to teachers to participate in hobby activities and as a means of social intercourse. The pleasure of performance in a social context was an essential enticement.

Woodblock Print Technology

A key element here is the technology of woodblock print. Although China, Korea, and Japan all relied on woodblock printing technology until the late nineteenth century, the style of printing is very different in each country. Woodblock texts in China (and those in the Chinese language in Japan) are usually in a squarish, block style, whereas woodblock texts in Japanese are almost always cursive, and at least in the early stages can be considered woodblock printings of manuscripts. Carvers followed the lines of the manuscript. As genres developed, publishers created house styles easily recognized by readers. The cursive style (carved to look as if the text has been written in formal calligraphy with a brush) remains predominant throughout the era of commercial woodblock publishing until the switch to metal movable type after the 1870s. The result is a much more distinctive form of a book that is noticeably more tactile and "touchy-feely" than that produced by modern movable type.
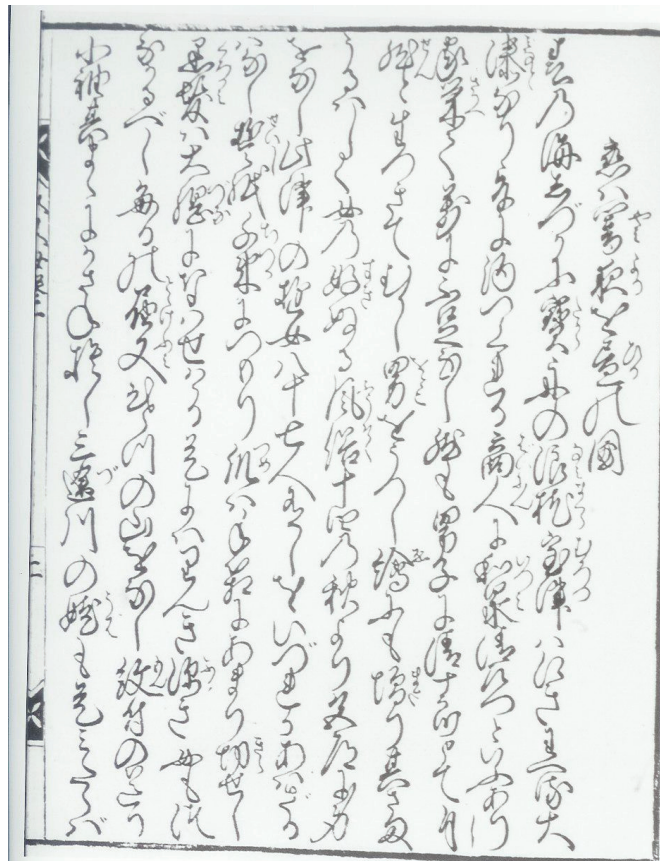
Figure 1. Ihara Saikaku, *Kōshoku gonin onna* ("Five Women Who Loved Love," 1686). Note that the text, though commercially printed, has no punctuation.

[Figure 2] [6]

This tendency is even more pronounced because of the copious amount of illustration in literary texts, a trait that continues from the earlier "manuscript" age of illustrated scrolls.

The particular Japanese application of woodblock print technology produced a distinctive, early modern literary culture, which is certainly of interest as a comparative point in the representation of performance and the relationship between individuals and literary culture.

Kabuki Culture

I have previously discussed aspects of "orality" in relation to composition patterns in Japanese drama (2000). Here the aim is to examine the role of performance in what I shall call "Kabuki culture" during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This urban subculture was a world of play. Many of the works examined below are illustrated in color in the recently published exhibition catalogue, *Kabuki Heroes on the Osaka Stage: 1780-1830* (Gerstle 2005a).

Bakhtin, in his work on Rabelais (1984), eulogized the medieval ideal of a "carnival" culture, which was opposed to the official culture of the Church or government, a "second life outside officialdom." His passionate description of this other world is worth recalling (7): "Carnival is not a spectacle seen by the people; they live in it, and everyone participates because its very idea embraces all people. While carnival lasts, there is no other life outside it. During carnival time life is subject only to its laws, that is, the laws of its own freedom." Bakhtin is discussing medieval Europe, of course, but many of his ideas on the nature and function of carnivals/festivals are useful to us in getting a perspective on the role of Kabuki (and more broadly popular theater) as well as of the licensed pleasure quarters of the cities.

Bakhtin's carnival is based on a concept of temporary disruption and inversion of everyday life. Carnival is a festival within a set time frame. It is "play time." Japan in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was no longer Rabelaisian, if it ever was. It was a relatively well-ordered land with three large cities—Edo (Tokyo, approx. one million), Osaka (350,000), and Kyoto

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[6] All Figures may be viewed in the eCompanion to this article at www.oraltradition.org.

(350,000)—and a number of other towns with populations around 100,000. An official (Confucian-inspired) class system was established in the seventeenth century with four descending ranks: samurai (civil/military), farmers, artisans, and merchants. Traditionally Japanese "carnivals" were centered on annual, local religious festivals and around particular shrines to which the community belonged, whether in villages or the towns and cities.

The work of Henri Lefebvre (1991) has stimulated many to examine how societies construct their cultural spaces. In the early seventeenth century the Japanese government agreed to the idea of establishing urban, secular "carnivals" not within a temporal frame, but rather within a spatial one—licensed pleasure quarters and licensed theaters. These performance worlds were permanent carnival spaces for play, pleasure, and fantasy. Courtesans and actors were given an official status as social pariahs (*hinin*, beneath the four classes, less than "human") outside the pale of society, while at the same time the system cleverly created the stars among them as celebrities who became wealthy.[7] Both of these spaces are best thought of as performance spheres where professionals interact with patrons, and where the performance dissipates at its completion. The government and conventional view was that people were allowed to play in these "bad spaces" (*akusho*), but that patrons, male or female, must leave this fantasy world behind when they return to the everyday world of work and responsibility, though they may, nevertheless, cherish the memory.

Within this relatively strict class system and its division of urban carnival space into licensed quarters, the arts played a crucial role in creating social networks that transcended space and rank. Artist, writer, and performance circles (*ren, za*) became essential to social life from early on.[8] These groups may or may not have been bohemian, but they were not made up solely of "professional" artists/writers/musicians/dancers or those with such aspirations. Leaders of such groups may have made a living as poets, artists, or teachers of their art, but fundamentally the circles were made up of ordinary individuals who wanted to participate in cultural activities for fun as a hobby. Many pursued these hobbies over a lifetime.

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[7] See Teruoka 1989, for a discussion of how the pleasure quarters created courtesans of high value and fame.

[8] The number and range of these cultural arts (*yūgei*) is considerable. The usual pattern is to have a group based around a master/teacher and to have periodic recitals or creative gatherings. Moriya (1980) has explored the significance of these groups in "Kinsei no chōnin to yūgei." The range of groups was very wide—from tea ceremony and the martial arts to poetry, music, and painting.

The most popular and widespread genre was haiku poetry (*haikai*). When one joined a group, he or she would take a haiku pen name (*haimyō, haigō*), and the convention was that within the group class distinctions and so on did not matter. These circles can also be considered "carnival"-like spheres where one participated in an egalitarian space as both a spectator and as a performer in linked-verse parties.[9] Oral composition and presentation were fundamental to these arts, such as poetry, music, and dance. Although individuals needed a certain amount of means to participate in these circles, participation in one kind or another of such culture groups flourished from around 1700, spreading among classes in the cities and over time far into the countryside. It became common for both men and women to take lessons (under an artistic or pen name) in some art or literary form, from tea ceremony, painting, and calligraphy to haiku, kabuki dance, Noh drama, or Bunraku chanting.[10] Like the pleasure quarters and the theater districts, these art/literary circles were enclosed within social fictions, and like them they became essential egalitarian "carnival spaces" for cultural participation. Within this structure, performance is both an aim of artistic production and a catalyst for artistic production.

Kabuki theater—different from its sister art Jōruri (Bunraku puppet drama) within the same theater districts and from Noh drama—did not publish complete texts of the plays (*shōhon, maruhon, utaibon,* which included notation for voice). Creative interaction with Jōruri puppet theater meant learning from professionals how to perform the texts and participating in public recitals. Kabuki was not as word-centered as Jōruri is. Kabuki has been and is today actor-centered and a star system. The only true "text" of kabuki is a performance, which should be different every time (even if it is the same play), and dissipates into thin air at the close of the curtains. Kabuki actors did teach dance but not acting or declamation (voice training for actors was accomplished by learning to chant Jōruri plays).

Kabuki came to play a crucial role within urban culture in the late eighteenth century as a catalyst for literary and cultural production. It is useful, I think, to consider kabuki as a subculture of play, fantasy, and creativity within the society. The government never acknowledged this activity as anything but a necessary evil, an outlet for passion and desire.

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[9] Hino (1977) called these "utopia spaces" in his study of circles around the kabuki actor Ichikawa Danjūrō V (1741-1806).

[10] I have explored the popularity of Bunraku chanting in "Amateurs and the Theater: The So-called Demented Art *Gidayū*" (1995).

The relatively democratic openness of this world and its dynamism stimulated many to become actively involved in artistic production. It was a clever strategy for kabuki theaters to keep the actor's performance, his body and voice, the sole focus. This policy fostered a cult of the actor and gave individual actors, although officially within an "outcast" group, a privileged position in cultural life as celebrities.[11]

As a consequence of being so determinedly performance-centered, kabuki has, ironically perhaps, generated a huge range of texts that aim to capture or "translate" the magic of performance. The genres are considerable: *e-iri-kyōgen-bon* (illustrated summary versions with lengthy text)*, ezukushi-kyōgen-bon* (illustrated plot summaries with little text)*, yakusha hyōbanki* (actor critiques)*, yakusha ehon* (illustrated books on actors)*, gekisho* (illustrated books on theater)*, yakusha-e* (single-sheet actor prints)*, surimono* (single-sheet, privately-produced prints of poetry and images)*, e-iri-nehon* (illustrated playbooks)*,* and *mitate banzuke* (single-sheet topical, parody playbills).[12] These were all attempts to represent, re-create, or translate performance into another genre.

Are these kabuki-related publications representations of performance or rather is it better to view them as being distinct works created in response to the catalyst of performance? Much of the illustrated material, in fact, was produced as advertisement in anticipation of a performance and therefore served as a stimulus for imagining an upcoming performance. These publications were not created by outsiders to kabuki theater; in Kyoto and Osaka in particular, they were mostly by passionate fans and were integral contributions to "kabuki culture." The key element in this kabuki culture is active and creative participation. This includes being a spectator or in a fan club, but it also means the practice of theater-related performance arts (*yūgei*)—such as dance (*odori*), Jōruri (Bunraku) puppet theater chanting (*gidayū*)*,* and other kabuki music—as well as contributing to the annually published actor critiques, participation in the rituals of kabuki fan clubs (*hiiki-renjū*), and designing actor prints.

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[11] See Gerstle 2002, which explores the ways that actor prints created superstars.

[12] See Gerstle 2005a. Akama (2003) has produced a thorough survey and analysis of these different genres.

Amateur Participation in the Arts

In Osaka at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a key activity for those keen to participate in this kabuki culture was the designing of single-sheet actor prints.[13] In Osaka most of the artists who produced actor prints were kabuki fans and were amateurs, a situation different from that in Edo, where kabuki actor print production was commercially driven. More than 100 artists designed actor prints during the period, about 1813 to 1842, although most of them seem to have been active only for a short period with few works extant. Kabuki fans in Osaka produced art in response to the magic of kabuki performance, in most cases for fun not for financial gain.

Were these artists attempting to "translate" kabuki performance into a graphic art? Since many of the prints were produced in anticipation of a performance, it is not enough to say that they were trying to capture the essence of a particular performance. They could not, however, create effective or believable prints without being familiar with the particular actor and the role. Performance experience was the catalyst for storing a visual memory bank from which to create an effective image.

Most of those who produced actor prints were active in poetry circles, both haiku and *kyōka* (comic or light-hearted verse in the traditional court poetry format of 31 syllables). These poetry circles served as performance venues that complemented the kabuki theater. Star actors regularly participated in these poetic circles both as spectators and as performers under their haiku pen names (*haimyō*). The third performance context was the fan clubs with their rituals at the beginning of theatrical productions.[14] Some of the actor print artists are known to have been active members of actor fan clubs—Hokushū, for example—and some were leaders of poetry groups. These various spheres, supported by the shops and restaurants of the theater districts, form an urban kabuki, carnival-like culture.

Poetry circles were also performance spaces that generated illustrated texts, both books and single-sheet *surimono* prints. We can get a sense of how participants viewed the poetic circles and the *surimono* prints that memorialized them from the preface to an album of *surimono*, dating

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[13] The following are illustrated books on Osaka actor prints: Keyes and Mizushima 1973; van Doesburg 1985; Schwaab 1989; Kondo 2001; Matsudaira 1995, 1997, and 1997-2001; and Gerstle 2005a. A special double issue of the journal *Andon* was recently published on Osaka prints (vols. 72-73, Oct. 2002).

[14] For his exploration of the nature of these fan clubs in several publications, see Matsudaira 1984 and 1999.

around 1821, assembled by Kurimi, the pen name of an amateur Osaka businessman/poet. He participated in a circle of *kyōka* poets over many years in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, traveling between Osaka and Edo. The preface to this album was written by the senior figure of the group, the Osaka poet Tsurunoya, then over eighty-years-old, who is also known to have contributed to kabuki *surimono*.[15]

After reviewing the many prints of the album, each of them exquisite designs by well-known artists such as Hokusai and Hokushū, with both images and poems commemorating particular poetry gatherings, he wrote that the prints were "authentic" representations (*shōshin shōmei*). One could take this as a comment on the quality of the prints as art. He is, however, viewing the album as a participant and leader of the poetry gatherings, and sees the images and poems through the lens of his own memory. I would propose that, for this poet, the text consisted not only of the prints themselves, or his poems on them, but also included the memory of the communal performance of a day of art appreciation, tea ceremony, poetic composition, and finally saké drinking. The sum of these activities (performances) over many years constituted a life, and it was the old poet's memories (and the prints contributed as an *aide-mémoire* that gave meaning to that life). Below is a translation of the preface (Chibashi Bijutsukan 1997:198):[16]

> Many people collect examples of famous writers' and artists' calligraphy and drawings and hold them dear as rare treasures, but it is hard to determine if the items are authentic or fake. Rather than being proud of such paintings or calligraphy, how much more interesting is this album of prints. These *surimono*, collected by Kurimi, through images and calligraphy, depict magnificently the essence of the words of the *kyōka* comic verses of our contemporaries. This truly is authentic representation [*shōshin, shōmei*]; no need to strive to find specimens from ancient masters. Ask any discerning gentlemen knowing in the ways of poetry; I stand witness to this as fact.

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[15] One example is the Hokushū *surimono* celebrating a performance of the Edo actor Onoe Kikugorō III (1784-1849) for performance in the ninth month of 1826 at the Osaka Kado theater; see Matsudaira 1997-2001:vol. 2, no. 278.

[16] All translations are mine unless noted otherwise. The word "tama" in the phrase *zare-uta (kyōka) no tama no koto no ha* means "jeweled" but can also signify "spirit." I am thankful to Roger Keyes for introducing me to this album. Photographs of the complete album are in *Siren: The Bulletin of the Chiba City Art Museum* (2002:22-68), accompanied by an essay in Japanese on the album by Roger Keyes.

For the poet Tsurunoya, the *surimono* skillfully evoked through image and graceful calligraphy the essence of the performance occasion; each succeeded in re-creating the words of the poems, composed orally at the gathering. Each *surimono* was also, then, a stimulant for the group's next gathering.

Theater, Poetry, and Art

I want to focus on two performance spheres—kabuki theaters and poetry circles (primarily haiku)—to show how the interactions between these two worlds were an important stimulus for cultural production. One of the earliest books produced in Osaka on kabuki actors is *Yakusha mono iwai* (*A Celebration of Actors*, 1784) by the first great Osaka actor print artist Ryūkōsai Jokei (fl. 1777-1809). It presents 49 actors in roles they made famous.[17] However, each actor is listed not by his stage name but by his *yago* (an actor clan name that is called out during performance) and his haiku pen name (*haimyō*).[18] Figure 3 (below) shows Nakamura Tomijūrō I (1719-1786) in the role of the "fox-woman" Kuzunoha (literally, "leaf of the arrow root").[19]

The poem, presented as if it is one of his own, is:

Kuzunoha ya	The leaf of the arrow root,
kaze ni omote mo	Blowing in the wind, showing its regret
misenikeri	Even from the front

[This poem revolves on a poem from the play and the word *urami* ("regret," "anger," also the idea of one who can see into the future). *Urami* also refers to the back (*ura*) of the arrowroot leaf (*kuzu no ha*). The character Kuzunoha

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[17] This book was reprinted in a facsimile edition in 1927; see Kawakami 1927.

[18] The illustrated book, *Ehon butai ōgi* (1780, copies in the Victoria and Albert Museum, British Library and the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin), produced in Edo was the first book on actors in full color. Actors are listed by their name and haiku pen name. There are no poems with the illustrations, but the back of the book has a range of haiku by famous haiku poets and includes a poem each by the two artists Ippitsusai Bunchō and Katsukawa Shunshō. The connection between haiku, kabuki, and art is implicit.

[19] See Poulton's 2002 translation.

is a fox who has taken human form and married. The actor plays quick changes between the two roles, and the climax is when the fox-woman must grudgingly abandon her husband and son so that the son can grow up in human society. He becomes the famous Abe no Seimei (921-1005), who was known as a court soothsayer and diviner. The actor Tomijūrō, famous for this role, tried to show the feelings of the fox for her son in both roles, even when keeping those feelings hidden from the surface.]

Figure 3. Ryūkōsai Jokei, *Yakusha mono iwai* ("A Celebration of Actors," 1784). The actor is listed only by his haiku pen name (*haimyō*) and his clan stage name (*yago*). The actor is Nakamura Tomijūrō I. The haiku poem is presented as if by the actor himself, although it could be by the artist Ryūkōsai, who published a book of haiku.

We know very little about Ryūkōsai, but he did illustrate *kyōka* poetry books and published a book of haiku poetry.[20] He is famous for a portrait style that does not idolize actors, and his presentation of them as poets as much as actors was significant and influential.

The 1790s is an active period in the development of Kabuki actor prints and books. In Osaka and Kyoto we have several publications celebrating two star actors, Arashi Koroku III (Hinasuke I, pen names Minshi and Koshichi; 1741-96) and Arashi Sangorō II (pen name Raishi; 1732-1803, retired 1797; see Gerstle 2005a:cats. 65-67). We see in such publications as the following the support of literati patrons who contributed poems, as well as poems by actors. *Minshisen* (*A Collection of Minshi Writings*, 1790), *Tama no hikari* (*The Glow of a Jewel*, 1796), *Arashi Koroku kako monogatari* (*A Tale of Arashi Koroku*, 1797), and *Arashi Hinasuke shide no yamakaze* (*A Journey on a Mountain Wind to the Other World*, 1801) are all focused on Koroku III. *Raishi ichidaiki* (*The Life of Raishi*, 1797) and *Kiri no shimadai* (*A Stand of Paulownia*, 1797, illustrations by Niwa Tōkei and Ryūkōsai) celebrate the life of Sangorō II.[21] These contain many poems (haiku and *kyōka*) by writers and actors and include some illustrations. The impression created is that actors are an essential part of literary culture. The most influential Edo actor book publication is *Yakusha gakuya tsū* (*Actors Backstage*, 1799), which has color portraits of actors by Toyokuni, Kunimasa, and Utamoro, each with a signed *kyōka* poem by a noted figure.[22]

Shōkōsai Hanbei (fl. 1795-1809), Ryūkōsai's student, was also a poet and contributed his own poems to the actor books that he illustrated. His *Ehon futaba aoi* (*Double-Petaled Hollyhock*, 1798) was the first color actor print book produced in Osaka. His work *Shibai gakuya zue* (*Theater Behind the Scenes*, 1800, 1802) is an encyclopedia-like series of two volumes on Osaka kabuki and Jōruri (Bunraku) puppet theater.[23] It shows actors behind

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[20] Gerstle 2005a contains a wide range of examples of Ryūkōsai's paintings, illustrated books, and actor prints.

[21] These texts have all been reprinted in Tsuchida et al. 1979.

[22] Copies are in the British Museum (JH 200 [1979.3-5.0200]) and the British Library (no. 16104-a40).

[23] This book was printed in many editions. Copies can be found in the Victoria and Albert Museum, the British Library, and the Cambridge Library. It has been reprinted in a facsimile edition with an introduction and transcription of the text (Hattori n.d.).

the scenes, their lives, and out of costume. It consistently presents them as cultured poets, with portraits listed only by haiku pen name, and accompanied by a verse from a contemporary poet. One section has a group of actors' poems displayed with a covering note that each is in the calligraphy of an individual actor (*jihitsu*). Shōkōsai includes poems of his own as well to accompany other illustrations.

[Figure 4]

Figure 5. Shōkōsai Hanbei, *Shibai gakuya zue* ("Theater Behind the Scenes," 1800-02). Portraits of two actors both listed by their pen names (*haimyō*) only. The haiku poems beside are by poets of the day, in praise of the actors.

Shōkōsai also illustrated several playbooks (*e-iri nehon*). Two early ones are in the Cambridge University Library and the British Library: *Yakusha hama no masago* (*Actors Along the Shore*, 1803) and *Ehon hana-momiji akiha-banashi* (*An Illustrated Tale of Akiba in Autumn*, also known under the title, *Ehon kakehashi monogatari*, 1806; Gerstle 2005a:cats. 83 and 142). In *Yakusha hama no masago* the initial actor portraits have only their pen names and are accompanied by poems. The reader is offered a "dream team" of actors for each of the roles, some no longer alive. The reader is clearly challenged to connect their memories of the actors while they read the play. (*Yakusha*) *Masukagami* (*A Mirror of Actors*, 1806) is the last of Shōkōsai's actor print books and again includes a poem with most portraits. The poems without signatures are by Shōkōsai himself.

Figure 6. Shōkōsai Hanbei, *Masukagami* (*Mirror of Actors*, 1806). Ichikawa Danzō IV; *kyōka* poem by Shōkōsai himself. Courtesy of the British Museum.

[Figure 7]
[Figure 8]

From as early as 1779 we see the production of full-color *surimono* (privately produced prints that include poems), which relate to Osaka kabuki (Gerstle 2005a:cats. 49-52, 104). Shijō's style of painting and prints, a realistic and elegant style, generally produced still-life nature scenes with images seemingly unrelated to theater. The other, usually produced by Osaka actor-print artists, shows the celebrity actor in role as the central image. I have recently published an article about a British Museum *surimono* by Kunihiro of the actor Arashi Kichisaburō II, dating from the first month of 1817.[24]

An early example of a full-color Osaka "Shijō-style" kabuki *surimono* dates from 1805 and is preserved in a magnificent scrapbook album of material on Osaka theater dating from the early eighteenth century until about 1827. This series of 42 volumes, created within one Osaka family, entitled *Kyota kyakushokujō* (*An Album of Theater Sources*) is held in the Waseda University Theater Museum (Tokyo).[25]

The image, in the elegant Shijō style, is brightly colored and is probably by the artist Niwa Tōkei, although there is no signature.[26] The print has been severely trimmed to fit the size of the album and the artist's name is not evident. Here we have the interaction of three separate worlds to create a joint work of art. The *surimono* celebrates the rise and success of Arashi Kichisaburō II in 1805 to become a top actor and head of a troupe (*za-gashira*).

There are eleven poems, two by poets (Doran, Tosetsu), one by kabuki playwright Chikamatsu Tokusō, one unknown (Kokuse), and seven by actors all listed only by pen name. Nakano Mitsutoshi (1993) has written on Tomi Doran (1759-1819), a Kyoto court aristocrat who was a key figure as patron and liaison between actors and artists/poets. Doran is known to have written actor critiques and to have been a haiku master for a large

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[24] Gerstle 2005a:cat. 173. See also Gerstle 2002, as well as Gerstle 2003 for an expanded version in Japanese.

[25] The entire set is reprinted in black-and-white in Geinōshi Kenkyūkai 1974.

[26] There are several *surimono* by Tōkei with Doran as the major patron/poet in the Waseda Theater Museum and also held privately by Nakano Mitsutoshi; see Nakano 1993. I am thankful to Prof. Nakano for sending me photographs of his collection.

number of actors, as evident from the magnificent Tōkei *surimono* commissioned in Doran's memory in 1819.[27] Doran was a particular patron of Sawamura Kunitarō I (1739-1818) and Arashi Kichisaburō II (1769-1821).

Figure 9. First section of a print privately produced in 1805 (*surimono*), in *Amata kyakushokujō* (a series of albums of theater sources). Courtesy of the Waseda University Theater Museum. For the complete print, see Figures 9, 10, and 11.

[Figures 10 and 11]

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[27] Copies are in the Chiba City Museum, illustrated in *Edo no surimono: suijin-tachi on okurimono* (Chibashi Bijutsukan 1997), and in the *Nishizawa Ippō harikomi-chō* (Waseda Theater Museum). They are also illustrated with the poems translated in Gerstle 2005a:cat. 138. This is an extremely large *surimono* in two parts, both 40 cm. x 52 cm. Twenty actors contributed poems, including Kunitarō and Kichisaburō.

This *surimono* marks an important juncture when Arashi Kichisaburō II became a star of Osaka kabuki and a troupe leader, receiving top spot on the playbills. In the fourth month he performed three main roles in *Ōmi Genji senjin yakata* (*The Ōmi Genji and the Advance Guard*) at the Kado theater. *Kyota kyakushokujō* notes that this performance was a big hit and includes a print of Kichisaburō in the three roles of Sasaki Shirō, Miura no Suke, and Sasaki Saburō (*Kyota kyakushokujō*, Book 18: 57-58; Gerstle 2005a:cat. 195). Morita Kanya IX had come from Edo to perform with Kichisaburō. Kunitarō retired at this same performance (Ihara 1960:366).

The three key poems are:

(1)

Tachibana mo	The waft of a mandarin blossom
mukashiya koishi	Ah, what lovely memories
sode kaoru	The scent still in my sleeve

-Kitō (Sawamura Kunitarō I)

[The mandarin (*tachibana*) is Kichisaburō's crest. The mandarin flower's fragrance is a metaphor common in poetry for evoking memories of lovers long ago. On the surface this certainly refers to the magnificence of the handsome Kichisaburō II, in his prime and known as a favorite among women. Kunitarō played woman's roles and he therefore speaks of Kichisaburō as a sexy man. Kunitarō would have seen Kichisaburō grow up into a first-rate actor. On another level, I wonder if it could also refer to Kunitarō's memory of performing with Kichisaburō I (1737-80, Kichisaburō II's father), who was only two years older than Kunitarō. Kunitarō retired from the theater at the same time as this *surimono* was produced.]

(2)

Osamarite	Now all calm and clear
chiyo no michisuji	May the long road ahead
suzushikare	Be pleasant and smooth

-Rikan (Arashi Kichisaburō II)

[Kichisaburō defers to the elder Kunitarō, wishing him well in retirement, and at the same time modestly hopes that his own tenure as a kabuki star and troupe leader will be smooth.]

(3)

Mirubusa ni	The long strands of hair
sake no wakayagu	Lively and young, the saké flowing
yoake ka na	Is it the dawn already!

-Doran (Tomi Doran)

[Doran cleverly shifts the imagery back to the poetry gathering and the party atmosphere. The image of young flowing hair (*mirubusa*, literally strands of seaweed) refers to Kichisaburō's vibrancy. A new dawn is rising that will lead to a bright future for Kichisaburō, the young and lively actor.]

This *surimono*, elegantly presented and with the aristocrat Doran as the patron, promotes the actors as sophisticated artists. At the same time it is the power of Kichisaburō's performance, his body and voice, which has been the stimulus for the poetry gathering and the subsequent *surimono* print.

The other type of *surimono* designed by those who portrayed actors in painting and prints places the actor as the focus, with him posed in costume at a histrionic moment. These, too, were created from within a poetry circle, whose members were the actor's fans. The next example (double *ōban* size[28]) by Ashifune is in the album *Nishizawa Ippō harikomi-chō* (*The Nishizawa Ippō Album*) in Waseda Theater and has not been published before. Arashi Kichisaburō II (Rikan) is presented as the renowned court calligrapher Ono no Tōfū (894-966), a role he made famous in a performance in the fourth and fifth months of 1813 in the play *Ono no Tōfū aoyagi suzuri* (*Ono no Tōfū and the Willow Inkstone*) at the Kado theater.

Kichisaburō is competing with his younger arch rival Nakamura Utaemon III (1778-1838), who had returned from five years in Edo to perform in Osaka from the eleventh month of 1812 to a great fanfare. Utaemon had been successful in a third-month production in which he performed a dance with seven roles. The Ashifune *surimono* is offered in support of Kichisaburō against Utaemon.

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[28] The *ōban* size is about 25-27 cm. x 37-39 cm., with special impressions sometimes larger.

Figure 12. A print by Ashifune privately produced in the fifth month of 1813 (*surimono*), in *Nishizawa Ippō harikomichō* (a three-volume album of theater resources). Arashi Kichisaburō II is in the role of the courtier calligrapher, Ono no Tōfū. Courtesy of the Waseda University Theater Museum.

There are seven poems, one by Doran, one by Kichisaburō, and five by unknown individuals—amateur poets, including two women. Kichisaburō is known to have been a favorite among women; the first two poems below are by women. The third is by the aristocrat Doran. A fascinating letter survives from Doran to another of his female students in which he discusses the performances at this time of Kichisaburō and Utaemon at the neighboring rival theaters Kado and Naka. He praises Kichisaburō and says how Utaemon's performance paled in comparison; he also mentions sending the woman a *surimono* of Kichisaburō as a gift (most likely this print), saying there is no actor to match Kichisaburō (Ihara 1960:515-17):

Hototogisu	A storm strikes the pine
matsu ni arashi no	The Japanese cuckoo
ataru koe	Cries in summer

-Sakujo

[The Japanese cuckoo has a striking cry, which is here likened to a storm (*arashi*) striking a pine (*matsu*). *Arashi* refers to Kichisaburō and *matsu* to Utaemon (Utaemon's crest is a crane that is associated with pine). Kichisaburō's performance is magnificently popular (*ataru*), showing up that of Utaemon.]

Urigoe ni	The seller's cry
senryou ha ari	Worth a thousand gold pieces
hatsu-gatsuo	The first bonito of the year

-Kikujo

[Like the cries of the streetseller selling the sought-after first bonito of the season, the audience cries out for Kichisaburō's performance, worth a thousand gold pieces. A top actor's annual salary was 1,000 gold pieces.]

Sono fude ni	In his brush
shōbu no ka ari	The fragrance of the iris blossoms
sumi no tsuya	The ink glistens with luster

-Doran

[Kichisaburō is presented as a the most elegant of artists, fittingly able to perform the role of a court aristocrat such as the calligrapher Ono no Tōfū.]

This image of Kichisaburō as an elegant court calligrapher must have been popular among his patrons (and Kichisaburō himself). The right half was republished as an actor print, without the artist's signature and with a different text, in the first month of 1821 for the occasion of Kichisaburō's taking of a new name, Kitsusaburō.

[Figure 13]

This print (Figure 13)[29] takes a further step in presenting Kichisaburō as an artist by stating that his poem is "in his own hand" (*jikihitsu*). We can imagine the exalted view Kichisaburō's fans had of their hero from an

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[29] Another impression of this print is published in Matsudaira 1997:no. 78.

Ashiyuki print in the book *Rikanjō* (1814) in which he is portrayed as an Emperor, something extraordinary for one officially considered an outcast.[30]

Although we have a considerable number of *surimono* centering on Kichisaburō II, we have no commercially produced actor prints of him with poems by him or by others until the occasion of his taking of a new name in the first month of 1821.[31] Poetry is to be found on commercially produced actor prints in Edo from early in the eighteenth century, but poems do not appear regularly until into the nineteenth century in Edo or Osaka. In Osaka, the production of single-sheet actor prints dates from about 1792, much later than in Edo. Regular production of the large *ōban* format (approx. 37-39 x 27 cm.) begins around 1813 there, even though it was common in Edo from the mid-1790s. The fierce rivalry between the actors Kichisaburō II and Utaemon III began in earnest in the first month of 1813, and was certainly a catalyst for the flourishing of Osaka *ōban* actor prints.

The first *ōban* Osaka actor print with a poem that I have seen was issued for a performance in the eleventh month of 1815 (Figure 14).[32] It is a magnificently dynamic portrait of the actor Ichikawa Ebijūrō I (1777-1827). The text is a poem signed only with Ebijūrō's new pen name, Shinshō.[33] He had begun his career in Osaka under the name Ichikawa Ichizō, but after his teacher Ichikawa Danzō IV died in 1808 in Osaka, he went to perform in Edo in 1809. In 1815 he became a disciple of the famous Ichikawa Danjūrō VII (1791-1859) from whom he received the name Ebijūrō and his pen name Shinshō.

The Danjūrō line of actors was famous for a rough style of acting (*aragoto*) and Ebijūrō was a "rough or villain role" (*jitsuaku)* specialist. Utaemon III had been instrumental in bringing Ebijūrō to Edo and in having Danjūrō take Ebijūrō under his wing (Ihara 1960:562-63). Utaemon also orchestrated the re-launch of Ebijūrō's career in Osaka as a rough-style actor in the famous Danjūrō line, returning with him from Edo to Osaka in the eleventh month of 1815. The print, a full-frontal portrait, is extremely

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[30] Gerstle 2005a:cat. 119. This book has been transcribed into modern print by Ogita Kiyoshi (2002). The 1817 British Museum *surimono* referred to in note 33 also has Kichisaburō in the role of a court aristocrat.

[31] For my discussion of this question see Gerstle 2005b.

[32] Another impression of this print is published in Matsudaira 1997:no. 4.

[33] Shinshō means "the new *shō*"; *shō* is a measure for grain or liquid and is the crest of the famous Edo actor Ichikawa Danjūrō. Ebijūrō, therefore, is a "new Danjūrō."

Figure 14. An anonymous single-sheet actor print produced in the eleventh month of 1815. Ichikawa Ebijūrō I in the role of the fisherman Fukashichi. The poem is by the actor who is listed only by his haiku pen name Shinshō. The frontal portrait is rare and reflects his recent taking of a new name as a disciple of the famous Edo actor Ichikawa Danjūrō VII. Ebijūrō had returned to Osaka after many years away.

unusual in Osaka prints, but not uncommon in Danjūrō prints produced in Edo. There is no artist signature, giving the impression that this print may even be by the actor himself, although it was most likely by a patron. The poem alludes to the rough _aragoto_ style:

Fuyu no umi	The winter sea
<u>are</u>taki mama ni	Rough it wants to be
<u>are</u>nikeri	Rough it always was

-Shinshō

With this print the "actor as poet" is presented to the paying public in full color and aimed at the theater audience. Utaemon III, a master at creating celebrity, was most likely the strategist behind the re-launch of Ebijūrō's career.[34] In competitive response to this full-frontal portrait, Kichisaburō's artist-patrons produced two full-frontal portraits of him, the only two such known, for a production three months later.[35]

[Figure 15]

The artist Kunihiro responded both to the visual imagery of the earlier print and to Kichisaburō's performance to produce a new print, which most likely enhanced and perhaps influenced Kichisaburō's performance.

I have tried to argue that performance, particularly in kabuki and in haiku (*haikai*) gatherings, has been an important catalyst and stimulant for the creation of visual and literary texts. One aim was to see these objects not as representations of performance, but rather as texts in a distinct genre stimulated by performance and in anticipation of performance. We need to distinguish between the documentation of a performance and the use of a performance to create new art, both in new performances and in visual and literary texts. Many of these performance-inspired books and prints were, then, often influential as catalysts for new performances. Actors and poets were stimulated by the interaction with different artistic spheres. This circular element of influence traveled back and forth, and its welcoming of participation from a wide spectrum of the populace fostered a highly creative culture of play. One can easily imagine how important it was for actors, who portrayed high officials, courtiers as well as elegant ladies from history, to be able to meet and interact with contemporary lords and ladies in poetry circles.

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[34] Aoki (1991) outlines Utaemon III's strategies to make himself and his troupe the star attraction. Kaguraoka (2002:67-188) also analyzes Utaemon III's career.

[35] The Hokushū print and another impression of Figure 15 are in Matsudaira 1997: nos. 7 and 8 respectively. The Hokushū print is also in Matsudaira 1997-2001:vol. 1, no. 54.

Key terms have been memory, social interaction, pleasure, play, re-creation, and participation. We can see many parallels with other pre-modern societies, as well as with the contemporary electronic age and the diversity of media now available, especially the Internet, which has proved to be a tremendous stimulant for popular participation.[36]

There is still much basic research to be done to understand the dynamics of the interaction of kabuki, poetry, and art, and the networks through which individuals participated. I hope that this article at least shows how influential performance was for cultural production in Osaka in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and how complex were the dynamic interactions within the kabuki culture of play.

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[36] I am grateful to Ruth Finnegan for suggesting two recent books on communication in cyberspace: Brenda Danet's *Cyberpl@y: Communicating Online* (2001) and Tim Jordan's *Cyberpower: The Culture and Politics of Cyberspace and the Internet* (1999). There certainly are parallels to the concept of "carnival" space idea I have discussed to describe kabuki culture, including the idea of taking a new identity when participating in cyber activities.

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Performance, Visuality, and Textuality:
The Case of Japanese Poetry

Haruo Shirane

Performance and Text

The purpose of this paper is to explore the complex relationship among performance, visuality, and textuality, using examples from traditional Japanese poetry, and to reveal how the interaction among these three elements is integral to understanding Japanese poetry as process or action.

I use the word *performance* to mean an action that is carried out, judged, and appreciated according to a set of commonly shared aesthetic, literary, or social codes. Performance is a one-time action, but it is usually repeated so that the audience has an established horizon of expectations. The audience (participants) implicitly will compare one performance to the next. In performance there is direct interaction between the performer and audience, who judge the action according to how well it conforms to, deviates from, or employs a commonly shared set of conventions. As material object, the poem exists in two fundamental forms: the handwritten manuscript and the printed text (which emerged from the early to mid-seventeenth century in Japan, first as movable type and then as woodblock printing). Both kinds of texts can be read and appreciated by audiences who are not witness to the initial utterance of the poem. These texts in turn are appreciated and read according to a set of pre-established aesthetic, literary, or social codes, but those codes may drastically change with time and place.

Constative and Performative

I would like to begin by drawing on a distinction made by the British philosopher John L. Austin in his classic book *How to Do Things With Words* (1965) between constative and performative utterances. Austin

distinguishes between the constative utterance, a statement that can be judged in terms of its semantic content, and the performative utterance, where language functions as action, such as a promise or a guarantee for the future. Austin himself shows that the constative often mixes with the performative. The phrase "how are you?" as a constative utterance asks about your health or condition, but performatively, which is the way the phrase is normally used in a social context, it means something more like "hello, I am glad to see you," and when the other person replies "fine," he (or she) is not talking about his health so much as the fact that he wants to acknowledge your attempt to affirm his existence and good health. Similarly, Mikhail Bakhtin in his study of linguistics (1986) argues that each word is not only a sign in a large system, but an utterance, part of an implied dialogue. A necessary feature of every utterance is its "addressivity," its quality of turning to someone.

These notions of performance and addressivity are key elements in poetry, particularly traditional Japanese poetry. Let me start with a simple example from Japanese poetry: haiku, the seventeen-syllable poetic form developed in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. The following is by one of its foremost practitioners, the late seventeenth-century poet Matsuo Bashō.

Shiragiku no	Gazing intently
Me ni tatete miru	at the white chrysanthemums—
Chiri mo nashi	not a speck of dust.

As a constative utterance, the poem is very simple. The speaker is viewing white chrysanthemums and seeing that they are absolutely unsoiled. To understand the poem as performance, as an utterance, we need to reconstruct the original setting. Bashō originally composed this poem after arriving as a guest at the house of Madame Sono, one of his disciples, and in this context the poem functions as a greeting and a compliment to the hostess. The poem employs the white chrysanthemums as metaphor for the hostess, implying "this is a beautiful house, with a beautiful hostess, just like an elegant white chrysanthemum, and there's not a speck of dust here. You and the house are in perfect condition." This haiku, like much of Japanese poetry, functions simultaneously on two levels, as constative utterance and as performative utterance. As performative utterance it must be understood, to use Bakhtin's terms, dialogically, in terms of its addressivity.

Modern readers tend to read poetry monologically, either in an expressive, lyrical mode, as an expression of a speaker's subjective state, or in a descriptive, mimetic mode, as a reflection of the external world as

perceived by the speaker. This tendency overlooks the crucial fact that much of Japanese poetry and prose, particularly in the pre-modern or early modern period, functioned dialogically, fulfilling socioreligious functions such as complimenting a host, expressing gratitude, bidding farewell, making an offering to the land, or consoling the spirit of the dead. This is true of a wide range of literary genres. For example, *The Tales of Heike*, a medieval military epic sung to a lute by a blind minstrel, had the important function of consoling the spirit of the dead, particularly the spirits of the defeated. The same may be said of Noh theater, in which the Noh performance had, as one of its original functions, the purpose of consoling the spirit of the dead. Even a *jōruri* ("puppet") play, such as Chikamatsu Mon'zaemon's *Love Suicides at Sonezaki* (*Sonezaki shinjū*) about a double suicide of two lovers, can be seen as having this "consoling the spirits" (*chinkon*) function with regard to the spirits of the dead lovers, who had died not long before the performance of the play. In other words, some forms of Japanese literature functioned as a dialogue with the dead. Addressivity thus need not be restricted to a living audience.

Dialogic Poetry

One reason why this dialogic dimension is foregrounded is that Japanese poetry, like many of Japanese traditional arts, usually takes place in a communal context, as a group activity, or as a form of dialogue between two or more people. The thirty-one syllable *waka* (classical Japanese poem), which emerged as early as the seventh century, was composed in two types of settings—first, as private exchanges between friends and lovers; and second, in public settings, as what we would call banquet poetry, which could have a highly political or religious function, such as praising the emperor or the high-ranking host or paying respect to the dead or survivors of the deceased. In both instances, both private and public, there was a specific addressee, and the capacity to compose for the specific occasion (to function as occasional poetry) was generally more important than the capacity to compose for posterity.

The performative nature of Japanese poetry is perhaps best exemplified by linked verse (*renga* or *haikai),* which developed in the fourteenth century and which exemplifies group poetry or poetry of the parlor (*za*). Linked verse opened with the seventeen-syllable (5/7/5) *hokku* verse—which later became the haiku—to which was added a fourteen-syllable (7/7) second verse (*wakiku*), which was capped in turn by a

seventeen-syllable (5/7/5) third verse (*daisanku*), and so forth, until a sequence of thirty-six, forty-four, fifty, one hundred, or a thousand verses was completed. Though linked verse could be composed by a single individual as a solo composition (*dokugin*), it was usually a communal activity in which two or more participants took turns adding verses to create a sequence. Each added verse (*tsukeku*) was joined to the previous verse (*maeku*) to form a new poetic world, while pushing off from the poetic world that had been created by the combination of the previous verse and the penultimate verse (*uchikoshi*).

The following sequence (nos. 22, 23, 24) appears in a *kasen* called "Beneath the Cherry Trees" (*Ko no moto ni*) in *Hisago* (*Gourd*, 1690), a Bashō-school *haikai* anthology:

> *Kumano mitaki to*   "I want to see Kumano,"
> *Nakitamahikeri*   she wept
>   (Bashō)
>
> *Tatsukayumi*   bow in hand
> *Ki no sekimori ga*   the barrier guard at Ki
> *Katakuna ni*   unyielding
>   (Chinseki)
>
> *sake de hagetaru*   the bald head
> *atama naruran*   probably too much drinking
>   (Kyokusui)

The first verse uses an honorific verb to suggest the high status of the traveler (presumably a woman), who is weeping because she is anxious to visit Kumano, a popular site for religious pilgrimage in the Heian and medieval periods. The next verse by Chinseki joins with the previous verse by Bashō to reveal that the traveler is weeping because a guard with a hand-held bow is refusing to let her pass through the barrier at Ki Province. The third verse, which pushes off from Bashō's verse and combines with Chinseki's verse, humorously transforms the barrier guard into a tippler, whose head has grown bald, or so it appears, from excessive drinking. As we can see here, linked verse is a poetry of playful recontextualization; here the aristocratic, seemingly tragic, somber world of the first two verses is unexpectedly transformed into the light-hearted, plebeian world of the last two verses. The interest of linked verse is in the process of decontextualizing and recontextualizing, in the competition to add a good verse to the sequence, and in the constant movement from one world to another. It is a one-time performance whose excitement can never be matched by the final

written record of it. Such poetry is not intended to be a lasting monument. Instead, like the tea ceremony and other such traditional performative arts, it is often intended to be enjoyed in the moment. As Bashō notes, once the linked verse is finished, one must throw it in the trash. In these circumstances, the poetry does not have to be a superior literary text to be excellent performance.

Equally important was the assumption, particularly with linked verse and haiku, that the poem was incomplete, that it was the responsibility of the reader or audience to complete the poem. A good poem had open space so that the reader or audience could participate in its production. Linked verse embodied this process since it left each new link to be completed by the next person's verse. The "cutting word" in haiku, which cut the haiku in two, was intended to open up this critical space.

The brevity of Japanese poetry, only seventeen syllables for haiku and thirty-one syllables for classical poetry (*waka*), allows it to be composed by almost anybody with a minimum of literacy and training in almost all settings. From as early as the seventh century, with the introduction of a writing system, poetry, especially the 31-syllable *waka*, was a form that could be composed both frequently and spontaneously by the aristocracy. And from the seventeenth century onward, the seventeen-syllable haiku form spread to the populace at large.

However, the accessibility of such poetry, which often functions as a form of dialogue, also means that much of it does not match the standard of what in modern Europe has come to be regarded as high literature. After World War II, when Japan was doubting its native poetic forms, there was a great debate about whether haiku was poetry at all. The point here is that haiku did and does not have the same functions as those traditionally found in European poetry or literature. Poetry existed not only as a literary text; it had a highly performative function, the effectiveness of which was judged not by its durability or complexity but by its applicability to a specific situation, which often took precedence over its purely textual function.

Performing on a Topic and Communal Imagination

A major characteristic of Japanese poetry, particularly of *waka* and haiku, is that it exists in an intimate intertextual (text to text) relationship with prior poems or established topics. This kind of intertextual relationship is a characteristic of almost all poetry, but this dimension is especially important in Japan where the poetic form is so short and must depend on

either its immediate context or some intertextual context to achieve complexity. One prominent form of intertextuality is the *honkadori* (allusive variation; literally, "drawing on a base poem"), in which the poet takes a significant part of an earlier, well-known poem (as much as two-thirds of the original) and incorporates it into a new poem, thereby making a direct connection between one text and another across time. Western literature also makes use of the technique of allusion, often referring to stories, characters, and symbols from Greek and Latin literature or the Bible, but we do not find the kind of extensive use of citation found in *honkadori*, where a major part of the text derives directly from another text.

An even more important feature of Japanese poetry, particularly of *waka* and haiku, is the use of poetic *topoi* (*dai*), which provides a base frame for the content of the poem. One of the chief characteristics of Japanese poetry, from at least the tenth century, was the practice of composing on an established poetic topic, usually taken from the seasons, nature, or famous places, each of which was centered on a "poetic essence" (*hon'i*), an established cluster of literary and cultural associations. Rain, for example, took on a different name according to the season and the type. *Harusame* (spring rain) referred to the soft, steady drizzle of spring; *samidare* (literally, rains of the Fifth Month) meant the wet season or the extended rains of summer; and *shigure* signified the brief, intermittent showers of early winter. In the poetic tradition these became seasonal topics with specific poetic associations, which were derived from classical precedent and commonly recognized as the most appropriate subjects of composition.

Spring rain, for example, became associated with soft, dreamy thoughts; the wet season, particularly that of the Fifth Month, implied a sense of unending depression; and the intermittent showers of winter connoted impermanence and uncertainty. These poetic topics and their associations are, in a fundamental sense, imaginary worlds, which join the poet and the reader, and represent a communal, shared imagination. In writing about the scattering of the cherry blossoms, the Japanese poet is not just writing about a specific, direct experience; he or she is writing a supplement to or a variation on a commonly shared body of poetic associations with respect to the seasons, nature, and famous places based on centuries of poetic practice. Here, as in the allusive variation (*honkadori*), originality or individuality is not the touchstone of literary genius, as it often is in the Western tradition. Instead, high value is given to the ability to rework existing subject matter.

In *kabuki* and *jôruri* ("puppet") drama, the thematic base came to be referred to as the *sekai* ("world"), which was drawn from the historical past, usually the medieval period. The playwright was expected to provide an

innovation (*shukô*) on an established world already familiar to the audience through the works of other playwrights. The same kind of phenomenon occurs in Japanese poetry, except that the "world" is not a medieval legend or historical event but rather a seasonal topic or a famous poetic place that thousands of poets had composed upon earlier. In both drama and poetry, we have a base or foundational world, which is already familiar to the audience and on which the poet, playwright, or actor works. So while the performance itself is a one-time action, a fleeting moment, it is anchored in a larger tradition based on communal memory. In the case of Japanese poetry, that tradition is preserved textually in anthologies, private collections, treatises, and handbooks, which explain the poetic associations and which contain exemplary poems classified by topics. This kind of poetry is difficult for an outsider to appreciate in that the reader must know the topic and the major poetic precedents in order to discern the "newness" of the poem. While there are many poems that may be considered "realistic," the stress here is on the "re-presentation" or "re-production" of earlier texts. The poet is not attempting to be original so much as to create a new variation on an established pattern (*kata*) or theme. Creation is a process of "re-producing," or better yet a process of "re-performing" or "re-presenting."

The *waka* and haiku are very short forms in the context of world poetry. The advantage of the short form is that it is very versatile; it can be employed by a wide range of people in a wide variety of social, religious, and political settings in highly performative ways. The disadvantage of the short form is that it does not allow room to indicate the context in which an individual poem was first performed. This potential weakness is offset in part by the reconstruction of contexts in prose and the extensive use of headnotes. The poem can also exist intertextually, as in an allusive variation that connects the new poem to a pre-existing text, or it can exist as part of a long tradition of compositions on an established topic. Later generations cannot reproduce the original context or the performative aspect, but they can read the poem in relationship to earlier poems and topics, which are preserved and transmitted. So while the poem as performance is eventually lost, the poem as text continues to exist in a larger, communal, trans-historical context.

Visuality and Poem as Material Object

Let me now turn to Japanese poetry as a material object for which calligraphy, paper, and packaging were probably as important as the poem itself. As noted earlier, calligraphy was a major art in East Asia. A poor

poem with excellent calligraphy was probably preferable to a good poem with poor calligraphy. The same poem could be written many different ways: in different calligraphic styles (block, running, and so on), in pure syllabary or syllabary mixed with Chinese graphs, and with different spacing (in one line, two lines, three lines, or scattered across the page). The prosody of *waka* and haiku is determined not by line but by syllable count, thus allowing for many different spatial presentations of the same poem.

The type, color, and size of the paper were also important. The poet could also add a sketch, attach a flower or leaf, or add incense or perfume to the poetry sheet. The poem as material object was often a gift for the host, friend, or lover. Matching the poem or paper with the social occasion or season was a key factor in its effectiveness or performativity. So while *waka* was meant to be heard and was often repeated aloud at poetry contests and poetry parties, it was also meant to be *seen* both as text and material object.

To demonstrate the complexity of poetry as material artifact, let me examine a noted *hokku* (seventeen-syllable haiku) by Matsuo Bashō that first appeared in *Azuma nikki* (*Eastern Diary*), a collection of *haikai* poetry (*hokku* and *kasen*, linked-verse sequence) edited by Gonsui in 1681, which was probably composed in the fall of 1680:

> *Kareeda ni*   On a withered branch
> *Karasu no tomaritaru ya*   a crow stopping on a branch!
> *Aki no kure*   Evening in autumn.

The two parts of the haiku—the withered branch and the autumn evening—can be read both as a single scene, as in a "content link" (*kokoro-zuke*), which unites two consecutive verses by content, with crows settling on a withered branch in autumn evening. The same *hokku* can be read as a "distant link" (*nioi-zuke*), or "fragrant link," in which the two parts are united only by connotation. In *Azuma nikki* this *hokku* is preceded by a headnote, "On Evening in Autumn," a classical *waka* topic. In that context, the second part poses the question: "what represents the essence of evening in autumn?" The first half answers with "a crow or crows on a withered branch."

The following hanging scroll (Figure 1), "Withered Branch; Passing Through the World" (*Kareeda ni, yo ni furu wa*), was done in 1681 by an unknown professional painter belonging to the Kanō school, one of the dominant painting schools of the time. The text and calligraphy are by Bashō. A *haibun* (*haikai* prose text with poetry) on "Passing Through the World" (*yo ni furu wa*) is on the left panel and the left edge of the right

panel, and Bashō's *hokku* on the withered branch is in the middle of the right-hand panel.

Figure 1. "Withered Branch; Passing Through the World," 1681. Hanging scroll.
Bashō calligraphy and text; unknown Kanō-school painter.

The painting is very much in the style of the Kanō school, with dark lines outlining the trees and mountains, which are then filled with detail and wash. The painter interprets Bashō's poem on the withered branch as having many crows and the tree as having many branches. In response to the question of "what is the essence of evening in autumn?" the painter represented many crows, some flying in the dusk, some resting in the trees, amid red autumn foliage.

Three *tanzaku* (a rectangular 35 x 5 cm. form for displaying poetry and calligraphy) that Bashō did on this same withered-branch *hokku* survive. In the following *tanzaku* (Figure 2) Bashō revised the text, replacing the middle *tomaritaru ya* ("stopping on a branch!") with *tomarikeri* ("stops on a branch!"), which has an exclamatory ending and is less static than the earlier version. This version is canonized in subsequent *haikai* anthologies such as *Arano* (published in 1689):

Kareeda ni	On a withered branch
Karasu no tomarikeri	a crow stops on a branch!
Aki no kure	Evening in autumn.
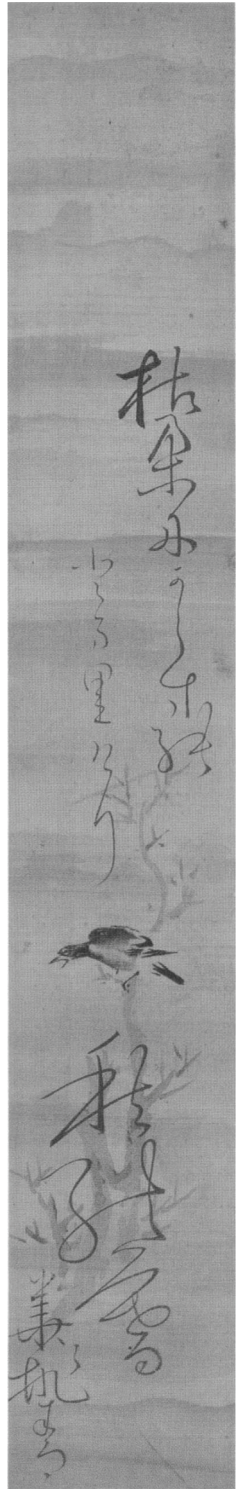
Figure 2. "On a Withered Branch," c. 1682. *Hokku* and calligraphy by Bashō,
signed 華桃青*Katôsei*, *tanzaku*. Idemitsu Museum, Tokyo.

This may be one of Bashō's earliest *haiga* (haiku paintings), with the
calligraphy, poem, and the sketch by Bashō himself. The calligraphy is

almost identical to that in the earlier hanging scroll. The *haiga* is unusual in that the image of the crow appears in the middle of the calligraphy/poem, immediately after it is described in the poem. Here Bashō clearly indicated that there is only one crow on a withered branch.

The next extant version of Bashō's *hokku* (Figure 3) appears in a *kaishi* (literally "pocket paper"), a square sheet of paper used by poets to record poetry at poetry sessions, as opposed to the *tanzaku* or the *shikishi* that were for display or exhibition.
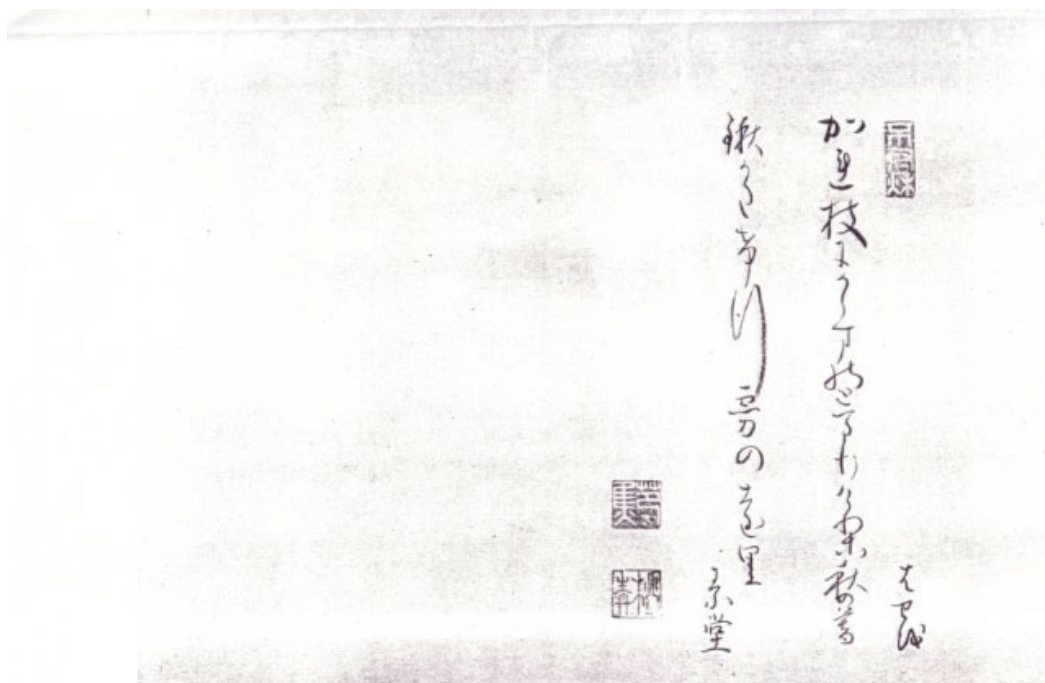
Figure 3. "On a Withered Branch," late 1680s. *Hokku* by Bashō (Baseo); *wakiku* by Yamaguchi Sodō, *kaishi*.

In this *kaishi,* which was probably done in the late 1680s, seven or eight years after the original version, Yamaguchi Sodō (1642-1716), one of Bashō's disciples and an outstanding *kanshi* poet, has added a *wakiku* (second verse) to Bashō's original *hokku*, creating a short linked-verse sequence. The *wakiku* is "going with a hoe on the shoulder, a distant village in the mist" ("kuwa katage yuku / kiri no tōzato"). This verse combines with the preceding *hokku* to create an autumn scene in which the fading of a farmer into the autumn mist echoes the fading of life implicit in the image of the crow(s) settling on a withered branch. (*Aki no kure* in Bashō's *hokku* can be understood as either "autumn evening" or "the end of autumn".)

In 1692-93, more than ten years after the first version, Bashō produced this *gasan* (painting with poem; Figure 4), a painting by Morikawa Kyoriku (1656-1715) with the calligraphy and *hokku* by Bashō.
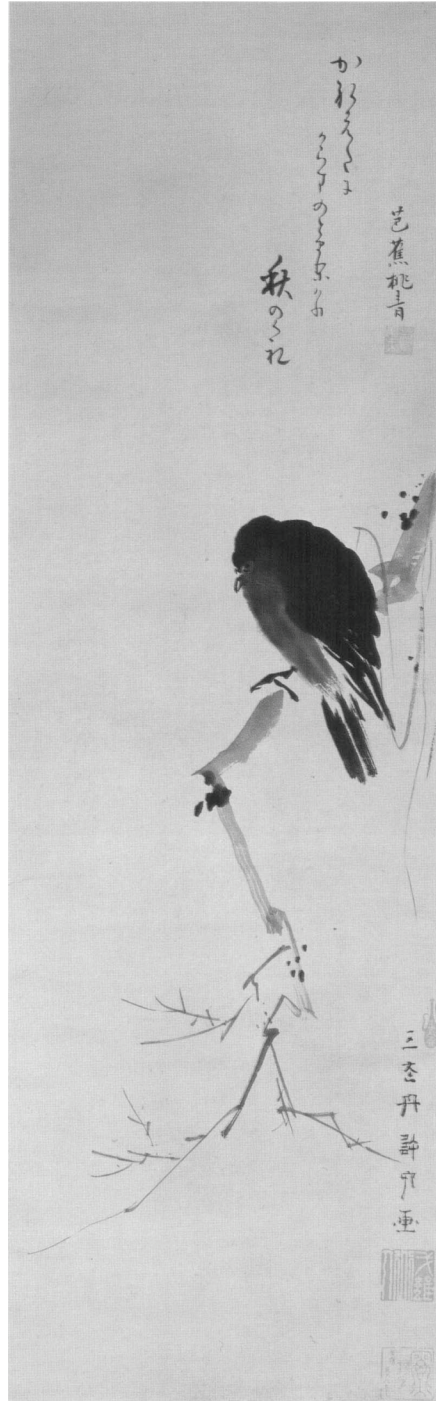
Figure 4. "On a Withered Branch" (*Kareeda ni karasu no tomarikeri aki no kure*), 1692-93. Signed "Bashō Tôsei." Painting by Morikawa Kyoriku.
Idemitsu Museum, Tokyo.

Kyoriku was a painter who had studied with Kanô Yasunobu (1613-85); Bashō had met him in Edo in 1691 and took painting lessons from him. In this *haiga*, or haiku painting, Basho uses the kana syllabary instead of the Chinese graphs he used in the earlier version.[1] More importantly, the painting is executed in a pure ink (*suiboku*) style, closely adhering to medieval and Chinese models. In response to the question of "what is the essence of evening in autumn," Kyoriku answered with the Chinese painting topic, "a cold or frozen crow on a withered branch," an answer that Bashō probably had in mind even when he wrote the initial version ten years earlier.

As we can see here, the poem as material object is extremely important. Furthermore, the same poem may be re-contextualized or re-materialized many times over a lifetime in different media and in different genres (hanging scroll, *tanzaku*, *kaishi*, *hokku*, *haikai* linked verse, *haikai* anthology), in different calligraphic styles, and with different partners. This re-contextualization can seriously alter the meaning of the poem (moving in this instance from multiple crows flying amidst bright autumn foliage to a lonely crow resting on a single bare branch). Furthermore, these are often joint productions in which "linking" from the *hokku* to the painting or from the *hokku* to the *wakiku* is a kind of performance.

The composition of the poem is thus only the first stage of performance. The *hokku* is usually said aloud and recorded on a *kaishi*, or pocket paper. Then, if the poem is noteworthy, it is presented on the calligraphically centered *tanzaku* or the more elaborate *shikishi* (colored and designed paper). The *hokku* could also be expanded into a *haibun*, a short vignette that combined *hokku* and poetic prose. The *hokku* could be presented calligraphically as part of a *haiga* (haiku painting) in a text/image combination. Each of these material versions represents different performances of the same text.

The material form of the *tanzaku*, *haibun*, or *haiga* had two very important social or ritualistic functions; the first was to thank the host of the *haikai* session or the host of a lodging. The poet as a guest usually wrote something and gave it to the host as a present and token of appreciation. In fact, Bashō depended on the generosity of his hosts for a living, and he literally paid his patrons in the form of *kaishi*, *tanzaku*, *shikishi*, *haibun*, and

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[1] The text reads as it did in Bashō's earlier *tanzaku*: "kareeda ni / karasu no tomarikeri / aki no kure" ("on a withered branch, / a crow comes to a rest, / autumn evening"). Bashō's signature (Bashō Tōsei) is at the upper right, and Kyoriku's signature (Gorōi Kyoriku ga) is at the bottom right.

haiga. In one case, Bashō even sent an elaborate picture scroll (*emaki*) of a journey to the main host of his trip to the Kansai-Nagoya region. The second important function of the *tanzaku, haibun*, and *haiga* was as commemoration of a particular poetic gathering, commemoration of a performance. The poem in material form functioned like the photograph does in modern society—as a record of a one-time event.

Having served their initial performative function, the *hokku, haikai* sequence, or *haibun* could then be reproduced as printed text in *hokku/haikai* collections or in various kinds of diaries or narratives. Bashō's travel diaries were often later created (after the journey) by weaving together a number of individual *tanzaku* and *haibun* that he had done while traveling. These exist in both manuscript and in printed form. With the rise of printing in the mid-seventeenth century, the *hokku* collections, *haikai* anthologies, and travel diaries were often printed and published for wider consumption. In preparing the texts for printing and publication, Bashō often rewrote the *hokku*, the headnotes, and the *haikai* linked-verse sequences themselves, sometimes even changing the names of the participants, either to improve the texts or to make them more comprehensible to someone who was not direct witness to the event. The textual, printed versions thus are not an accurate record of the initial performance so much as a textual variation of the original performance.

The manuscript and printed texts in turn had ritualistic and social functions. One important objective was the commemoration and advertising of the latest achievements of a particular poetic school or circle of poets. For example, *Nozarashi kikō* (*Skeleton in the Fields*), one of Bashō's early travel diaries, celebrates Bashō's encounter with the Owari (Aichi/Nagoya) group and the establishment of the Bashō style, especially the transition from the turgid Chinese-style of the early 1680s to the gentle, pseudo-*renga* (linked-verse) style of the mid-to-late 1680s. In a similar fashion, *Oku no hosomichi* (*Narrow Road to the Deep North*), Bashō's most noted literary travel diary, commemorates the emergence of a new configuration of disciples centered in Yamagata, Kaga, Ōmi, and Edo. Bashō discovered and cultivated most of these disciples during his journey to the Deep North. *Haikai* were also composed, collected, and printed as a *tsuizenshū*, or a memorial service collection, to honor a deceased poet, to serve as an offering to the spirit of a deceased on the anniversary of his or her death. An equally important genre in the Edo period was the *saitanchō* or "New Year's Day Poems," a collection of poems (that could be *kanshi* [poetry in Chinese], *hokku*, or *waka*) composed, collected, and presented by a poetry group to celebrate the arrival of the New Year (*ganjitsu*). These were printed, sold, or given away at the beginning of the new year as good-luck presents.

Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, the Japanese poet generally existed with other poets in a dialogic situation, in which two people exchange poems, as a form of elevated dialogue, or in a more expanded group situation in which two or more people compose poetry together, as in classical linked verse (*renga*) or popular linked verse (*haikai*). In either case, much of Japanese poetry has two potential functions: (1) as a one-time, social, political, or religious act or performance, which stressed addressivity and the significance of which was inevitably diminished or lost after the act was finished and (2) as a text, in manuscript or printed form that continued to exist outside the initial context. In the first function, the poem is often recited orally or sent to the addressee, while in the second function, the poem is written down or printed and then transmitted and circulated.

As a one-time social, religious, or political performance, poetry is disposable. As a circulated manuscript or printed text, by contrast, the poem needs to be understood by those who are not witness to the initial context. This need to recreate or preserve the original performative context of the poem gave rise to a number of literary genres. One of these was the *uta-monogatari*, or poem-tale, which tells the story or stories (often legends) of how the poem came to be composed, what happened, and what effect the poem had. (The most notable of these is *The Tales of Ise*, focused on the legendary "life" of Ariwara no Narihira, the noted ninth-century *waka* poet.) Another related form is the poetic diary, which records or recreates the original context for later readers in a biographical or chronological format. (The travel diary can be seen as a subgenre of the poetic diary.) The poetic diary, which included both the poems written by the author and those sent by others, became an autobiographical form. In many cases, Japanese poems are preceded by what is called a headnote (*kotobagaki*), which provides either the topic or the context for the poem. In other words, the performative, occasional nature of poetry gave rise to a number of interrelated prose genres that reproduced the original social context of the poetry.

Since the poems were often variations on established topics or alluded to earlier poems, existing in a larger intertextual context, even without their original social, religious, or political contexts, they could survive and be selected and re-presented in later collections and narratives as variations on established themes (seasons, love, travel, separation, and so on), as happened in the imperial *waka* anthologies beginning with the *Kokinshū* (early tenth century) and in *haikai* anthologies such as *Sarumino* (*Monkey's Raincoat*,

1691). That is to say, poems were often repackaged, taking on a new life independent of their social origins. In short, the relationships among the performance, the material presentation, and the text are not only complex but critical to understanding the dynamics of the production and reception of Japanese poetry.

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From Oral Performance to Paper-Text
to Cyber-Edition

John Miles Foley

A performance is not a text, no more than an experience is an item or language is writing. At its very best a textual reproduction—with the palpable reality of the performance flattened onto a page and reduced to an artifact—is a script for reperformance, a libretto to be enacted and re-enacted, a prompt for an emergent reality. I start by recalling this self-evident truth because our culturally sanctioned ritual of converting performances into texts submerges the fact that in faithfully following out our customary editorial program we are doing nothing less radical than converting living species into museum exhibits, reducing the flora and fauna of verbal art to fossilized objects. In a vital sense textual reproductions become cenotaphs: they memorialize and commemorate, but they can never embody.

Even the seemingly neutral and innocuous terminology associated with the performance-to-print ritual bespeaks its underlying process and goal, if we pay attention to what these terms really imply. Oral traditional performances are *collected*, that is, caught and imprisoned in the anthropologist's or folklorist's game-bag via inscription on paper, acoustic media, or video media. Lest they wriggle away, these performances are in effect euthanized, stripped of the dynamism that characterizes their living identity in preparation for mounting on the game-hunter's wall. Then come *transcribing* and *editing*, the initial stages in textual taxidermy, as scholars, now thankfully removed from the messiness of the original performance arena and comfortably ensconced in more clinical surroundings, render synthetic order unto the chaos of what once was a multi-dimensional, context-dependent experience. With *publication* the trajectory is complete: representing the organism as a one-dimensional textual photograph

completes its transformation and permits its inclusion in a culture's anthology of epitomes.

And what licenses this reduction, this ritual sacrifice of the once-living performance? Viewed soberly and without the "cultural cover" (the unspoken defense of "business as usual"), this is of course an abhorrent, indefensible practice. It is in fact nothing less than uncivilized, since it undertakes the forcible colonization of a vast and highly diverse category of human expression, all in the name of subordinating its differences to our imperial notion of what verbal art must be and how it can be understood and represented.[1] Although modern-day anthropology has put the lie to the myth of objective observation and recent methods of literary analysis have de-emphasized production in favor of a deeper consideration of the role of reception, scholars have been slow to recognize what is in some ways a more obvious, more patent, more fundamental problem: the unthinking, transgressive imposition of textuality upon an unsuspecting "nation" of oral performances.

The Challenge and Prior Solutions

Let me reframe the substance of these observations as a challenge to be confronted in the present essay, using the case of South Slavic oral epic as illustration. In seeking to represent oral performance with as much fidelity as possible, we are charged with the task of understanding, exporting, carrying over, and re-creating as much of the reality of the experience as we can. The edition that results must theoretically be useful and informative for specialist and nonspecialist "consumers" alike, and it is well to keep in mind that many such performances—South Slavic epic among them—will be unfamiliar in subject, context, and even story-line to the majority of those consumers.

For present purposes I will pass over the earliest editorial projects that sought to represent South Slavic oral epic, in particular the noteworthy nineteenth-century collection of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić,[2] and concentrate

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[1] Internationally and over time, oral poetry dwarfs written poetry in sheer amount as well as heterogeneity; see Foley 2002: espec. 22-57 and 146-87. I will be referring throughout this essay to a new, experimental edition of oral poetry instanced in Foley 2004a.

[2] For a comparative study of the classic Karadžić collections and volumes versus the Parry-Lord project and publications, see Foley 2004b. On the history of editing "folk literature" in general, see Foley 1995a.

briefly on the latest series of edited volumes, *Serbo-Croatian Heroic Songs* (*SCHS*), the official publication of the Milman Parry Collection of Oral Literature at Harvard University.[3] In terms of fidelity to oral performance, this project has certainly broken new ground. At the level of fieldwork, the research team of Milman Parry, Albert Lord, and Nikola Vujnović systematically surveyed six principal epic-singing areas in the Former Yugoslavia, recording songs by a variety of *guslari* either acoustically on aluminum records or via transcription into written text. They categorically favored the longer Moslem songs over the shorter Christian epic poems, chiefly because the former offered a more commensurate comparison for Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.[4]

Plans for editing and publishing this material also reveal an important advance over previous schemes. First, Lord insisted that the performances be transcribed and printed precisely as they were sung or recited, without the editorial intervention that was so common (indeed expected) in earlier published collections, both of South Slavic oral epic and other European folk genres. This policy meant that singers' "errors," hesitations, and other perceived blemishes were not silently emended, as had been customary, but rather left in the textual record as a true reflection of what actually transpired. Second, Lord advocated the publication of performances by district (what can be called the dialectal level) and then by individual singer (the idiolectal level), including multiple songs by the same *guslar* and by different *guslari* in order to foster comparative studies of flexibility and stability.[5] The aim was to provide a glimpse of the entire tradition of oral epic as it existed in the 1930s in greater Bosnia, and the fact that Lord's comparative scholarship, especially *The Singer of Tales* (1960/2000), was based on that panoramic view lends it increased credibility.

In order to gauge the contribution of the *SCHS* series and the relative effectiveness of its format, we need to look further into the details of its content and context. As for the actual performances contained within its covers, volumes one and two present a selection of songs by different *guslari* from the region or district of Novi Pazar. In the original-language

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[3] On the *SCHS* project and its background, see espec. *SCHS* I:3-20; Foley 1988:31-35; Kay 1995; Foley 1999:39-45; and Mitchell and Nagy 2000.

[4] On the distinction between Moslem and Christian subgenres of South Slavic oral epic, see Foley 1991:61-134; 2002:204-13. On the comparative criterion of length and complexity in the international context of epic, see Foley 1999:41-44.

[5] On dialectal, idiolectal, and pan-traditional levels of structure and articulation in South Slavic oral epic, see Foley 1990:158-200, 278-328.

volume (II), these performances are transcribed into poetic lines—the characteristic ten-syllable verse-form of the epic—and the overall presentation is augmented with excerpts from conversations between the singers and the translator/interviewer Vujnović as well as skeletal notes to the transcriptions. The translation volume (I) includes English versions of some of the performances, synopses of the rest, excerpts from conversations, occasional bibliographical material, and Béla Bartók's transcription of the musical component of part of an epic sung by Salih Ugljanin. Importantly, the translations of the epic performances are done into run-on prose with no notation of poetic form.

Volumes three and four of *SCHS* present Avdo Medjedović's magisterial performance of *The Wedding of Smailagić Meho*, on which Lord and others have based so much. At 12,311 lines this song is Homeric in size and scope, and the rich complexity of the plot and description do indeed make it a worthy comparand for the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.[6] The translation volume (III), by Lord, houses an unprecedented variety of supporting materials, with essays on the singer's life and times and on his originality (a vexed topic in oral epic studies), as well as copious conversations and other versions of the story, including the text that was read aloud to Medjedović and which served as his source. Again the translation is configured in run-on prose. The original-language volume (IV), by David Bynum, which is based on the oral-dictated text that was elicited and written down by Vujnović during fieldwork, consists of conversation excerpts, a dictated repertoire, the poetic text, and 19 pages of textual notes.

The two remaining *SCHS* volumes published to date contain edited transcriptions of both sung and oral-dictated epic performances, though without accompanying English translations, both under the editorship of Bynum. Volume VI focuses on additional contributions from Avdo Medjedović, while volume XIV houses performances by four *guslari* from the region of Bihać. Both present lineated poetic texts prefaced by introductions and synopses and supported by skeletal notes. Bynum explicitly introduces editorial conventions such as italics to mark nonstandard forms, ellipses to indicate omissions, horizontal carets to signal extended catalogues, and marginal symbols to inform the reader of a change in performative mode.[7] Although his comments on the musical aspects of "the singing," as he calls it, are not based on professional musical

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[6] For more on the parameters of the comparison, see Foley 1999:39-41; for analysis based on Medjedović's performance, see Lord 1960/2000:79-108.

[7] See his explanations at VI:l and XIV:14-43.

transcriptions and analysis, they do make us aware of the multiformity that also characterizes that dimension of South Slavic oral epic performance.[8]

Taken as a whole, then, the *SCHS* series represents a major step forward in providing readers with a sense of the South Slavic oral epic tradition. Innovations such as verbatim transcriptions, multiple and linked versions of various songs by various singers within a homogeneous dialectal region, the provision of some context for the performance (conversations with singers, repertoires, modest textual notes), and experiments with scoring the libretto have all helped to pry the performances loose from their conventional textual moorings and set them productively adrift. We undoubtedly understand their protean, emergent nature better because of such innovations.

At the same time, however, the *SCHS* series has left a number of stones unturned. In order to gain a comparative readership, which would in turn lead to more realistic comparative study, translations should always accompany original-language transcriptions.[9] No matter how carefully configured a text may be, all of the energy that went into its making is by definition lost if only a very limited audience can gain access. Moreover, translations should be poetically lineated rather than converted into prose, both to give a more faithful impression of the performance's structure and texture (its "thought-bytes") and to promote closer attention by non-specialists, who if nothing else can locate similarities and differences by using the translation as a line-by-line key to the original. As for an appropriate apparatus, performance-based—rather than classically textual—notes are most helpful to readers of oral traditional works, whether they be specialists or not. If the *guslar* uses a nonstandard form, we will profit by learning why he did so; if *lapsus linguae* intervenes, an explanation for that slip of the tongue helps us understand the process of composition; if extrametrical interjections or "long" or "short" lines occur, we need to know whether they can be explained as performance-related phenomena. Other areas that the *SCHS* series does not address include the meaning of

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[8] For transcriptions and analyses by professional musicologists, see Bartók 1934, Erdely 1995, and Foster 2004.

[9] Indeed, we face the further problem of the general paucity of South Slavic oral epic available for comparative study, a situation that is only exacerbated by publications that appear without English translations. Ironically, given the narrowness of the model (a single subgenre, Moslem epic, from a single oral tradition) the so-called Oral Theory—which has been generalized so widely (see Foley 1985 in its online, updated form at www.oraltradition.org)—is effectively balanced on the head of a pin. We need much more material made available in both the original language and translation.

traditional idioms (the traditional referentiality of phrases, scenes, and story-patterns), the variance between Nikola Vujnović's transcription of audio records and what the given *guslar* actually sang (the two do not agree by any means), the rhetorical function of music (which plays an actively expressive and not merely a passive, "accompanying" role), and a host of linguistic phenomena that figure in composition and reception of the songs. Most crucially of all, perhaps, no edition so far produced has allowed us to hear the actual performance: *SCHS* and all of its forebears have maintained an unbroken silence. To be fair, advances in some of these areas are have been hindered by the tyranny of the book as the chosen (and sole) vehicle for presenting oral performances; as noted above, transforming an experience into an object amounts to a fundamental distortion of that experience.

A New Solution

As a new solution to the challenge cited above—to represent oral performance with as much fidelity as possible; to understand, export, carry over, and re-create as much of the reality of the experience as we can—I advocate a tiered strategy involving both the conventional (and still valuable) resources of the book and the newly available resources of the internet. This prescription emphatically does not mean that we should reflexively jump into using cybernetic media whenever possible, since along with great promise comes the inherent danger of fascination with the new technology for its own sake. Just because we *can* use the internet for various purposes doesn't mean that it always and everywhere provides the best option. By assigning appropriate tasks to each vehicle, we can take advantage of what each uniquely makes possible while avoiding the pifalls of a monolithic approach. In short, I favor the policy of letting each medium do what it does best.

An Experimental Paper-Edition

Given the networks of intellectual exchange still current in the academy and elsewhere, one significant part of the dual solution proposed here is to reconfigure the book to more faithfully represent the oral performance. In accordance with the caveat issued above, the book medium still offers a handy vehicle for conveying a transcription, translation, and supporting materials of various sorts. Likewise, there is little doubt that the audience for such performances is at this point in our media history still

more fluent in the presentational idiom of the text than that of the internet, although that index is rapidly changing, especially among younger people. With these precepts in mind, then, and instead of abandoning the textual medium altogether, I have retooled the idea of a conventional edition to promote the contextual reception of the performance that is its basis. While not a perfect solution (a "perfect solution" would entail a native speaker's deep familiarity with the tradition as well as his or her actual participation as audience for the event of performance), this experimental edition offers its reader new avenues into understanding the composite, many-sided experience from which it stems.[10]

Here are the paper-edition's contents, with illustrations as necessary. The volume begins with introductory material that includes a preface (a manual on how to use the book), a pronunciation key, background on the Parry-Lord fieldwork, a portrait of the singer Halil Bajgorić (with excerpts from his interview with Nikola Vujnović), and a synopsis of the general story of *The Wedding of Mustajbey's Son Bećirbey*. In order to ground this particular performance by this particular singer in the larger context of South Slavic epic as it existed in that time and place, I also include discussion of other *guslari* from the region of Stolac, a profile of Moslem as opposed to Christian epic, and historical, cultural, and legendary milieus. I then present the performance itself as a coordinated original-language transcription and English translation in facing columns. The transcription is as accurate a text as I could assemble based on a combination of analog and digital re-recordings from the original aluminum records inscribed on June 13, 1935 in the small village of Dabrica. Every last peculiarity and "blemish" is included, with variance from the standard contemporary and unmarked language signaled by italics,[11] while the translation is a consistent and almost always literal rendering of what Bajgorić sang, construed in poetic lines that correspond one-for-one to the original. Immediately below is a brief sample of the performance as textualized in book form (lines 1-19):

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[10] What follows is a description of Foley 2004a.

[11] To some degree the idea of a "standard, unmarked language" is of course mythical, since different speakers from different regions will define the standard differently. I have relied on broad-based dictionaries and lexicons as a guide for determining variance from the mythical standard, and have italicized unusual word-forms and inflections on that basis. For more on the specialized language of South Slavic oral epic, see Foley 1999:66-88.

0:30

wOj! Rano rani Djerdelez Alija,	Oj! Djerdelez Alija arose early,
vEj! Alija, careva gazija,	Ej! Alija, the tsar's hero,
Na Visoko više Sarajeva,	Near Visoko above Sarajevo,
Prije zore vi bijela dana—	Before dawn and the white day—
Još do zore dva puna savata,	5 Even two full hours before dawn,
Dok se svane vi sunce vograne	When day breaks and the sun rises
hI danica da pomoli lice.	And the morning star shows its face.
Kad je momak dobro vuranijo,	When the young man got himself up,
vU vodžaku vatru naložijo	He kindled a fire in the hearth
vA vuz vatru dževzu pristavijo;	10 And on the fire he put his coffeepot;
Dok je momak kavu zgotovijo,	After Alija brewed the coffee,
hI jednu, dvije sebi natočijo—	One, then two cups he poured himself—
hI jednu, dvije, tu ćejifa nije,	One, then two, he felt no spark,
Tri, četiri, ćejif ugrabijo,	Three, then four, the spark seized him,
Sedam, osam, dok mu dosta bila.	15 Seven, then eight, until he had enough.
vU bećara nema hizmećara,	A bachelor has no maidservant,
Jer Alija nidje nikog nema,	And indeed Alija had no one anywhere,
Samo sebe ji svoga dorata.	Just himself and his bay horse.
Skoči momak na noge lagane,	The young man jumped to his light feet,

A few textual signals deserve explanation. The time notation (0:30) designates the onset of the actual singing of the epic after 29 seconds of instrumental introduction on the *gusle*, a single-stringed, lutelike instrument. Such notations occur throughout the transcription/translation, marking the start of each new aluminum record and thereby illustrating the singer's changing pace.[12] Extrametrical elements like the initiatory "wOj!" in line 1 and "hI" in lines 12 and 13 are enclosed in asterisks to indicate their relative position outside the rhythmic and melodic compass of the ten-syllable verse form; they are spoken, in effect, before the decasyllable (but not the poetic line) begins.[13] Excrescent or substituted sounds such as those that occur,

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[12] Parry and Lord employed a specially built recording apparatus with two turntables. As one aluminum record finished (after about 50 lines in this performance), Lord switched the recording to the other turntable and the next disk.

[13] This distinction here is a crucial one, and central to the clear differentiation of oral performance from its customary representation in printed text. The poetic line is not simply a series of ten sung syllables, but also the overall musical and rhythmic pattern (both vocal and instrumental) in which those syllables are embedded. Thus, from a performative viewpoint, the two-beat measure of accompaniment on the *gusle* that usually intervenes between decasyllabic vocal segments is as much a part of "the line" as its verbal complement. If an extrametrical element also occurs during this measure, then it too belongs to the line though not to the decasyllable proper; from this perspective, such verses are in no way "long" or hypermetric. Likewise, eight- and nine-syllable lines, which include within them vocal rests during the first or a combination of the first and

respectively, in "*v*Ej!" (for "Ej!" in line 2) and "sa*v*ata" (for "sahata" in line 5) are marked as departures from standard forms by italicizing them. Punctuation, which was after all created for textual rhetoric, is spare, and in most cases reflects the tendency of this performance idiom to take the form of syntactically end-stopped lines that are at least nominally complete in themselves. In other words, every attempt is made—short of providing the actual sounds of the performance (on which, more later)—to economically convey what one hears on the record.

The next section of the experimental edition is the performance-based Commentary. As the name implies, this extensive digest provides information that bears on the composition and structure of Bajgorić's poem *as a performance*. As an example of the role played by the Commentary, here are the notes that gloss lines 1-49:

> 1-2, etc. Singers often use expletives like *Oj!* And *Ej!* as attention-getters and (what amounts to the same thing) rhetorical devices to indicate beginnings and emphases. Sometimes they are extrametrical, as in line 1, while at other times they constitute part of the basic decasyllabic structure, as in line 2. They can be approximated by translating them as "Hey!" or "Yes!", but I choose to maintain the original words in order to stress their performative function as something other than ordinary lexemes. Compare the initiatory *Hwæt!* ("Lo!") that opens *Beowulf* and other Old English oral traditional poems; see further Foley 1991:214-23.
>
> 1. Note the relatively rare performative [w] that precedes the expletive *Oj!*, presumably to foster ease of articulation, as performatives do throughout the epic singing tradition. HB uses an unusual variety of these sounds ([v], [j], [h], [m], [n], [l], [w], and very rarely [nj], [d], and [s]), customarily to avoid intervocalic hiatus and the attendant glottal stop between words or between syllables in the same word (for comparison with hiatus in Homer, see Foley 1999:73-74, 85, 88). See further **NVR** and the section on **Performatives** elsewhere in this volume.
>
> Here and throughout this performance it is crucial to recognize that although HB sings both 11- and 9-syllable lines, neither type is truly "long" (hypermetric) or "short" (hypometric). Rather the "extra" syllables occur outside the melodic and rhythmic frame of the line, while the "missing" syllables are actually vocal rests within that same frame. This phenomenon has major implications for the identity and dynamics of the poetic line, which is far more than an ordered sequence of lexical items

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second positions, are not "short" or hypometric: rather, they maintain a symbiotic relationship with the whole, multi-dimensional identity of the verse form, and not merely one sector of that pattern. Whether the *guslar* sings eight, nine, or eleven syllables, his line—in all of its right-sized manifestations—is governed by the overall melody and rhythm rather than (merely textual) syllable-counting. See further the discussion below and Foley 2002:32-33.

(see further the section on **Music** in this volume). In addition to maintaining the basic integrity of the decasyllable as an expressive medium, the vocal rests are a species of the "right justification" that characterizes oral epic phraseology in South Slavic and ancient Greek (see further Foley 1990:82-84, 96-106, 129-55, 178-96). Each such line is marked in the original-language text (* * for extrametrical syllables and ## for vocal rests) and commented upon in the note attached to the individual line. Lines with initial extrametrical syllables are as follows: 1, 12, 13, 77, 93, 148, 160, 223, 347, 526, 630, 692, 713, 773, 830, 847, 914, and 966. Lines with initial vocal rests of one or two syllables are as follows: 111, 212, 431, 641, 745, 854, 886, and 911; cf. 1001 (this last instance internal).

 2. Unlike w*Oj!* in line 1, v*Ej!* is rhythmically and melodically part of the ten-syllable increment. See further lines 511 and 514, with notes.

 4-7. A four-line capsule that memorably describes early morning and, like Homer's "rosy-fingered dawn," acts as an initiatory marker in the narrative, signaling not only "day" but more fundamentally the onset of a new narrative segment or episode. See further the **AF**.

 5. HB sings *savata* while NV transcribes as *sahata*, restoring the expected form via *lapsus auris*. Disparities such as this are tabulated in **NVR**.

 8-15. This is HB's Coffee capsule. Cp. line 222-24 and see further the **AF**.

 10. Here (with *dževzu*) and throughout his transcription NV uses underlining to indicate either uncertainty or his conviction that a form is somehow nonstandard.

 11. HB sings *kavu* and NV aspirates > *kahvu*. Cf. line 222 (with note) as well as the note to line 249.

 12-13. In both lines HB uses a performative plus run-up glide (**hI*) to lead into the initial sound of the first metrical element (*jednu*). Both instances are extrametrical, occurring before the metrical and musical pattern of the decasyllable. See further the note to line 1. Cp. line 223, with note.

 13-14. HB sings *ćejif-* while NV transcribes as *ćeif-*; see line 224, where the same disparity occurs. Š gives *ćeif* as the first form of this Turkicism.

 16. The proverbial observation that "A bachelor has no maidservant" acts as a boundary following the Coffee capsule. See further line 100, with note, and the **AF**.

 19. See the note to line 484 and the **AF**.

 20. HB devoices *niz* to *nis* before *kulu*, and NV does not restore the standard form. It is well to note that this deflection is a natural and regular change usually obscured by (print-centered) orthographical convention; NV thus is doing no more than faithfully reflecting what HB actually sang. On the idiomatic force of this *Position change* line, see the **AF**.

21-49. This is an occurrence of the widely attested typical scene of *Readying the Hero's Horse*; see further Foley 1991:67, 125-27; 1999:84, 128, 133, 300n33. See further the **AF**.

25. HB fronts the final sound in *gori* (< *gore*), apparently under the immediate influence of *svali*, which then becomes a partner in the common traditional pattern of in-line or leonine rhyme. NV does not restore the standard form, but does mark his awareness of the unusual form with underlining (*gori*). See further lines 194 and 207 (with note).

26. NV adds palatalization, hearing *zlatalja* for HB's *zlatala* via *lapsus auris*.

27. NV first writes *svog* ("his"), then crosses out the second word and substitutes *dok* ("while"), reading "A dok dobra konja timarijo" ("And after he groomed [his] fine steed") and reflecting what HB actually sang. Here *lapsus auris* could have yielded a slight refashioning of the line, in the process changing the line from a dependent to an independent unit (at least nominally, since the additive, paratactic structure of the epic register programmatically blurs that distinction).

29. HB sings *djibretom* (cf. *djebre*, ‹ and SAN) and NV does not restore the expected form.

30. This and seven additional occurrences of *bači* (72, 210, 640, 644, 645, 667, and 700; cf. also *zabači* at 37 and *prebačijo* at 453) instead of *baci* argue that the lexically nonstandard form is in fact a regular feature of HB's traditional idiolect. NV transcribes consistently (except for line 210, where his *baci* probably amounts to *lapsus calami*) as *bači*.

34. Lit., "Then he tightened it so that he did not overbalance it." Here (as sometimes elsewhere) NV transcribes by joining a proclitic to the next word; see further **NVR**.

35. A snaffle-bit is a restraining device consisting of two bars jointed at the center. HB sings *djemo'*, with initial palatalization and deletion of [m] before *studenijem*; NV deletes the palatalization and restores [m] via *lapsus auris*.

37. HB deletes the expected [n] from **Zlatnu* and sings *Zlat'u*, an instance of *lapsus linguae* perhaps attributable to the influence of the acoustically similar *vilicu* in the preceding line or to the mirroring of either the acc. s. of the name of Zlata, Bećirbey's betrothed (*Zlatu*, e.g., 262) or the dat. s. of *zlato*, the word for "gold" (*zlatu*, e.g., 459). See further the note to line 30.

40-42. On the traditional idea of a horse prancing without guidance from a rider, see the **AF**.

40. Here and throughout his recorded epic repertoire (but not in the register of speech used in his conversation with NV) HB pronounces *sj* as [š] rather than [sy], whether in this word (*šede* < *sjede*) or elsewhere. Since it thus amounts to a (regular) peculiarity of his singing dialect or idiolect, I transcribe the remaining instances below without further comment.

41. The semivowel [w], as here between the two elements in *Po avliji*, appears to be part of the general articulation of [o] or [u] before

another vowel (compare *vodu o'skočijo* at line 137), and so I do not transcribe it as a performative. If, on the other hand, [u] is used initially as a run-up glide, I transcribe it as a full syllable, positioning it between asterisks to mark its extrametrical character. See, e.g., lines 630, 692, 713, 773, 847, 914, 966; compare also lines 130-31 and the appended note.

42. Here (twice) and at lines 895 and 896 HB sings pr*ez* (for the standard *bez*, which occurs nowhere in this performance), and NV transcribes in all four instances as *prez* without any indication of the nonstandard form. Cp. line 412, where HB sings *brez*, maintaining voicing but again with intrusive [r]; NV transcribes as <u>*brez*</u> on that occasion, with the underlining signaling the nonstandard form.

44-49. Most similes in the South Slavic epic tradition are a single verse or two in length, but here HB provides an extended comparison between a horse so proud and well-trained that it prances independently about the courtyard and a young shepherdess roaming the upland pasture clad in her hood and motley jacket and carrying a lunch her mother packed for the day's nourishment. As in the Homeric epics, this simile memorably juxtaposes the world of heroic achievement and the domestic, bucolic world that knows little or nothing of battles and heroes. See further the **AF**.

44. HB sings *piš*ki, a difficult word that I take as a deflection of *pišljiv* ("valueless, insignificant"; therefore "careless") through addition of the common adjectival suffix *-ski* to the root. The lack of agreement (one expects *piška) may be explained by HB's reflex to preserve the original vowel in the second syllable of *pišljiv(a)*, adjusted *metri causa* via apocope. Note that NV transcribes as the unpalatalized and uninflected *pišliv*.

46. HB handles numbers in a systematic fashion, reducing multiples of ten from *-deset* to *-des'* (*dvades'* at 310, 509, 510, 563, 1019); *trides'* at 81, 82; cf. the full forms at 710 [*trideset*] and 1028 [*pedeset*], where they fit *metri causa*). Numbers in the teens, on the other hand, are reduced from *-naest* to *-n'es'* or *-'es'* (*dvan'es'* at 93, 94, 357, 614, 687; *četer'es'* at 269, 544, 590, 865) and *-n'ejes'* (*petn'ejes'* at 303) or *-najes'* (*dvanajes'* at 320 and 395 [where it partners with *bešlija* to form a second-colon formula]). See espec. the note to line 544.

49. The palatalization of *nje* (< *ne*) seems to be due to the influence of the immediately preceding word *joj*, not at all an uncommon "leakage" of palatalization from one word to another (cf. back-palatalization in South Slavic, which proceeds in the opposite direction). Some instances of this phenomenon may be interpreted as simple *lapsus linguae*, while some appear to be built into the epic register as a natural phonological dynamic. See further the note to line 52, with note, where proximate phonological leakage may again be operative. HB adds initial [š] and sings *šćerka*; NV underlines the first sound (<u>*š*</u>*ćerka*) but does not restore the standard form *ćerka*.

For the type of reader (and such a reader is certainly in the majority) whose prior experience of the South Slavic oral epic tradition is limited or even non-existent, these notes aim to provide some general orientation and detailed explanation of otherwise puzzling phenomena. For example, the note to lines 1-2, etc. reveals that the first word of the poem—the extrametrical interjection "*v*Ej!"—has the force of an attention-getting device, a signal for starting the performance, and has comparative analogues in other oral traditions. The next note (to line 1 alone) introduces the concept of "performatives," non-lexical sounds that are inserted by the *guslar* to avoid hiatus and smooth articulation during his singing. Always italicized in this transcription in order to mark their special character, these sounds have customarily been completely eliminated from transcribed texts of South Slavic epic, and indeed even Vujnović, Parry and Lord's interviewer/translator/amanuensis, silently deleted them from his transcriptions. Since performatives play such an important role in actual, living performance, however, they are included in this transcription and cross-referenced as appropriate throughout the Commentary. Later on in the volume, a special chapter on performatives analyzes their role in more depth (see below). In this same note also the first cross-references to the chapters on "Nikola Vujnović's Resinging" (NVR) and on the role of music also appear (see further the descriptions of those units below).

The Commentary also fills in other sorts of background information that texts themselves can manage only clumsily if at all, such as the notation that lines 4-7 serve the idiomatic purpose of an initiatory marker. Beyond the literal meaning of the phraseology describing the beginning of day, the *guslar* is employing a traditional signal that cues the reader by aligning this performance-start with others in the audience's or reader's experience. Beyond the basic facts of structure and morphology, the conventional, idiomatic meanings implicitly attached to this unit, as well as to the "coffee capsule" at lines 8-15 and so many other traditional elements in the performance, are usually the province of another section of the volume, the Apparatus Fabulosus (AF), which is first cross-referenced in the note to lines 4-7 and discussed later on in this essay. Generally speaking, the Commentary deals with traditional units and the AF with their idiomatic connotations within the specialized language of the epic. Both perspectives are necessary if one aspires to a reading of the textualized performance that respects the poetics of this tradition.

Throughout the Commentary I have identified all of those places, except for the ubiquitous performatives,[14] where the original transcription by Vujnović does not represent what the singer Bajgorić actually sang. In each case the reason for the discrepancy is explained, whether that be a simple difference in phonology (palatalization, aspiration, fronting of vowels, and so on), variation by *lapsus linguae* (slip of the tongue) or *lapsus calami* (slip in writing), or some other cause. There are also numerous references to the process I have called *lapsus auris*, a coined term that is meant to describe the differences attributable to Vujnović's own fluency in the traditional epic-singing idiom and, by consequence, his occasional modification of Bajgorić's song on that basis. The full implications of Vujnović's double identity as transcriber (he had four years of schooling) and as a practicing *guslar* himself are taken up programmatically in the NVR section of the volume, but the discrepancies themselves are first noted in the Commentary.

Brief notations on traditional units of all sorts occur in the Commentary. In the sample above, for instance, we encounter a proverb acting as a boundary at line 15, a recurrent idiom at line 19, an occurrence of the relatively common "Readying the Hero's Horse" scene at lines 21-49, and the rare simile (of quite Homeric proportions) at lines 44-49. In the same vein, the gloss to line 46 explains how the *guslar* systematically and formulaically handles numbers that fall in the teens or among the multiples of ten. Note that, as is the practice throughout the Commentary, these traditional units and patterns are simply identified, with other instances (chiefly but not exclusively within this performance) tabulated to give the reader some idea of their structure and morphology. The task of explaining their importance—in particular, their bearing on our reception of the poem as a performance—is left primarily to the AF section.

Naturally, this Commentary section of the experimental edition also contains the more usual kind of supplementary information found in commentaries to works of literature, including occasional explanations of customs, social events, and relationships; glosses of arcane terminology and certain aspects of material culture; and the explication of difficult or uncertain words and lines. Within this last category, the excursus on *piš*ki at line 44 illustrates how far the epic language can veer from the unmarked standard, and why this performance-based register needs special attention if we are to restore some of its lexical and illocutionary force.

Immediately following the Commentary is the section entitled "Nikola Vujnović's Resinging" (NVR), which documents an unexpected

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[14] The performatives are tabulated exhaustively in NVR, as well as discussed analytically in the separate section on performatives.

development that took place as the song-performance took initial shape as a textual document. I had originally assumed that my audition and retranscription of Bajgorić's performance would at best simply confirm what Vujnović had heard when, a decade after the 1930s fieldwork, he came to the Parry Collection to transcribe the acoustically recorded song-performances. Because he had not just a native speaker's but a *guslar*'s ear and was physically present at the very performances he was auditing, I assumed that he would prove the ideal transcriber.[15] But in this assumption I was much mistaken. Vujnović's transcription differed from the acoustic recording in several ways: in general dialect (NV's speech, and to a degree his poetic language, was regionally more ijekavski, with more palatalized forms, than HB's); in personal idiolect; in HB's slips of the tongue (*lapsus linguae*, which NV usually corrected); in NV's slips in writing (the inevitable instances of "scribal error"); in NV's deletion of every last one of the hundreds of performatives that populate the sung performance (apparently recognizing that they were features of living performance only and feeling that they therefore had no place in the medium of fossilized texts); and in one other wholly unforeseen but uniquely revelatory respect.

Since NV was both the transcriber and a *guslar* himself, he made a number of adjustments that amount to remaking the poem. By using his personal fluency in the expressive idiom, which like his non-specialized, everyday dialect and idiolect was not identical to HB's, NV essential "re-sang" the epic on the page. For this process I have coined the term *lapsus auris*, a "slip of the ear," but it is a slip only from a textual perspective. Rather than making a mistake, NV was construing the epic tale in his own terms, not so much emending as reconceiving. Even with pen in hand, he was hearing and reporting what he heard through the filter of his personal epic idiolect. To illustrate the various ways in which NV's transcription differs from what HB sang, I include below a short excerpt from the master tabulation that accompanies the explanation of his practice in the section entitled NVR, with a variety of different phenomena and explanations marked in **bold**:

	HB	NV	Explanation
103.	**sv' odaje**	**sve odaje**	**Lapsus auris / See note**
104.	***v*Onda**	**Onda**	**Performative [v]**
	momak	**mamak**	**Lapsus calami**
	*v*avliju	avlije	Performative [v] / See note

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[15] I speak here, of course, of the acoustically recorded performances (whether sung or recited) and not of the oral-dictated texts that Vujnović took down at the time of the original fieldwork.

105.	*v*Onda	Onda	Performative [v]
106.	***v*A**	**Pa**	**Performative [v], Lapsus auris**
	von*e*	**on**	**Performative [v], Grace note**
	puš*ć*a	**pušća**	**HB's idiolect / See note**
107.	***v*A**	**Pa**	**Performative [v], Lapsus auris**
	*j*i	i	Performative [j]
	*v*avliju	avliju	Performative [v]
108.	jam*a*	j*a*ma	See note
110.	*v*ondaka	ondaka	Performative [v]
111.	**## *v*Ondaka**	**Pa ondaka**	**Vocal rest, Performative [v] / See note**
112.	*v*U	U	Performative [v]
	*v*avliju	avliju	Performative [v]
	preturij*a*	preturijo	See note
114.	***v*A**	**Pa**	**Performative [v], Lapsus auris**
115.	***v*A**	**Pa**	**Performative [v], Lapsus auris**
	*v*udari	udari	Performative [v]
	*v*on	on	Performative [v]
116.	*v*eto	eto	Performative [v]
	še*v*er	šeher	Performative [v] / See note
117.	**Saraj'vo**	**Sarajvo**	**Syncope & NV mirrors**
118.	*v*Usti*p*raći	Ustipra*ć*i	NV underlines / See note
	*v*onda	onda	Performative [v]
	***v*okren*o*vo**	**okrenuo**	**Performative [v] / See note**

Most of the examples given above are self-evident. One finds performatives, instances of *lapsus calami*, syncopation of syllables (various kinds of elision and dialect-based elongation are also common, *metri causa*), and so forth. But a few of the disparities labeled *lapsus auris* deserve specific explanation. First, at lines 106, 107, 114, and 115 we observe that NV substitutes "Pa" ("Then") for HB's "*v*A" ("And, But"). This exchange is reasonably consistent throughout the performance, and reflects divergent predispositions in the two singers' idiolects; since both proclitic elements, when employed in this way at line-beginning, are more important for their (roughly equivalent) metrical-syntactic role than any lexical content, the replacement is logical and expectable. There is little to choose between the two words in such situations, and so the habit of epic idiolect (on NV's part) supervenes verbatim reproduction of what HB sang. In another instance of *lapsus auris*, NV "repairs" the "short" line 111 as follows:

HB:	## *v*Ondaka vrata zaključava,	Finally he locked them up,
NV:	Pa ondaka vrata zaključava,	Then finally he locked them up,

While HB rests vocally during the opening position in the line (as marked by ##), producing a verse with nine syllables but emphatically not a "short" or hypometric line, NV sees fit to insert his usual line-initial proclitic particle "Pa" and transcribe—or re-sing—the increment without a vocal rest and with ten articulated syllables. Adjustments such as these are common as NV not only transcribes but recomposes the epic poem.

Following the performance-based Commentary and the NVR section comes the Apparatus Fabulosus (AF), a story-based apparatus rather than the kind of critical digest usually appended to texts. The purpose of this part of the experimental edition is to provide the reader with the most elusive of all contexts: the idiomatic implications encoded in the epic register, the value-added meaning associated with the genre and performance that perishes without a trace when the experience is converted to an artifact. Oral poetry abounds with this kind of signification—or *traditional referentiality* as I have called it; attached to phrases, verses, scenes, and whole story-patterns, this idiomatic meaning is essentially "what goes unsaid but is always implied," and is still very much (even necessarily) a part of the expressive contract between performer and audience. In regard to Homer's *Odyssey*, for example, some knowledge of the underlying traditional story-pattern of Return will help understand often-debated issues such as the nonchronological order of the narrative, Penelope's intransigence, and the question of where the poem actually ends. At the other pole on the spectrum, a simple Homeric phrase such as "green fear" (*chlôron deos*) has been shown to carry the idiomatic meaning of "supernatural fear," which no lexicon will list because this composite word—an illocutionary amalgam rather than two freestanding items—doesn't fit the lexicographical program.[16] These are serious shortcomings and hindrances to faithful reception. That traditional referentiality does not customarily survive the semiotic shift of media makes for a disabling rupture of the expressive contract, a violation that the AF seeks to redress.

As the first set of examples from the AF, I reproduce here two glosses on the large-scale structure of the story. Taken together, they provide the subgeneric back-story for the Wedding Song, the type of epic that HB is singing:

> **1ff**. *Wedding Song story-pattern*. The *ŽBM* follows a pattern known as the Wedding Song, a distinct subgenre of South Slavic oral epic with its own ordered and expectable cast of (generic) characters and series

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[16] On these and numerous other Homeric idioms, as well as for an Apparatus Fabulosus for *Odyssey* 23.69-103, see Foley 1999:241-62.

of events. The mere fact of Djerdelez Alija's seeking out Mustajbey may serve as a cue that this set of actions is in progress, but with Mustajbey's complaint about his son's fiancée at lines 252-77 the story-pattern map begins unambiguously to unfold itself. See further the gloss to lines 252-77 on *The fiancée problem*.

> **252-77**. *The fiancée problem*. Here Mustajbey of the Lika tells the recently arrived hero, Djerdelez Alija, that Zlata, the young woman promised to Mustajbey's son Bećirbey, is in danger of being stolen away by the Christian enemy Baturić ban, who has already slaughtered the wedding party and forced Zlata to flee to Kanidža. Much more than a plot element specific to the *ŽBM*, this situation presents a highly conventional and indeed defining problem in the Wedding Song subgenre of South Slavic epic as a whole. Although the individual characters may change, the generic types and generic events vary only within limits. The broad implications of the story-pattern include, for example, a young man eager to prove himself, a comrade-in-arms who assists him, a young woman eligible for marriage but sought and captured by an enemy, a wedding party invited and assembled by the young man's father that modulates into an armed force to battle for the return of the young woman, and eventually a triumph in battle that ends with an explicit or implied wedding. This large "word" thus lays out a map for the song's action from start to finish, establishing the expectable sequence of actions via idiomatic referral. For the finest, most elaborate Wedding Song collected from this tradition, see Avdo Medjedović's *SM*. For structural analysis of this epic subgenre, see Bynum 1964, 1968.

Without this information, readers are left to negotiate the story-path without a map. Once given these idiomatic directions, however, they have at least some idea of what is assumed by the *guslar* and a knowledgeable audience: the rough sequence of defining events (which will of course be particularized in the given song), and a dramatis personae of character-types (correspondingly, the actual personages will vary from one such song to another). With this information—which is never rehearsed literally because it is "written into" the contract in force within the performance arena— readers will more deeply understand the macrostructural logic and resonance of the story. They will know in advance what to expect—in general terms, of course—from each event and each character, and the process of reception will consist not of wondering what happens next or who might turn up, but rather of how a known pattern of potentials will play itself out in this particular instance.

As a second set of examples, consider the following two entries from the AF, the former glossing a single, recurrent formulaic verse ("From [X] there came no objection") and the latter a common traditional scene, the catalogue of heroes' arrivals. In both cases there is truly more implied than

meets the eye, as idiomatic meaning supplements the literal force of these units in important ways:

380. *Pivot line*. "*n*U Djulića pogovora nema" ("From Djulić there came no objection"). Between the two instances of *Cannon signals* HB interposes this line, which also occurs in the repertoire of Mujo Kukuruzović, another *guslar* from the Stolac region. It thus has (at least) dialectal status in the traditional epic register. As a freestanding idiom this "word" can mediate between any order and the fulfillment of that order, in each case imposing an idiomatic frame of reference: a person in charge issues a command to a subordinate (defined politically or familially) with the expectation that it will be carried out without qualification even though it may entail danger for the subordinate. This "word" then certifies the fulfillment of the order—whatever it may be and whoever may be involved in its issuance and implementation—and points toward a narrative shift of some sort. In actual practice the Pivot line may itself serve as evidence that the task was accomplished or it may lead, as in the present performance, to an iteration of the command and point-by-point narration of the action being fulfilled. Here are six additional instances from Kukuruzović's performances (1287a = a dictated version of the *Ropstvo Ograšćić Alije* (*The Captivity of Ograšćić Alija*), 1868 = a dictated version of the *Ropstvo Alagić Alije* (*The Captivity of Alagić Alija*), and *6617* = a sung version of *Ropstvo Ograšćić Alije* (*The Captivity of Ograšćić Alija*), followed by the line in question from the *ŽBM*:

	Person in charge	Subordinate	Action
1287a.283	Hadžibey	Drinić Osmanbey	Dismount his horse
1287a.1024	Bey of Ribnik	Huso (servant)	Deliver a letter
1868.339	Alagić Alija	Fata (his sister)	Don wedding attire
1868.413	Alagić Alija	Fata (his sister)	Prepare his horse
1868.1580	Bey of Ribnik	Djulić (servant)	Fetch Tale of Orašac
6617.330	Ograšćić Alija	Drinić Osmanbey	Dismount his horse
ŽBM.380	Mustajbey	Djulić (servant)	Fire the signal cannon

The lines in question are as follows:

1287a.283	U dajidže* pogovora nema	From the hero there came no objection
1287a.1024	U mladjega pogovora nema	From the young man there came no objection

1868.339	U djevojke pogovora nema	From the maiden there came no objection
1868. 413	U djevojke pogovora nema	From the maiden there came no objection
1868.1580	U Djulića pogovora nema	From Djulić there came no objection
6617.330	U dajidže pogovora nema	From the hero there came no objection
ŽBM.380	*n*U Djulića pogovora nema	From Djulić there came no objection

*Note that *da(j)idža* comes from the Turkish *dayı*, meaning both "uncle, mother's brother" and, more generally, "war-champion, hero" (Š). It is the latter sense that seems more appropriate in lines 1287a.283 and *6617*.330.

390-401. *Catalogue II: Arrival of guest-allies for wedding/battle*. This capsule enumerates the arrival of the invited heroes. According to a traditional muster-list format, HB names the arrived hero via a formulaic pattern ("Then here was X") and specifies the number of men he led to the wedding/battle. Interestingly, the roster corresponds almost exactly with the list of invitees at lines 304-70:

Arrivals	Invitees
390: Introduction line	304-5: Introduction lines
391-93: Pasha of Budim	306-13: Pasha of Budim
394-95: Osmanbey	314-26: Osmanbey
396-97: Bišćević Alija	327-36: Bišćević Alija
398-99: Captain Mujo	337-43: Captain Mujo
***	344-57: King of Pokrajlo
***	358. [False ending?]
400-01: Topalović Huso	359-68: Topalović Huso

The disparity between the two lists lies in the "omission" of the King of Pokrajlo (invited at 344-57) from the arrivals, just the kind of difference characteristically found in such situations, and the false ending. Compare, for example, the parallel questions and answers in the so-called "negative comparison" structure in Moslem epic (cf. Foley 1991:75-83). Given the audience's familiarity with the structure and content of such paradigms, a great deal is implied conventionally and idiomatically in their usage; in fact, under the rules for composition and reception in these situations, we may ask whether "omission"—which describes a singular and textual rather than a multiform and traditional phenomenon—isn't the wrong term to apply in such cases.

For another, considerably more extensive pair of catalogues of invitees and arrivals, see Avdo Medjedović's *The Wedding of Smailagić Meho* (hereafter *SM*) (invitation letters at *SCHS* III: 167-74, English translation, and IV: lines 6481-7108, South Slavic original; arrivals at *SCHS* III: 182-201, English translation, and IV: lines 7689-9315 [note the

discrepancy of six lines in the two volumes' typesetting over the position of the final catalogue boundary]). Further afield, one might compare the Catalogue of Ships and Men in Book 2 of the ancient Greek *Iliad* as a species of arrival list.

In the first case, a poetic line that might well seem no more than a filler reveals an implied connotation of some consequence. When the *guslar* uses this "Pivot line," he is in effect not simply assuring the fulfillment of an order or request (regardless of the danger or complications entailed) but also pointing toward an upcoming narrative shift. At least three points should be added about the nature of this signal. First, as with Homer's "green fear," there is absolutely nothing lexical that hints at the idiomatic meaning of the line; the immanent shift is encoded implicitly, under the expressive contract in force. Second, the "Pivot line" is a very broad-based signal; other than indicating some sort of narrative change of pace on the near horizon, it carries no specific information. Traditional referentiality in oral poetry is typically of many sorts, with many degrees of focus—some units bear specific and limited connotations, others bear structural or generic cues, and many fall between these two extremes.[17] Third, as the AF gloss establishes, this metonymic line is at least a dialectal signal in the South Slavic epic register, being shared by HB's colleague Mujo Kukuruzović, another *guslar* from the Stolac region. This dynamic too is typical of the traditional language: each singer employs some phrases and other units that are common to his region (dialectal), others drawn from his own personal word-hoard (idiolectal), and still others that can be found in various different geographically defined areas (pan-traditional).[18]

The latter of the two AF glosses reproduced above concerns the second half of a frequent narrative pattern in South Slavic oral epic, especially in poems that follow the Wedding Song schema (itself, as noted above, an idiomatic traditional signal). This is the arrivals catalogue, which corresponds structurally to the catalogue of heroes that the groom's father,

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[17] For the theoretical basis of traditional referentiality, see Foley 1991:6-8, 38-60, 2002:109-24; for examples, see Foley 1995b:99-135 (Serbian charms), 136-80 (the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*), and 181-207 (the Anglo-Saxon *Andreas*) as well as Bradbury 1998 (British balladry).

[18] Of course, the demarcation among idiolectal, dialectal, and pan-traditional signals is always contingent, since it is based on whatever evidence one possesses at a given time. Likewise, the status of any element can change based on either further evidence, the evolution of idiolects and dialects over time, or both. For examples of idiolectal, dialectal, and pan-traditional units within the epic repertoires of the Stolac *guslari*, see Foley 1990:158-200, 278-328.

who will modulate into the army commander as well, sends to invite Bosnian luminaries to his son's marriage ceremony. Although we might on textual grounds regard both poetic lists as dull and uninteresting detours from the main action, in fact the catalogues are a staple of the Wedding Song subgenre of epic. They provide an opportunity to celebrate the momentous nature of the marriage union as well as to flesh out the grand army into which (as well-prepared audience members and readers know) these guests must soon collectively evolve. As with the so-called Catalogue of Ships and Men in the second book of the *Iliad*, the emphasis is not so much on data for its own sake but rather on the atmosphere of power and splendor that the data creates.

To fill out the reader's experience, the AF gloss includes a number of perspectives on the catalogue pattern in this performance and against the background of the epic tradition at large. Initially, it parses or analyzes the muster-lists and compares the enumeration of the invitees with the subsequent roster of arrivals. The fact that they do not precisely match is symptomatic of the ontology of a performance within a tradition as opposed to a concrete, singular text: because so much is implied both structurally and content-wise, HB's performance is far less dependent on what we textualists prize as internal cohesion. In other words, each half of the catalogue resonates as much against the idiomatic pattern—as it exists over a network of other instances within the audience's experience—as against its partner in this particular song-performance. The King of Pokrajlo, invited but not cited among the arriving heroes, is not so much omitted as implied, and, as we have seen, implication is a powerful expressive force in this oral poetry (and others as well). In a cognate attempt to increase the reader's awareness of the larger context, I also add a reference to the catalogue pattern in another performance from the same subgenre, but by a different *guslar*—Avdo Medjedović's *The Wedding of Smailagić Meho*. The AF contains many such comparative citations.

The remainder of this experimental edition is given over to two aspects of South Slavic epic performance that have received short shrift in the past. One of these is the chapter on performatives, contributed by R. Scott Garner, which explores the structural and artistic dimension of how these excrescent sounds are deployed. In addition to their most basic and central function as hiatus bridges that smooth articulation by removing glottal stops between adjacent vowels, Garner shows that the choice of particular sounds (from the cadre of [v], [j], [h], and, less frequently, [m], [n], [w], [l], [nj], [d], and [s]) can best be explained by the singer's tendency toward various kinds of euphony. The chapter on music, written by H. Wakefield Foster, analyzes the structure and morphology of the vocal music

of this epic performance, illustrating its characteristic patterns and modes of change. Especially since music is perhaps the first casualty of the conversion from living experience to textual fossil, his study of HB's melodies is a very welcome contribution to the overall project of recontextualizing the performance. But there is more. In a telling advance over all previous related scholarship, Foster proves that the music not only accompanies but idiomatically cues the narrative. Although our text-making habits have effectively deafened us to the possibility that melody too could be idiomatic, he shows here that music is a full partner in the holistic experience of performance.

From Paper-text to Cyber-edition

Appending a performance-based Commentary, a log of Vujnović's resinging, the Apparatus Fabulosus, and chapters on music and performance seems an effective first step in restoring some of the oral traditional context of Halil Bajgorić's performance, *The Wedding of Mustajbey's Son Bećirbey*. As I have tried to illustrate, these sections of the volume fill out the transcription and translation in various ways, prompting the reader to understand the epic less as an item and more as an experience, and also as an instance that is both emergent and necessarily embedded in a larger context. One can imagine that this same edition-making strategy could be useful for opening up other oral traditional performances as well. Although the specifics of the individual tradition would need to be kept firmly in mind, most oral poetries should profit from exposure of their compositional structure, stylistic features and parameters, and the implicit meaning of the units that make them up. The same strategy, tailored appropriately, could also be applied to the edition of oral-derived works such as Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the Anglo-Saxon *Beowulf*, the medieval Spanish *Poema de Mio Cid*, and dozens of other works that, although they have reached us only as texts, owe a clear debt to oral traditions.[19]

But no matter what textual prostheses we append to transcriptions, we are left with an irreducible problem: we remain book-bound. Notwithstanding the improvements offered by all of these aids to contextual embedding, we can use them only by silent page-turning, perhaps keeping one finger lodged in the Companion and another in the Apparatus Fabulosus while we flip back and forth from a particular spot in the transcription and

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[19] For a view of oral poetry that encompasses Oral Performance, Voiced Texts, Voices from the Past, and Written Oral Poetry, see Foley 2002.

translation. Or we might choose to load up a single printed page with all three (or more) parts of the edition, in a well-meaning attempt to eliminate the inconvenience and fragmented reading experience of the conventional, chapter-built book. But that accommodation will render the overstuffed page very difficult or impossible to read. As much of an advance as the experimental edition might appear to be, it quickly becomes apparent that it also entails unavoidable limitations traceable to its root identity as, after all, a book. Requiring our readers to hop back and forth frenetically from one chapter to another will subvert their smooth processing of the narrative, while too heavily encoding the single page will divert or overtax their attention and compromise continuity through too much "multi-tasking."

But suppose we were to foreshorten the ever-compromising spatialization and linearity of the text. If it were somehow possible to diminish or eliminate altogether the inevitable distance and segregation that the book medium mandates between and among its parts, then reconstruction of the experience of performance would become simpler and more feasible. As with the original experience of an oral traditional performance, such a re-presentation of the various dimensions of that performance would be much more integrated—allowing readers to glimpse all facets of the gemstone at once rather than condemning them to poring over a collection of favorite photographs of the jewel in question. Quite clearly, and for all its virtues, the book as a medium is constitutionally unable to support such a reintegration; its strength lies in its spatial and linear extent, and that strength becomes a weakness (or at least a hamstringing limitation) when we try to harness the book as a vehicle for conveying the elusive reality of an oral traditional performance.

A cyber-edition, on the other hand, can help to manage the reintegrative task; electronic, computer-based representation can begin to meld parts into a whole. The key to exploiting the new medium for this purpose (and to avoiding pitfalls due to blind overenthusiasm for the latest technological trend) is to pose a simple question about its endemic utility: *what can such e-editions do better than texts, and how do we fashion the most useful and user-friendly facility for representing oral performance?* Unless there is an unquestionable improvement in fidelity of (re-) presentation—and thus a concomitant improvement in the reader's reception—invoking the new medium cannot be justified except as an interesting excursion into technology. Without a finite gain, engagement of internet and hypertext tools will amount to running in place, and perhaps (given the tried-and-true familiarity with the book as opposed to the still largely unplotted terrain of cyber-space) even to taking a step backward.

So we start by inquiring precisely what the e-edition can do to improve a user's reception of our example performance, Halil Bajgorić's *The Wedding of Mustajbey's Son Bećirbey*. The first answer is categorical and straightforward: we can simulate the audio environment by mounting a sound-file of the song on a designated web page, thus offering unconstrained access to anyone with a connection to the internet. In general, I favor the internet solution over an audio CD for a number of reasons: the internet facility (1) can always be edited and updated, (2) can more transparently support the combination of many different kinds of files to produce a multidimensional presentation (see below), and (3) can offer more democratic access, without the hindrance of added costs.

The ideal situation would combine such an audio file, streamed to a reader's desktop, with a scrollable text-file at the same site that could be read as the recording played. As of the date of this essay, that initial step has indeed been accomplished. At www.oraltradition.org any user can now bring up a text-file of the original-language transcription and English translation (matched by poetic lines in facing columns) and scroll through that document as the audio file plays. The interested "reader" can now become much more of an audience for this 1030-line oral epic performance.[20]

The next step in the evolution of the e-edition is to dissolve the book-induced distance between these two (now joined) aspects of the performance on the one hand, and the contextualizing chapters on the other. As the project presently stands, we have put together a prototype with three additional interactive parts. The glosses that constitute the Apparatus Fabulosus are hot-linked to the English translation, so that clicking on the phrase "arose early" in line 1, for instance, brings up the following information about the idiomatic meaning of this formulaic expression:

> The ubiquitous formula "Rano rani [character X]," or "[character X] arose early," has only nominally to do with the named person's actual awakening at a given hour. Like the *Line-initial expletives* (lines 1-2, with gloss) and the *Dawn marker*, its idiomatic role is to start up a tale or a

prominent section within a tale. See further *Getting up early* (549-50, with gloss) and *Dawn marker* (lines 4-7, 580, and 745, with glosses).

As the reader's cursor moves over the increment "arose early," blue underlining appears to signal that the AF contains information on the specialized meaning of that phrase and to invite consultation. Since the implications of this formulaic line reach beyond literal denotation to traditional signification, this is an opportunity for readers to deepen their understanding of this narrative juncture (and many narrative situations across the expanse of this and other performances). But—and this is a crucial point—there is absolutely no requirement to do so. If readers wish to bypass the additional information, for whatever reason (because they are already aware of the idiomatic function of the phrase or simply because they wish to continue the reading process without even a moment's interruption, perhaps returning to consult this gloss later or perhaps not), they are free not to click on this link. Each person will find his or her own, individualized way through the opportunities or potentials that present themselves, making the reading process much more a self-selecting series of alternatives than a boilerplate mandate. Like singers themselves, readers will blaze their own pathways, and they may well choose different routes on each reperformance.

The prototype e-edition also includes interactive versions of the performance-based Commentary and "Nikola Vujnović's Resinging." In order to clearly differentiate the different linked resources, these two parts of the facility are currently cued by orange and green icons placed to the right of the English column in the transcription-translation. By choosing to click on the orange icon, readers can immediately consult the Commentary with its line-numbered notes on the structure of important elements within the performance, most of them referring to single lines but some to larger increments as well. Clicking on the green icon, on the other hand, will take readers to the NVR, providing them with documentation and explanation of how Vujnović's transcription differs from Bajgorić's actual articulation. Once again, as with the Apparatus Fabulosus, none of these "reading routes" is mandatory; the selection of the pathway—and thus the structure and texture of the experience of reperformance—remains entirely up to the individual. One can imagine many different goals: a quick once-over of the poem, a second or third reading at a slower pace involving more links and icons, a linguistic analysis of the whole performance or of particular phenomena (all of the interactive parts will eventually be electronically searchable themselves), a multi-faceted investigation of a particular traditional strategy or unit (for example, the catalogues of invitations and arrivals), and so on. Additional planned e-editions of other performances by

Bajgorić and other *guslari* from the Stolac region will multiply these possibilities, as well as foster comparative analysis of different performances along all of these lines.

Other sections of the experimental paper-edition will also be transferred to the e-edition, although their role in the overall presentation does not require that they be so closely and interactively linked to particular lines and passages in the transcription-translation. For that reason, then, the preface, pronunciation key, introduction, portrait of the singer, and chapters on music and performatives will be locatable via a global menu bar that will appear on every screen, and linked as whole entities that readers can consult (or not) at any time.[21] Since the preface includes an explanation of "how to use this [e-]book," it will be assigned an especially prominent place and featured on the first page that opens up when users select the e-edition. The master bibliography for the e-edition will likewise be available via a button on the menu bar, so that readers encountering a citation—whether in the preface, introduction, portrait of the singer, companion, NVR, AF, music chapter, or performance chapter—will be quickly able to track the reference. The synopsis of the story will be linked to an icon placed at the top of the performance-transcription file as well as repeated in the menu bar; in this way readers will be encouraged to review its thumbnail sketch of the action before engaging the narrative for the first time, as well as being offered the opportunity to review the synopsis at any point during any of their reperformances.

Coda and Envoi

This essay began by revisiting the self-evident but often submerged fact that a text is not a performance, but at its very best a script for reperformance. As makers, purveyors, and consumers of the written word (itself a tendentious phrase) we are in the culturally sanctioned habit of eliding this simple truth, preferring to ignore the semiotic gulf between the gripping, emergent experience of oral performance and the much-celebrated but curiously empty cenotaph of the text. The advantages of the book, that bound pile of surfaces on which we spatialize our thinking, are many, and the age of the (typographical) page has seen remarkable achievements in the construction and transmission of all of those kinds of knowledge that make

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[21] It should be mentioned in passing that this arrangement will allow readers to compare the streaming sound-file with H. Wakefield Foster's musical transcription of the first 101 lines of the performance.

us human. But the price exacted by the book's dominance has been high: in the case of oral performance, we conventionally denature what we seek to understand and represent by reducing its diverse, many-sided identity to a print-centered shadow of itself. Sound and gesture and context and back-story are but a few of the innocent victims of this ritual sacrifice, and the apotheosis that rises up from the rite of edition must—if evaluated fairly and without "cultural cover"—reveal its severe, even crippling shortcomings.

There can be no magical, global solution to this quandary. Attending the performance with an insider's fluency and awareness lies beyond our reach. But we can make strides toward recovering some of the phenomenological reality of oral performance by taking steps toward a better, more faithful script for the reader's reperformance. In the first section of the paper I have described the wholesale retooling of the conventional model for paper-editions to answer (in part, at least) the challenge of representing the experience and medium of performance. The object of developing the various sections of the paper-edition of Halil Bajgorić's *The Wedding of Mustajbey's Son Bećirbey* has been to restore some of the expressivity of the event by providing avenues into an understanding of its idiosyncratic structure and meaning. Why do those curious "extra" consonants pop up in performance but never in oral-dictated texts? What is a poetic line in a poetry that does not default to page-bound strictures? What implications, if any, are conveyed by lines, scenes, or narrative patterns that recur either in this poem or elsewhere? What importance do the amanuensis Nikola Vujnović's seemingly inexplicable departures from the acoustic recording have? How does this song-performance relate to others, and to the South Slavic oral epic tradition as a whole? These are a few of the more crucial questions left unposed in conventional editions; the paper-edition described in this essay is meant first to recognize their existence and then to answer them as far as our present state of knowledge permits.

The second part of the discussion has consisted of an evolving plan to push representation and reception beyond the limits of even the most innovative and carefully retooled book-form. By enlisting cyber-techniques in a thoughtful, judicious way we can recover even more of what the page fails to capture in what I have called an e-edition. This facility, the first stages of which are already in place at www.oraltradition.org, not only allows its users access to the acoustic reality of the entire 1030-line song, playable against a scrollable original-language transcription and English translation. It also links the other parts of the book interactively, giving readers the opportunity to consult three digests of information (the Companion, NVR, and AF), each of them keyed to individual lines and passages at a single click, and connects the remaining sections via an

always-ready menu bar. The distance and separation that characterize and define the book format are greatly diminished or altogether dissolved in the e-edition; additionally, readers are licensed to blaze their own pathways through the rich thicket of expressive (and receptional) possibilities that await them. Over time, with the formulation of more e-editions of South Slavic oral epic, and by installing appropriate links between and among them, users will begin to be able to read not just more deeply into a single poem-performance, and not just back and forth among a group of related poem-performances, but, in effect, across the enormously larger and more resonant compass of the greater poetic tradition. At that point Homer's famous remark about the Muse having granted the ancient Greek singers the gift of knowing the pathways (the *oimas*) may also apply, in however postlapsarian a fashion, to the reader of e-editions, a.k.a. the newly fluent reperformer of South Slavic oral epic.[22]

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[22] *Odyssey* 8.481: οἴμας μουσ' ἐδίδαξε, φίλησε δὲ φῦλον ἀοιδῶν ("the Muse has taught them the pathways, since she loves the company of singers").

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Text and Performance in Africa

Karin Barber

Text and Performance

In written literary traditions the distinction between text and performance seems self-evident. The text is the permanent artifact, hand-written or printed, while the performance is the unique, never-to-be repeated realization or concretization of the text, a realization that "brings the text to life" but which is itself doomed to die on the breath in which it is uttered. Text fixes, performance animates. But even in written traditions, there are all kinds of different relations possible between a "text" and a "performance." Written texts can be cues, scripts, or stimulants to oral performance, and can also be records, outcomes, or by-products of it. Even texts usually thought of as belonging purely within the written sphere can have a performative dimension. If, as is true in many traditions, text depends on performance and performance on text, comparative literary studies should help us to conceptualize the nature and degree of these varying relations of dependency.

The range of possibilities is wide. At one end of the spectrum are cases like sixteenth-century Italian *commedia dell'arte*, where the written script would be no more than a sheet of paper, listing the sequence of plot episodes and characters appearing in them. The actors would seize these sheets literally at the moment of walking onto the stage, scan them, and immediately begin to improvise (Duchartre 1966:30-32). The text here is essential, for it outlines the structure of the play, without which the actors would not be able to proceed. But the substance of the performance is supplied by the actors' repertoire of conventions, set pieces, gestures, quips, and gags constituting their verbal and gestural tradition. Although this repertoire was oral and embodied, it also incorporated *concetti*, verbal set pieces collected by the actors in their common-place books and cleverly designed to be adaptable to many situations. The aim was to master the rhetoric of the stage so well that the improvised passages were

indistinguishable in tone from pre-prepared written pieces (Lea 1962:105). Here written text infuses and underpins a tradition whose goal and end-product is a live performance. At the other end of the spectrum are forms like the nineteenth-century realist novel, where a lavishly specific and detailed written discourse creates a complete, credible, and autonomous textual world into which the reader is absorbed. But the narrative interest of this type of novel is founded, as Garrett Stewart observes, on a tension between the created fictional world and the text's continual solicitation of the reader to play a role in the reading event, "conscripting" him or her, through a complex array of rhetorical devices, to figure as participant in the constitution of the narrative: "you, reader, are therefore part of the script" (Stewart 1996:6). The written text not only offers the implied reader a series of positions in relation to itself, it also suggests how the act of reading should proceed and stimulates the actual reader to retain a consciousness, even in the most absorbing narratives, of his or her performance *as* a reader. Here the text specifies far more than the *commedia dell'arte* script: it not only creates a world but also instructs the reader how to participate in imaginatively realizing it.

Critical theory has proposed widely different models of the way written literary texts specify their own "performance" in acts of reading. To the philosopher R. G. Collingwood (1938), a true reading (whether of a literary text or a painting) was totally specified by the text, for it resulted from the reader's act of *re-creation* of the work of art, retracing the same steps by which the artist originally constituted the text or image. It was thus a performance of the act of artistic creation, scripted by every detail of the work of art itself. Post-structuralist criticism would say almost the opposite: that a rewarding ("writerly") text is one which stimulates the reader to do his or her *own* acts of creation, stimulated but not constrained by the text—and often emerging at a tangent or in opposition to its ostensible project (Barthes 1974).

Literary theorists, then, have been ready to embrace the idea that written texts provoke, entail, or coexist with some kind of performative dimension. However, they have been less ready to contemplate the corresponding claim, that performances within oral traditions entail some kind of textual dimension.

In oral traditions the co-presence of performance and text is of course more difficult to see, because there is no visible, tangible document to contrast with the evanescent utterance. Nonetheless, it is clear that what happens in most oral performances is not pure instantaneity, pure evanescence, pure emergence and disappearance into the vanishing moment.

The exact contrary is usually the case. There is a performance—but it is a performance *of* something. Something identifiable is understood to have pre-existed the moment of utterance. Or, alternatively, something is understood to be constituted in utterance that can be abstracted or detached from the immediate context and re-embodied in a future performance. Even if the only place this "something" can be held to exist is in people's minds or memories, still it is surely distinguishable from immediate, and immediately-disappearing, actual utterance. It can be referred to. People may speak of "the story of Sunjata" or "the praises of Dingaan" rather than speaking of a particular narrator's or praise-singer's performance on a particular occasion. And this capacity to be abstracted, to transcend the moment, and to be identified independently of particular instantiations, is the whole point of oral traditions. They are "traditions" because they are known to be shared and to have been handed down; they can be shared and handed down because they have been constituted precisely in order to be detachable from the immediate context, and are capable of being transmitted in time and disseminated in space. Creators and transmitters of oral genres use every resource at their disposal to consolidate utterance into quasi-autonomous texts.

If there is unease with the idea of oral genres as texts, this is a legacy of the long and ultimately successful battle that folklore and performance theory waged from the 1960s onwards against an impoverishing scriptocentric approach to orality. The exhilarating discovery of the importance of "composition *in* performance," of improvisation, of interaction with the audience, of gesture, tempo, rhythm, and bodily expression, of the emergent and the processual, meant that performance theory, at least in its early stages, was adamantly opposed to anything resembling literary criticism's concept of "text." There were times when it came close to conducting a witch-hunt against this concept, which, along with "structure," "object," "fixity," and "system," was held to distort and reify the fluid, emergent, improvisatory, dialogic, and embodied nature of performance. Text and performance were seen not only as radically distinct, but as each others' enemies. But since the battle for a performative approach has more or less been won, it is now becoming possible to reunite these artificially separated concepts. On the one hand, a more flexible and inclusive definition of "text" has been proposed that is not confined to written or even to verbal discourse: W. F. Hanks (1989:95) offers as a working definition "any configuration of signs that is coherently interpretable by some community of users"—encompassing not only oral and written discourses of innumerable types but also painting, music, and film. On the other hand, anthropologists working with oral traditions have begun to try to explain how the evanescent,

momentary performance can nonetheless be regarded as something abstracted or detached from the flow of everyday discourse. We have begun to see how work goes into constituting oral genres as something capable of repetition, evaluation, and exegesis—that is, something that can be treated as the *object* of commentary—by the communities that produce them, and not just by the collector or ethnographer.

The possibility of thinking about text in these terms has been greatly expanded recently by the notion of "entextualization" developed by American linguistic anthropologists (see especially Silverstein and Urban 1996). Entextualization is the "process of rendering a given instance of discourse as text, detachable from its local context" (*ibid.*:21). The more detachable a stretch of discourse is, the more shareable and transmittable it becomes (Urban 1991). The mechanisms of entextualization identified by Michael Silverstein and Greg Urban are linguistic choices that limit deixis and other forms of dependence on the immediate context. Thus, discourse that is couched in the third person is more detachable than discourse in the first and second persons, which tends to evoke a response from the hearer, sucking the discourse into the here-and-now. Declarative sentences rather than interrogative, the far past tense rather than the present or perfect, are conducive to detachability. Myths, set in the remote past about third persons in a place far from the present speakers and hearers, are the quintessential example of entextualized discourse, and discourse collectively produced is more independent of the immediate context than individual utterance: thus, some traditions of myth telling require a "what-sayer" or prompter to underline the fact that the narrative is shared by the community who have a collective responsibility to bring it out (Urban 1996:39-40).

Perhaps because the key ethnographic examples in Silverstein and Urban's volume are threatened or vanishing cultures in North, Central, and South America, much of the discussion of entextualization revolves around the processes of elicitation, recording, and transcription of narratives from a few individuals. There is a hesitation in the volume between treating entextualization as a process of cultural constitution that occurs within all cultures including wholly oral ones and treating it more narrowly as the process of turning oral discourses into "texts" by writing them down. The latter perspective raises important issues to do with how potential "texts" are identified and defined, and how the collaborative interaction of native speaker and ethnographer shapes the final product. But for the purposes of this argument, it is the former, more inclusive notion of entextualization that is more productive.

A look at African oral genres reveals a wide repertoire of strategies of entextualization, not all of which involve the third person or the remote past. Indeed, praise poetry, one of the most widespread African genres, of central importance in social and political life, could hardly be more different from the Amerindian myth used as model of entextualized discourse. Praise poetry is notable for its vocative, second-person address and for its simultaneous evocation of the past and the present, bringing the powers and potentials of dead predecessors into the center of the living community. Text is consolidated and rendered detachable from its immediate context—but only so that it can be re-activated and re-embedded in a new context of utterance, where it has an effectual engagement and dialogic force. The various strategies of entextualization in genres of African praise poetry could be enumerated and illustrated at length; however, what I propose to do here is rather to try to identify their common, underlying mode of operation. This is to render discourse *object-like*: by making it the focus of *commentary* and exegetical attention, or by presenting text as *quotable*, thus foregrounding the perception that these words pre-existed their present moment of utterance and could also continue to exist after it.

In sketching out this mode, I want to emphasize that in constituting text as object-like, these African genres do *not* forego the fluidity and improvisatory quality that performance theory has so successfully explored. Rather, it is the very consolidation of chunks of examinable, quotable, repeatable text that makes possible the dynamic processes of fluid incorporation, re-inflection, and recycling that are the hallmark of praise poetry performance across the continent. Thus, rather than seeking to replace a processual model of oral genres with one of writing-like fixity, I aim to show that constituting text as object-like is the condition of possibility of a poetics of fluidity. A further point, which will need to be developed in future work, is that the techniques of entextualization under discussion involve a certain reflexivity—a consciousness of text as something created in order to be expounded, recontextualized, and reflected upon. Attention to these techniques could, therefore, potentially provide clues to the modes of self-understanding and self-interpretation of the collectivities that create them.

Texts Attached to Objects

The most vivid indication of the desire to consolidate fleeting speech is the widespread practice of attaching verbal formulations to actual material objects. The vast number of varied and ingenious text-objects that flourish in sub-Saharan Africa testifies to the impulse to generate verbal formulations

that pass over space and time by means of an objective correlative. The Luba *lukasa* board, Zulu bead messages, Dahomeyan *récades* or message-staffs, Asante *adinkra* symbols, gold weights and umbrella finials, and a host of other material repositories and memory-prompts operate in different ways to transcend time, to fix or trap text in a material form. Kwesi Yankah (1994) describes a system by which, in certain parts of the Akan-speaking area of Ghana, newly-coined sayings were "registered" by being associated with a mnemonic object that would then be hung on a string from the ceiling of a proverb-custodian's house. For example, a woman divorced and remarried three times to the same man coined the ironical saying "the hollow bone—when you lick it, your lips hurt; when you leave it, your eyes trail it." The proverb-custodian registered this saying by hanging an actual bone up on his string. If visitors asked about the bone, it would prompt the proverb-custodian to give an account of the woman and the circumstances in which she coined the saying, as well as the saying itself. The proverb is thus triply objectified. It arises out of a material object—the bone (or the idea of the bone), which inspired the woman's metaphorical utterance. It is recalled by an equivalent material object—the bone on the custodian's string. And it is reactivated by a contextualizing discourse that takes the proverb as itself an object—the object of attention, explanation, and evaluation.

The object—the bone on the string—is more than a mnemonic. It seems to present itself as a puzzle and a challenge: why is it there? What explanation can be given for its presence on the custodian's string? The suspended objects prompt questions from visitors that the custodian seeks to answer as fully as he can. In turn, the proverb attached to the bone itself provokes and requires explanation. Like the bone, it is presented as an opaque object whose meaning only becomes apparent when it is bathed in a sea of contextual and historical detail, which is not encoded *within* the object or the proverb but is transmitted in another genre—the personal narrative—that runs alongside them.

Obscurity and Exegesis

This association of verbal texts with actual objects can be seen not as a quaint mnemonic system but as the most visible form of a much wider impulse to consolidate spoken words into compact formulations requiring subsequent expansion or elaboration on the part of the interpreter. The exegesis can take place within the text or in another genre outside it. The

need for commentary is enhanced when the formulation is allusive, opaque,

truncated, or otherwise obscure.

A highly characteristic feature of praise poetry in Africa is the nominalized statement, a sentence converted into an epithet. In the process of conversion, the statement becomes compacted; it loses its temporal markers and becomes an allusion to a timeless state of being. Thus, the Yorùbá *oríkì* (attribution or appellation) *Dínà-má-yà* ("block-road-not-budge") is a nominalization derived from the sentence "Ó dínà, kò sì yà": "he blocked the road and he didn't budge." A statement referring to an event in time performed by an agent is converted into an epithet with the markers of pronominal agency and verbal aspect removed. Thus, events are turned into qualities; things that occurred in time become atemporal attributes. The nominalized epithet or passage floats above specific contexts of action, suggesting that the owner of the epithet exists in a permanent state of being eligible for that attribution. This form of entextualization is comparable to the constitution of mythic discourse discussed by Silverstein and Urban (1996). But it has a further and more powerful entextualizing effect: compacted utterances of this kind leave a lot out. The actions and events that gave rise to them are not recuperable from the words themselves. They hint at narratives but do not tell them. The art of exegesis, then, is to expand these laconic formulations and re-install the agent and his or her context of action.

The *oríkì* "block-road-not-budge" is coupled with another epithet, *A-dóminú-kojo*, "one who fills the coward with apprehension." These praises belong to Wínyọmí, a great nineteenth-century hunter of Òkukù, and his descendants.[1] They clearly signal some kind of courageous deed; but only when they are expanded by means of a separate genre, the *ìtàn* or narrative, do they acquire full meaning. Wínyọmí had a friend in a neighboring town whose son, a masquerader, killed a man during an outing of the ancestral masquerades. The guilty man, knowing Wínyọmí's reputation as a formidable fighter and medicine man, ran to him for refuge. The relatives of the dead man then marched to Òkukù *en masse* to demand that Wínyọmí hand over the killer. Wínyọmí came out to meet them, stood in the middle of the road, and said "I am going to close my eyes, and when I open them you will all have disappeared." Such terror did this threat inspire that the entire crowd fled, making Wínyọmí's prediction come true. The brief couplet of epithets—*Dínà-má-yà, a-dóminú-kojo*—thus has its own narrative context, independent of the concrete context of performance. It does not depend on other attributions within the performance for its meaning, nor on the context

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[1] For a discussion of the *oríkì*-text from which this brief excerpt was taken, see Barber 1991:196-99.

in which it is uttered. The "obscurity" of such epithets lies in the fact that the narrative expansion occurs outside the text itself. The knowledgeable listener has to know the story in order to make full sense of the epithet. There is a division of labor in the constitution of textual meaning, which is heightened by the fact that in Òkukù, while *oríkì* are most often performed by women, *ìtàn* are most often recounted by elderly men.[2] Exegesis is therefore built into the constitution of the meaning, and exegesis involves treating the epithet as an object of attention and explication. Yorùbá people are often very ready to offer ingenious exegeses, which sometimes involve analysis of each of the syllables of such phrases as *Dínà-má-yà*.

Conversely, when male elders tell the history of the lineage, their *ìtàn* often depend on *oríkì* to move from point to point. A narrator may recount a historical episode and then conclude: "and that is why we are called such-and-such." Or he may introduce a new episode by naming a character in the narrative, citing one of his or her praise-epithets, and then explaining its meaning. Ajíbóyè, of the royal lineage in Òkukù, did both in one episode of the legendary origins of the town and the royal family. He began the episode by announcing: "One of [the town's] *oríkì* is *àyàbùèrò*." This epithet is an oddly constructed expression the meaning of which is not immediately apparent. Having presented this puzzle, Ajíbóyè went on to explain (adapted from Barber 1991:65):

> This is because of a famous flood. The river Ọtìn flowed near the town. One year it rained and rained and the river flooded everybody's backyard and all the hen-houses, goat-pens, and dove-cotes were carried away. But after about twelve days, when the flood subsided, all the animals were still alive. The river was recognized as a beneficent one and was honored with the name *à yà bù èrò*: "the thing-that-is-stopped-for-and-scooped belonging to strangers" [i.e., the river whose waters strangers stop to drink].

Like the bone that triggered the divorced-and-remarried woman's proverb, the epithet functions as the kernel of a narrative, and is both the trigger and the punch-line of Ajíbóyè's story. Rather than just repeating the *oríkì,* he

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[2] This phenomenon of the distribution of textual meaning-production between two distinct and separately institutionalized genres may offer a helpful way of looking at some of the relationships between written text and performance mentioned above. One could think of the *commedia dell'arte*, for example, not only as a relationship between "text" and "performance" (though it obviously is this), but also as a case where the constitution of the drama is *distributed* between two textual genres—one written and the other oral, neither of the two having priority.

quotes it, explicitly acknowledging it as text that pre-existed the present moment of utterance.[3] Having quoted it, he reinforces its consolidation as text by bringing it under exegetical scrutiny.

This relationship between utterance and exegesis is a constitutive feature of praise poetry all over sub-Saharan Africa. Most African praise poetry is constituted to be obscure, opaque, or allusive. The *ajogan* songs of the kings of Porto Novo were "deliberately allusive, even hermetic" (Rouget 1971:32). Ila elders in Zambia will regard a praise poem "which is immediately self-evident and which lacks layers of allusion as ipso facto uninteresting" (Rennie 1984). The reciters of the *apae* praises of Akan royalty and chiefs have a special vocabulary to "conceal the messages" (Arhin 1986:167); and according to one of Anyidoho's informants, "the composition of each *apae* was motivated by a particular historical event. Therefore, apart from committing texts to memory, a good performer should also have a grasp of the incidents that motivated them" (1993:119). The explanation of the *apae* is thus found in the narrative of its origin, and the two bodies of information—the praises and the narratives—are learned and transmitted in parallel. Where the parallel explanatory tradition is inaccessible or lost, the praise texts remain opaque: for example, in the Kuba kingdom, songs in praise of the monarchs, taught verbatim to the royal wives by a female official, often "consist of allusions" whose "explanation . . . is not a part of the teaching itself," so that "it is difficult to use them" for historical reconstruction (Vansina 1978:23).

Mbiímbi, the dynastic poetry of the Yaka-speaking Lunda conquerors in the southwest of the Democratic Republic of Congo, "insinuates the facts rather than describing them, rather than relating or explaining them in the manner of an historic recitation" (N'Soko Swa-Kabamba 1997). Instead of referring to heroic ancestors by their names, the composer-performer of *mbiímbi* may evoke them by "power names" or by emblematic devices. Nominalized forms, as in all praise poetry, are forms of avoidance as well as forms of honorific elaboration: they give the subject aliases. Consider the lines (N'Soko Swa-Kabamba 1997:152):

> Oh he-who-floats-across-the-river
> shoot that floated in the company of the aquatic reed
> oh chameleon, what did you see in me, Nteeba?

This is about a king, Muloombo, who, we are told, reigned from 1902 to 1913. He was deported by the Belgian authorities after decapitating two of

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[3] For a fuller exploration of quotation in the constitution of Yorùbá oral genres, see Barber 1999.

their colonially-imposed chiefs. The nominalized form "he-who-floats-across-the river" is amplified and elaborated by the next line, "shoot that floated in the company of the aquatic reed": they allude to the fact that Muloombo was exiled by river. The third line relies on popular knowledge that Muloombo was called "chameleon" because of his elegant and majestic walk. But this information is not contained within the text; as N'Soko Swa-Kabamba says, one would not know what it referred to without knowledge of another tradition, the *nsámu mya tsyá khúlu* or "tale from other times."

More limited expansion can also take place *within* a praise poetry text. A very common mode of textual constitution is to present a compact, obscure nominalized epithet and then proceed to expand and contextualize it in the subsequent text. Thus, in Asante *apae* "almost every line begins with some nominal which is then explained or elaborated in the form of a succeeding adjectival clause" (Anyidoho 1993:372). For example, *Okoro-man-so-fone* ("the one who goes to a town and causes everyone to [become] emaciate[d]") is elaborated with *A wo ne no twe manso wofon* ("if you have a legal battle with him, you [become] emaciated[d]"). The second line explains the context—litigation—in which the subject's devastating impact on other people is felt; without this elaboration, the praise epithet would be both bald and puzzling. Similarly, in Xhosa *izibongo*, a standard mode of textual constitution is to present a compact, baffling nominalized expression and then attach a brief commentary: "Blankets [on] head: some talk about them, others actually carry them" or "Swollen-legs: a defect that is apart from other defects" (Kuse 1979:212, 210). In what Kuse calls "complex eulogues," the elaboration of the nominalized epithet may take the form of an extended narrative, associated more loosely with it. These internal expansions present and consolidate the text without fully constituting its meaning. In both Asante and Xhosa cases (and in many other parallel cases from elsewhere in Africa) it seems clear that there are several kinds of expansion, elaboration, and exegesis built up in layers around the core nominalized epithet—some within the text and some carried in a parallel narrative tradition outside it. Obscurity—the presentation of a laconic, incomplete, and allusive expression—is thus at the very center of a complex mode of textual constitution.

Obscurity in praise poetry could be deployed for political reasons. It could be used to encode discreet criticisms of royal and dynastic power (see Vail and White 1991). Conversely, it could be used by the ruling group to flaunt the existence, while guarding the content, of secrets understood to be the basis of their power (Arhin 1986). But underlying this, I suggest, is the more fundamental question of the very mode by which text is constituted to

transcend time and space. Obscurity provokes the listener into acts of exegesis that consolidate the utterance as an object of attention.

As with external commentary, internal commentary can involve a mode of quotation. Nominalization can, as it were, round up a stretch of discourse, assess it for relevance to the subject, and announce the appropriateness of its attribution to him or her. Thus a Yorùbá praiser can say (adapted from Barber 1991:69):

> "Ó gbọ ṣẹ́ṣẹ́ Ifá ó yalé
> Ó gbẹ́hìnkùlé mọye odù tó hù
> 'Àìgbọ́fá là á ń wòkè, Ifá kan ò sí ń párá'"
> Ló tó Babaa Fárónkẹ́ ṣe.

> "He hears the chink of the divining chain, he stops to come in
> From out in the yard he already knows what figure has emerged
> 'Not knowing Ifá, we gaze up, but there's no Ifá in the rafters'"
> This is what Father of Fárónkẹ́ is worthy to be called.

At first blush, the opening two lines of this excerpt sound like propositional statements about a person; the third line is a proverb, used with characteristic Yorùbá inversion to suggest that the subject, *unlike* the people referred to in the proverb, is deeply versed in Ifá. But having uttered these three lines, the performer then declares that this is what the subject is worthy to be called—retrospectively rounding up the entire formulation and offering it to the subject as an attribution that evokes his qualities. Thus the statements not only function as epithets or name-equivalents but are produced as quoted text —text which is acknowledged to have pre-existed the present moment of utterance and which is presented, evaluated, and attributed to a subject. These formulations are in fact part of the *oríkì*-singer's repertoire and can be applied to anyone whose skill as a diviner merits it; in the very act of attribution, she highlights this fact, drawing attention to the pre-existence of the formulation, to its character as already-constituted text.

The power of the concept of quotation is that it captures simultaneously the process of detachment and the process of recontextualization. A quotation is only a quotation when it is inserted into a new context. Thus, in the very act of recognizing a stretch of discourse as having an independent existence, the quoter is re-embedding it. This, I suggest, helps us to understand how "text" (the detachable, de-contextualized stretch of discourse) and "performance" (the act of assembling and mobilizing discursive elements) are two sides of a coin, inseparable and mutually constitutive.

For the dense, compacted, "objectified" utterances I have been discussing can be mobilized in performances of extraordinary fluidity, dynamism, and dialogicality. A performance of *oríkì*—and, though perhaps to a lesser extent, many other genres of African praise poetry—is a stringing together of autonomous fragments, which in principle could be performed in any order, any selection, any combination. The compact incompleteness and allusiveness of the formulations makes them mobile in relation to each other, for each points outwards to its own narrative hinterland for expansion and exegesis. In *oríkì* there is a particular emphasis on profusion, for in this culture of competition between self-aggrandizing "big men" the more *oríkì* that are heaped upon the addressee's head the more his aura will be enhanced in relation to his rivals. This means that performers do not confine themselves to an authorized corpus for each subject, but raid other subjects' *oríkì*, and indeed other verbal genres such as proverbs, riddles, and Ifá verses, for material to add to the flow. There is a pervasive intertextuality in which incorporated elements are partially, but not fully, subordinated to the project of the incorporating genre, casting a haze of "quotedness" over the whole field of Yorùbá orature (Barber 1999).

The coherence of the *oríkì*-performance derives from the presence—actual or virtual—of the addressed subject in whom all the attributions converge, and from the élan with which a skilled performer will throw out slender, temporary links between attributions based on similarities of sound or sense. The performer engages the addressee in an intense, dyadic relationship, with unwavering eye contact. She or he is intensely responsive to the presence of the addressee—often exhorting, blessing, or thanking him, and sometimes switching to a new subject when a more important personality enters the performance space. Yet throughout her intense address to her chosen subject, she is assembling a heterogeneous, composite flow of materials that incorporate quotations from numerous sources and are often compacted, incomplete, and obscure. The result is that the *oríkì* are constituted as something that floats above the actual context of utterance, escaping the concrete dialogic situation in which it is delivered, transcending time, and presenting itself as an object requiring exegesis. Yet it is this fugitive, fragmented, and migratory quality of *oríkì* that also makes it so intensely a performance in the here and now—emergent, variable, constituted out of contingency, and forged moment to moment as the performer seizes materials with which to respond to the presence of her addressee.

The purpose of this paper, then, has been to show not just that oral performances can profitably be seen as performances of "texts," but also that

in the case of African oral praise poetry at least, it is entextualization—achieved through the consolidation of discourse as object of exegesis and as quotation—that makes possible an intensely fluid and dynamic realization of the text in performance. Entextualization, then, is not the opposite of emergent performance, but rather its alter ego; they proceed hand in glove with each other and are the condition of each other's possibility. For text must be treated as the object of attention—by exegesis and by being quoted in new contexts of utterance—in order to attain meaning; while a performance that was truly ephemeral would be a performance of nothing.

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On the Concept of "Definitive Text" in Somali Poetry

Martin Orwin

Introduction: Concept of "Definitive Text"

The concept of text is one central to the study of literature, both oral and written. During the course of the Literature and Peformance workshops organized by the AHRB (Arts and Humanities Research Board) Centre for Asian and African Literatures, the word "text" has been used widely and in relation to various traditions from around the world. Here I shall consider the concept of text and specifically what I refer to as "definitive text" in Somali poetry. I contend that the definitive text is central to the conception of *maanso* poetry in Somali and is manifest in a number of ways. I look at aspects of poetry that are recognized by Somalis and present these as evidence of "the quality of coherence or connectivity that characterizes text" (Hanks 1989:96). The concept of text understood here is, therefore, that of an "individuated product" (*ibid*.:97). Qualitative criteria both extra- and intratextual will be presented to support this conception. On the intratextual side, I, like Daniel Mario Abondolo, take "inspiration from the intrinsic but moribund, or dead and warmed-over, metaphor of *text*, i.e. 'that which has been woven, weave' (cf. texture) and see in texts a relatively high degree of internal interconnectedness via multiple non-random links" (2001:6). This inspiration is rooted in Western European language, but I find strong resonance in "Samadoon" by Cabdulqaadir Xaaji Cali[1] (1995: ll. 147-52; trans. in Orwin 2001a:23):

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[1] In this paper I shall use the Somali spelling of names unless I am referring to an author who has published under an anglicized spelling of his or her name. For the reader unfamiliar with the Somali orthography most sounds are pronounced more or less as in English apart from the following: *c* is the voiced pharyngeal fricative, the 'ayn of Arabic; *x* is used for the voiceless pharyngeal fricative; *q* is used for the uvular stop, which may be pronounced voiced or voiceless according to context; *kh* is the voiceless uvular fricative (only found in Arabic loanwords); and *dh* is the voiced retroflex plosive.

Iyo doonnanaystaye dabuub duugleh hadhitaanka
Iyo seben dawaaddeed khad taan qun ula daaweystey
Nudantayaan dacfaray saabintiyo dabaqyo seesaasha
Iyo tay digrii lagu helyey hidin digtuuraadda
Iyo taan hoggeed duur xulleba daadshey humintiisa
Waataanan daabicin baryo 'e maanta iyo deelka

my poetic engagement   the verse long lasting
that will remain   whose ink I befriended
I mastered plaiting it   as a wicker basket
with its lid and holder
the one awarded a degree   and even a doctorate
whose every metaphoric hole   I learned to stitch
I've not made it public   these last few days
but now today and 'd'[2]

On the extratextual side, arguments relating to composition, performance, memorization, and the use of writing will be presented with a view to contributing to the discussion of issues dealt with in the Literature and Performance workshops. In support of these extratextual issues I shall also consider some intratextual characteristics with a view to contributing more widely to discourse on the concept of text and literary experience in general.

The Somali concepts will be presented through a consideration of the distinction between two types of poetry: *maanso* and *hees*.[3] The contrasting characteristics of these two types of poetry do, I believe, provide strong evidence for assuming that Somalis have, and have had for some time, the concept of a definitive text. Of course, in doing this I do not pretend to be telling the Somalis what they know already. Rather, in presenting the discussion in this way, I wish to show that I am not dealing with a conception based on the written word and imposed upon the material by a Western academic but with a concept intrinsic to the Somali understanding of *maanso*.

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[2] This translation is printed here as in Orwin 2001a, where reasons for the typography may be found. The "d" here refers to the alliterative sound and is thus a reference to the poem itself.

[3] Note that the term *hees* used here is its "traditional" usage. There is a type of poetry that in general is called *hees*, or more specifically *hees casri* ("modern *hees*") that we shall discuss later.

Features Common to All Somali Poetry[4]

    All poetry in Somali, whether *maanso* or *hees*, is both metrical and alliterative. The metrical system in Somali is a fascinating, quantitative system in which there is a large number of patterns, each type of poetry following a particular one. The units patterned in Somali meter are vowels and consonants. The system as a whole is complex and beyond the scope of this article, so an example of a metrical pattern is presented here, namely the pattern used for *gabay* poetry of which the poem above by Cabdulqaadir is an example. In the following template the symbol ∪ indicates a position that must be filled by a short vowel syllable, and the symbol ∪∪ indicates a position that must be filled by either a long vowel or two short vowel syllables. The vertical line indicates the caesura found in the *gabay*, and the bracketed short vowel syllable at the beginning indicates an optional anacrusis.

(∪) ∪∪ ∪∪ ∪ ∪∪ ∪∪ ∪ ∪∪ | ∪∪ ∪ ∪∪ ∪∪ ∪

Further to the patterning of vowels, there must be two long vowels in the second part of the line, and there is a constraint on syllable-final consonants and the types of consonants that may occur between the two short vowel syllables when any position of the type ∪∪ (other than the first) is rendered by two syllables.[5]
    All Somali poetry is also alliterative. That is, in each poem, each line or half-line, according to the genre, contains a word beginning with the alliterative sound. Such words must be ones with some lexical content, that

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[4] The term "poetry" here is being used without further discussion. Suffice it to say that there are linguistic and extra-linguistic features of utterances that disassociate such utterances from general discourse and that, having been disassociated, can be named as *gabay*, *heesta kebedda*, and so on. The term poetry in English has no precise analogy in Somali, but I feel that its use here does not detract from the arguments I present.

[5] For further information on these matters see, among others, Johnson 1996 (and further references therein including those to the work of Cabdullaahi Diiriye Guuleed, with whom Johnson worked closely on these matters), Banti and Giannattasio 1996, Orwin 2001b, and Maxamed 1976 (Maxamed wrote other articles on metrics after this one, which I regard as the most important; for further references to his work see Orwin 2001b and Lamberti 1986:61-62). Aside from published sources, my own knowledge of Somali metrics was deepened by working in Hargeisa in 2001 with Maxamed Xaashi Dhamac "Gaarriye," to whom I am grateful.

is, nouns, adjectives, adverbs, or verbs. There are some cases where alliteration may be changed or in which it is not used at all, but these are not often found and do not affect the arguments made here.

The Distinction Between *Maanso* and *Hees*

The terms *maanso* and *hees* refer to two categories of Somali poetry; each individual type of poem in Somali may be said to belong to the category of *maanso* or that of *hees*. To help the reader in the forthcoming discussion, we might initially describe *maanso* as poetry whose composer is known, which is composed prior to performance and must be presented verbatim. On the other hand, *hees* (apart from modern *hees*, on which see below) is poetry that is generally performed in association with work or dance; the composers of *hees* are not generally known and there is not the expectation of verbatim performance. The reader may wish to consult the table below for further information at this stage. The distinction has been discussed in the literature on Somali poetry. As early as 1905, J. W. C. Kirk hints at the difference when he divides "songs" into "Gerar, Gabei, and Hes" (170). B. W. Andrzejewski and I. M. Lewis (1964) divide the poems in their book into three types, presenting them in different sections: classical poetry, traditional, and modern songs.[6] Although they do not use the terms *maanso* and *hees* specifically, the distinction they make may be couched in those terms and the types of poetry placed in their categories recognized in terms of *maanso* and *hees* by Somalis. The *gabay*, the *jiifto*, and the *geeraar* are described as "classical" and as being "composed as conscious and studied works of poetic art which, if well received, win lasting fame for their authors" (Andrzejewski and Lewis 1964:47). Of the *buraambur*, a type of poetry composed only by women,[7] they state: "The place of the *buraambur* is somewhere between the three 'classical' types already described, and the lighter and less elaborate poems" (*ibid*.:49). Equally their treatment of the *heello* and modern *hees* reflects the status of these, which will be discussed in more detail below. The traditional *hees* they describe as "dance and work songs" (*ibid*.:51): "The words of these songs are simple and lack the imagery

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[6] They also have a section on religious poetry in Arabic. There is religious poetry in Somali also, but this is a category that I shall not deal with here. I have written on religious poetry elsewhere (2001c); see also Kapteijns and Mariam Omar Ali 1996 and Abdisalam Yassin Mohamed 1977.

[7] Apart from very few examples, which are very specific and will not concern us here.

found in the "classical" poems, while the lines vary greatly in length and are few in number. Their authorship is seldom known, and most of them appear to be of considerable antiquity." In a later work (1985), Andrzejewski used another way of presenting verbal art, coining the terms "time-bound" and "time-free," with the first term referring to "items which can in some way be placed on the time scale, and the second . . . those which cannot." His "time-bound" category coincides to a large extent with *maanso*, as is evident when he says (1985:339):[8] "Poems within the time-bound stream have an important distinctive characteristic; their reciters are expected to memorize them verbatim, as accurately as possible, avoiding any improvisations or deletions, and are also bound by custom to give the name of the original oral author before each recital."

A further influential categorization was made by John William Johnson (1974:26-46) who coined the term "miniature genres," referring to a group of poetry types that are associated with dance and that are "employed most often by youth in circumstances where youth are to be found" (28). He discusses these types in relation to the development of the *heello* to which we shall return below.

Said Sheikh Samatar mentions the distinction as follows (1982:74): "Somalis divide their poetry into two general categories: poetry (*maanso*) and song (*hees* or *heello*). *Hees* are modern songs and have their origins roughly in the fourth decade of the twentieth century, while *maanso* is a more traditional form whose roots fade, as do other genres in the literature, into the penumbra of unrecorded times." Here he restricts the term *hees* to the modern variety, which developed out of the *heello* (see below) and does not discuss the work and dance songs, the traditional *hees*.[9] Thus the way he presents the distinction, while not analogous to the way I am presenting it, does not refute what I state here.

The two most extensive published discussions of *maanso* and *hees* are by Ahmed Adan Ahmed and Axmed Cali Abokor. Ahmed Adan states that (1984:333): "Andrzejewski and Lewis classify *Maanso* according to form. This is basically the same approach that will be utilized here." This is a reference to Andrzejewski and Lewis (1964:46): "The Somali classify their

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[8] In the same work (339) he also divides Somali poetry into the following periods: the Golden Era (the pre-colonial period), the Era of Fire and Embers (1899-1944), the Era of the Lute (1944-69), and the New Era (from 1969).

[9] Said Sheikh Samatar also uses the "function" of a poem as a classificatory device when, for example, he states that he "wish[es] to limit the remainder of the discussion to three classical genres which are of vital concern to this study: the diatribe, the provocation and the curse" (1982:74).

poems into various distinct types, each of which has its own specific name. It seems that their classification is mainly based on two prosodic factors: the type of tune to which the poem is chanted or sung, and the rhythmic pattern of the words." However, it must be said that Andrzejewski and Lewis also state (*ibid*.:47) that "in addition to their distinctive prosodic features, types of Somali poems are further differentiated by their average length, their diction and style, and their range of subject matter; and while some poems are accompanied by hand-clapping or drumming, others are always recited without any accompaniment at all." Returning to Ahmed Adan, in addition to the *gabay*, *geeraar*, *jiifto*, and *buraambur*, he also includes in the *maanso* category the *wiglo* and *guurow*. In this he is following the clear categorization presented by Sheekh Jaamac, who includes *masafo*[10] in his group of seven *maanso* types.[11] Ahmed Adan further states of the *heello* that it is "now the most utilized genre of *Maanso* throughout Somalia" (1984:335). Thus for him *heello* is definitely a *maanso* genre and one would assume consequently that modern *hees* would also be.[12] Interestingly, Sheekh Jaamac does not include *heello* or modern *hees* in his classification, which is divided up into *maanso* and *hees*—the latter of which is for him is just *hees hawleed* and *hees cayaareed*, "work song" and "dance song," respectively. He gives good concise definitions of these two types of *hees* (Jaamac 1974:iv):

> Hees hawleed waa heeska hawsha lagu qabto, hawshaasu hawl xoolaad ha ahaato ama hawl farsamo ha ahaatee.
> Hees cayaareedna waa heeskii sacab ama jaanta loo tumo ama durbaan loo garaaco oo looga jeedo farax, maaweelo iyo madaddaalo iyo wixii la mid ah.

> Work song is the song to which work is undertaken, whether that work is with livestock or handicraft.

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[10] The *masafo* and *jiifto* are very closely related types. See Banti and Giannattasio 1996:89 and Orwin 2001b:104-5 for some further details.

[11] 1974:iv. Sheekh Jaamac also mentions the possibility of other *maanso* types (1974:v): "Haddaba haw malayn inay intaas ku koobantahay. La arkee inay jiraan kuwa aannaan aqoon ama aanaan maqal" ("Though do not think that it [*maanso*] is restricted to that. It might be seen that there are those of which I do not know and have not heard").

[12] Note that at the time of publication of his article, and I assume at the time of writing, the use of *heello* had declined and modern *hees* was the most popular form of *maanso*. It may be that he was using the terms somewhat interchangeably.

> And dance song is the song with which clapping or footstamping is done, or for which a drum is beaten and which is intended for expressing happiness, amusement, entertainment, and so on.

Axmed Cali Abokor provides yet a further slant to this issue (1993:19):

> Each genre has its own aesthetic and social function, but some are regarded as higher in status than others. In this regard Somali oral poetry, particularly the northern pastoral poetry, is generally divided into two categories, classical and modern. Classical poetry is older and has a unified scansion system within each genre. The modern poem, called *heello*, resembles Indian song patterns, from which it is derived, and is not the concern of the present volyme [*sic*].

Classical poetry he further divides into *maanso* and *heeso*[13] categories (*idem*): "The *maanso* category, denoting serious poetry, includes the genres of *gabay*, *geeraar* and *jiifto*, all composed by male adults and all dealing with important political and social matters." So here he contrasts the modern *heello* and subsequent modern *hees* with "classical" poetry, which, for him and unlike Andrzejewski and Lewis, is all poetry that is not "modern" in form, that is, not that which can be described as modern *hees* or *heello*. However, within his classical poetry he includes the *maanso* and *hees* categories. The most recent discussion on *maanso* in particular is that of D. Morin (1999). Setting the discussion of Somali poetry within the wider context of detailed discussion of other literary traditions in the eastern Horn of Africa, Morin presents the *maanso* as being defined primarily by its illocutionary intent (1999:133): "Le *maanso* définit le format d'un discours uniquement orienté vers la restauration des droits du groupe, ce que Zaborski a justement appelé sa 'structure profonde'" ("*Maanso* specifies the format of a mode of discourse that is oriented solely toward the restoration of the rights of the group, something that Zaborski has rightly called its 'deep structure'"). He presents the *maanso* very much in its social context and sees its creator, the poet, as follows (*ibid*.:135): "Le *gabayaa* officiel n'est pas le démiurge créateur, détenteur du Verbe, instrument d'un quelconque dévoilement du Sens, mais un acteur engagé dans le combat collectif, dont le discours est instrumentalisé par le clan" ("The official poet is not a creative demiurge, the keeper of the word, the medium for revealing meaning, rather an actor engaged in the collective struggle in which the discourse is an instrument of the whole clan"). We do not have the space to

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[13] *Heeso* is the plural of *hees*; the plural of *maanso* is *maansooyin*.

go into all of Morin's arguments and ideas, but the interested reader is encouraged to read his work as it provides much detailed insight into poetry in the eastern Horn of Africa.[14]

From this review of the literature we can see that there is certainly agreement on a fundamental distinction within Somali poetry between *maanso* and *hees* and also that the modern *hees* is a category that does not seem to quite fit in very easily; I shall return to this matter below. Lidwien Kapteijns and Miriam Omar Ali reflect upon the differences in the ways people have regarded the categorization when they state (1999:3): [15]

> The reader must know of four fundamental ways of distinguishing oral texts from each other: (1) by genre, (e.g., whether the texts are poems or prose narratives); (2) by whether Somali society considers the genre to which a text belongs "prestigious" or "nonprestigious"; (3) by whether a text belongs to what Andrzejewski has called the "time-free" or "time-bound" stream; and finally (4) by period.

By oral texts Kapteijns includes folktales and proverbs as well as poetry. She does not mention form specifically as a means of determining classification (or as a mark of classification), but mentions the "prestigious" versus the "nonprestigious" types, thus highlighting this dichotomy as a basis for categorization over form. As we have seen, the use of this perspective as a means of categorization is mentioned by others and is one of the most important factors when considering the difference between *maanso* and *hees*. But what exactly does it mean and how is that difference manifest?

Extratextual Characteristics of *Hees* and *Maanso*

Axmed's *Somali Pastoral Worksongs* (1993) is the first major study of "traditional" *hees*,[16] although in his book he concentrates only on work

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[14] It is important to mention here that Morin provides an etymology for the word *maanso* (1999:48): "Emprunté à l'arabe *manẕūm*, pour désigner la poésie, le terme générique *maanso* envisage un vers mesuré (*miisaan* ou *hal-beeq* [*sic*]), symétrique, relevant d'une équation numérique" ("Borrowed from Arabic *mansuum* to mean poetry, the generic term *maanso* implies a measured verse (*miisaan* or *hal-beeq* [*sic*]), symmetrical and a matter of numerical counting"). NB: "*hal-beeq*" should read *hal-beeg*.

[15] This last categorization is based on Andrzejewski's ideas (1985:339) on Era of Fire and Embers and so on (see n. 8 above).

[16] See also Said A. W. 1992 for a collection of work songs.

songs (*hees hawleed*) and does not discuss dance songs (*hees ciyaareed*), which still await proper study.[17] In his book he presents the most extensive discussion of the characteristics that distinguish the traditional *hees* from *maanso*, presenting points we have mentioned above from the literature. In this section I shall describe the extratextual characteristics and expand on these with regard to what they tell us about the idea of definitive text.

The contrasts to be discussed may be conveniently, if a little simplistically, presented in the following table:

Hees	*Maanso*
Poetry of women and younger men	Poetry of older men
Lesser status	Higher status
Associated with work and dances	Associated with serious commentary
Unknown composer generally	Known composer always
Open to change reasonably freely	Memorized and recited verbatim
Regarded more as entertainment	Regarded as more socially important
Generally short poems	Generally longer poems than *heeso*
Individual *heeso* may be joined together in a single performance	One poem is recited on its own at a time
A large number of constituent genres	Fewer constituent genres

As we can see from this table, the perception of the two categories revolves very much around the notion of status. *Hees* poems are performed by those who are politically and socially less powerful, namely women and younger men,[18] whereas *maanso* poems are generally composed and performed by older men (as I understand it, this normally means men older than around their mid-thirties although in urban areas there are young people composing poems that are very much *maanso*). It may be assumed that it is the status of the person composing and/or performing that leads to the types of poems themselves being regarded as of greater or lesser status. The fact that *heeso* are associated with particular work and dance activities that are not undertaken by older men is also a corollary of the link between the status of the people who perform them and the status of the poems themselves, and shows the way in which the categorization is bound to status within the

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[17] For some information on some of the dance *hees* types, see Johnson 1974:26-46 mentioned below.

[18] The precise status of children's songs, although obviously not *maanso*, is something that still needs further investigation. At present I shall simply assume them to be part of the traditional *hees* category, which is my current understanding.

society. This contrast is reinforced, I suggest, by the way in which men perform *maanso* poetry. Whereas with *hees* the performance is generally accompanied by activity, whether work or dance, the performance of *maanso* traditionally involves nothing other than the reciter and the audience. The manner of recitation is also significant. The performance of *maanso* is not something to which the reciter brings an affective contribution; rather the recital is such that the words are allowed to speak for themselves. This is not to say that a good clear voice or a reciter who is particularly adept at the traditional chant, known as the *luuq*, is not prized.[19] But I would say a good reciter adds nothing more than a good frame adds to a painting. It is the words that are of primary importance, as is the painting rather than the frame. In other words, the nature of the act of performing *maanso* is something that foregrounds the words themselves. It dissociates them from any particular activity, even to the extent of dissociating them from the performer, who is merely the vehicle for their presentation: in essence, he (or sometimes she) brings nothing more to the performance than the clear presentation of the words.

Knowledge of the composer is also related to the issue of status. Although *heeso* must have been composed by individual artists at some time in the past, they have become part of the heritage of the people as a whole.[20] They may be performed without mentioning anything of their compositional context and, as part of this general heritage, may be changed, something which is not possible with *maanso*. When the latter are performed the composer must be acknowledged and the reciter must present the poem verbatim, without change. It is these features that are central, from the extratextual point of view, to the notion of definitive text in *maanso*.

The idea of verbatim memorization has long been acknowledged in the literature on Somali poetry and is a feature that caused some controversy in the 1960s when Andrzejewski made it known to the wider, nascent world of oral literature studies at a time when the oral-formulaic theory was enthusiastically being hailed by some as defining oral poetry.[21] Ruth Finnegan (1977:73ff.) provides a useful discussion of this situation and, following a quotation from Andrzejewski and Lewis (1964:45-46), concludes (75): "In this case, then, memorisation is indeed involved, and the

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[19] That is, when the *luuq* is used, which is not always the case nowadays.

[20] This is not to say that new *heeso* are no longer composed; see Johnson 1995 for some examples.

[21] The major work on oral theory is Lord 1960.

concept of a 'correct' version is locally recognised." In other words, she accepts the idea of a "correct" version, that which I am calling a definitive text here. Of course, given the imperfect nature of human memory, one does find variations among performances of *maanso* poems, but these do not detract from the concept of a definitive text. Andrzejewski has, perhaps more accurately or more pragmatically, called this feature of *maanso* poetry "the goal of verbatim memorization" and says of it: "Poetry reciters were expected to memorize and reproduce the oral text of a poem word for word; to delete, to substitute or to add any new material was discouraged. As a concession to the frailty of human memory some degree of deviation from this rule was acceptable provided that it was not attributable to the wilful intention of the reciter" (1982:74).[22] We see here that it is the concept that a poem *should* be recited verbatim that is the most important idea. In other words, the fact that variations may be found does not detract from the central concept of the goal of verbatim memorization, which implies the presence of the conception of a definitive text in the minds of the Somalis.

The fact that the composer of the poem must always be acknowledged supports this line of reasoning. Any definitive text is the product of an individual who has created that text and with whom the text is forever associated through what Said Sheikh Samatar calls "an unwritten copyright law, no less strict than those observed in literate societies" (1982:64). Said amusingly goes on to describe a situation he witnessed when a reciter claimed some lines as his own when they were not. This led to the reciter leaving "town in a hurry rather than linger around to face the laughter and ridicule which were certain to greet him upon discovery of his unsuccessful antics" (*ibid.*:67). This graphically illustrates the point and shows the seriousness with which this "unwritten copyright law" is maintained by the Somalis. Related to this feature is the fact that *maanso* poems are recited as separate events rather than, as with *heeso*, a number of poems being possibly sung within a single, continuous performance.

We see from these extratextual characteristics that the concept of the definitive text of a *maanso* poem is something well established in Somali cultural knowledge. I shall now go on to present some intratextual characteristics, which I suggest further support the notion of definitive text.

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[22] See also Said S. S. 1982:73, Johnson n.d., and Orwin 2000:199-200 for some further discussion on these matters.

Intratextual Characteristics

In an earlier study (Orwin 2000) I presented a practical stylistic analysis of a poem by the poet Axmed Ismaciil Diiriye "Qaasim" in which I showed that various aspects of language were used in such a way as to mould an aesthetic object that thereby communicated its "message" in a powerful and engaging way. I suggested that the poem presented itself as a coherent whole that opened with a metaphor embodying the theme of the poem and ended with a sense of resolution and closure. The whole was held together in a dynamic way by the "relatively high degree of internal interconnectedness via multiple non-random links," to repeat Abondolo (2001:6; see above). This sort of poetic "texture" is something that I have found present in other *maanso* poems and, although indigenous critical discourse does not articulate such features in the way I did in the analysis of Qaasim's poem, we do see a reflection of recognition of this type of structure present in Somali critical discourse on poetry. This is the idea of a *maanso* poem being constructed in three parts: *arar*, *dhexdhexaad*, and *gebaggebo*, which we might translate as "introduction," "middle section," and "end," respectively.[23] The expectation of these parts of a *maanso* poem implies the expectation of "totality or coherence," a convention recognized by Jonathan Culler (1975:171) as characteristic of Western European lyric poetry. I am suggesting therefore that the way in which language is used in a *maanso* poem is such that it underpins the idea of it being a coherent and individuated definitive text. When this is considered along with the fact that each *maanso* poem is inherently associated with the composer who wrought that text, we see the bases for the concept of a definitive text.

The sense that a poem is a coherent whole in its own right is reflected in the way in which a poem may have a "life" away from the immediate context of its composition. Said Sheikh Samatar refers to this phenomenon when he observes that Somalis see "their verse in two senses: the immediate and the transcendental. While a poem commends itself for its sense of the immediate and the relevant, it derives its enduring validity from another quarter: from the fact of its permanency and its comforting qualities in an impermanent and uncomfortable environment" (1982:58). He is stating that, for the Somalis, a *maanso* poem can be that "individuated product" described by Hanks and be so to the extent that it can be meaningful not only in its original context, but in contexts further away in both time and space.

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[23] Much of what I have learned about this critical discourse has been from Maxamed Cabdullahi Riiraash, a broadcaster and connoisseur of poetry in Djibouti, to whom I am grateful.

When considering this approach to textual form in light of the distinction between *maanso* and *hees*, I see interesting potential similarities with the concept of autonomy of Western tonal art music discussed by D. Clarke (1996). Clarke defines musical autonomy as "the notion of music emancipated from the service of song, dance or ritual, and thus able to be apostrophised as something possessing an essence and objectivity of its own" (14). Within this essence and objectivity, meaning is manifest through the "internal discursive process" (*idem*), an idea he derives from what he terms music's *discursive function*, which he in turn bases on the famous *poetic function* of language proposed by Roman Jakobson, whose fundamental notion is summed up in his famous *scriptum* (1960:358): "The poetic function projects the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection into the axis of combination." In this way a piece of music (Clarke 1996:16)

> might evoke relationships *in absentia* with similar material from other work . . . . But through the more powerful rhetoric of its internal discursive processes, the work claims this dimension of significance for itself as part of the temporal unfolding of its own structure. Paradigmatic relationships now draw their significance primarily from within the work, and only secondarily from within a broader stylistic vocabulary.

I suggest that in Somali *maanso* poetry it is possible that a similar process is found. Here the broader stylistic vocabulary is the language of poetry: the metrical and alliterative language and the use of imagery specific to the pastoralist way of life and its associated meanings. Within a specific *maanso* poem, however, these stylistic requirements are not simply followed because they must be, but are appropriated by the poet and used aesthetically to the extent that the "paradigmatic relationships now draw their significance primarily from within the work" (*idem*). This conception also sums up the way I have described language as being used in Qaasim's poem (Orwin 2000). Taking this line of thought further, Clarke presents the internal discursive process as part of the autonomy of music. Is it possible that the presence of the "internal discursive process" in Somali *maanso* poetry is such that we may say similar things of it, especially since it is performed away from the service of any particular activity such as those to which *heeso* are performed? Note here the use of the word *perform*, since *maanso* poems must be understood as being originally composed within a specific context from which they derive their "sense of the immediate and the relevant" (Said S. S. 1982:58, quoted above). In other words, *maanso* poems may have a quality of autonomy similar to that of Western tonal music.

The attribution of autonomy is not to deny the essential link with the social, political (in the widest sense of the word), and cultural context in which any *maanso* poem is *composed* (a point made by Clarke in relation to music also; see 1996:17). Rather, autonomy is a quality inherent in a *maanso* poem, a quality that allows it to potentially transcend (to use Said's term) both the original context of its composition and the related context-specific expectations of listeners who are present at the time and place of its original composition and performance. In order for such transcendence to take place, the *maanso* poem needs to be a self-contained entity, in other words a definitive text. I do not wish to push the analogy with autonomy in Western tonal music too far since the performers of this music unquestionably bring an affective contribution to their performance, and the writing of a score is important in both the process and presentation of the composition of much of this music (see below on writing and Somali poetry). This discussion could be couched in more literary terms based on ideas from a number of sources, but there is not the space to go into this at present. I bring these thoughts on autonomy into the discussion because music is a heard form of cultural expression, as is Somali poetry, and I feel that pursuing such possible similarities, in the spirit of the AHRB Centre's Literature and Performance workshops, may help us toward a better understanding.

The Development of Modern *Hees*

I have mentioned modern *hees* in this discussion, along with its somewhat ambiguous situation relative to the *maanso* versus *hees* categorization. Modern *hees* developed from the *heello* type of poetry, which itself developed out of *belwo*. The history of the *belwo* and the *heello* has been extensively treated by John William Johnson (1974), who discusses the important influences on the development of the *heello*. First, there was the urban setting in which it was performed and appreciated, a setting furthermore that saw men and women join together to perform and enjoy the poems, something frowned upon by some who in turn composed poetry against the new form (see, for example, *The Evils of the Balwo* in Andrzejewski and Lewis 1964:151-53). However, the form proved particularly popular and, after initially being mostly love poetry, it began to reflect the political aspirations of the younger generation of urban Somalis; in the 1950s the *heello* became the main vehicle for political comment in the struggle for independence. Its popularity was also enhanced by the fact that

this poetry was performed to the new strains of Somali instrumental music[24] and was communicated through the new medium of radio. Remember that instrumental music had not been used by the pastoralists, apart from the use of (often makeshift) drums.[25] The *heello* was thus a type of poetry that was performed in a novel manner, became the preserve of the younger generation, and to an extent shared *hees* characteristics. However, the lyrics were formulated by known composers and could not be changed; thus, from the "textual" point of view, this poetry displays characteristics of *maanso*. As the *heello* developed into modern *hees*, different meters were used by poets, including non-prestigious meters of traditional *hees*, work songs, and dance songs. Maxamed Xaaji Dhamac "Gaarriye," for example, used the meter of a children's song, *maroodi cadhoole* ("Elephant with Tusks"), in a poem on the very serious topic of nuclear weapons and the cold war.[26] Despite these traditional *hees*-like stylistic features, the poems can be long and are often carefully crafted to the extent that they display the qualities of the "internal discursive process" mentioned in the previous section. Thus we see in modern *hees*, along with certain characteristics of traditional *hees*, the strong presence of characteristics of *maanso*. The features that have led me to assume the concept of definitive text in *maanso* are all present, and so one may conclude that the idea of definitive text is as much a concept associated with modern *hees* as it is with types of poetry recognized as *maanso* before the development of modern *hees*. The fact that modern *hees* demonstrates a multifaceted identity leads us to understand the somewhat varying way in which it has been categorized by others, as mentioned in the literature review above.

Use of Writing in Somali Poetry

The use of writing in the composition and publication of Somali poetry is a relatively recent phenomenon. Although the language was first written in an official script only in 1972, a number of people, both Somalis

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[24] This new vehicle had developed quickly after the initial impetus of the founder of modern Somali instrumental music, Cabdullaahi Qarshe (see Abdirahman 2001).

[25] In the central and coastal regions of the Somali territories the *shareero* had been, and continues to be, employed (see Giannattasio 1988:160).

[26] See Orwin and Maxamed 1997:95-96 for details of this metrical pattern and an extract of another modern *hees* by Xassan Cilmi.

and non-Somalis, had used writing prior to this time. I shall not present a history of the use of writing in Somali here, but rather describe instances of the way in which it has been and continues to be employed both in transcription and in composition by Somalis.

One of the first books to appear following the adoption of the official writing system was the collection of poems composed by Sayyid Maxamed Cabdulle Xasan and published by Sheekh Jaamac Cumar Ciise (Jaamac 1974). Prior to the publication of the book, Sheekh Jaamac had spent some 20 years collecting and transcribing the poem texts from a number of sources, all of which are listed in the volume (see xiv-xv). What is interesting from our perspective is that there seemed to be no notion that writing the poems down implied a loss of any sort. That is to say, the transcription was something that was not in any way problematic for the collector:[27] the poems were there, the people who knew the poems knew the definitive texts, and these could then simply be transformed from "oral definitive texts" into "written definitive texts." The introspection and thought that have, quite rightly, gone into Western academe's consideration of what it is to transcribe and how to properly transcribe was simply not an issue in this case. This is a particularly interesting example in that Sheekh Jaamac, although highly educated inside his own culture, had no Western-style education and came into contact with Western scholarship through his encounter with the anthropologist I. M. Lewis.[28] The transcription of poems

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[27] As he mentions in his book, he originally wrote them down using the Arabic alphabet, and it was in 1972-73, with the help of Axmed Faarax Cali "Idaajaa," that they were rendered in the new Somali script.

[28] Lewis wrote of this encounter (1999: "Afterword," vi-vii):

One of my most fruitful encounters was with Aw Jama Umar Ise, who has become the justly celebrated oral historian of Sayyid Mohammed Abdile Hassan and his poetry (Ise 1974 [=Jaamac 1974]). When I first met him in Las Anod District in the 1950s, Aw Jama was a typical Somali "bush" *wadaad*, an itinerant sheikh of a somewhat fundamentalist disposition and extremely suspicious of me and my activities, moving as I did among the Dulbahante nomads, seeking information about their customs and institutions and writing down their genealogies. Like most un-Westernised Somalis whom I met, his initial assumption was that I was a British spy, and I found him somewhat menacing in early encounters I had with him. Some years later I met Sheikh Jama in Mogadishu and discovered that he had become a self-taught oral historian and was busy collecting the poetry of Sayyid Mohammed Abdile Hassan having received encouragement and equipment (a tape-recorder) from the much-respected commander of the Somali police force, General Mohammed Abshir (later imprisoned by his arch rival, President Siyad, and eventually one of the leaders of the Somali Salvation Democratic Front in the North Eastern Regions).

composed "orally" is something that also happens today, and I have met a number of poets, both old and young, who, although they compose their poems "orally," see nothing wrong in the writing down of these poems. We may see this attitude as an indication of their conception of the poem as a definitive text independent of the medium through which the poem may be communicated: it is essentially the same artifact whether heard or read, spoken or written.

This independence of medium is something that is also evident in the way some people compose their poetry. Maxamed Ibraahim Warsame "Hadraawi," perhaps the most well known and appreciated of living poets, always uses writing in the composition process, but still his poems, like all others, are *heard* by Somalis, not read. What is more, he does not remember the poems in his head, but reads them when performing them. This was also the case with Cabdulqaadir Xaaji Cali Xaaji Axmed,[29] who used writing in the composition of some of his poems. His poem *Samadoon* (see above) was one that I asked him about when I was translating it with his help (Orwin 2001a). He said that he had the idea for the poem after waking up one morning and that some of the imagery and general form of the poem were there; he then went on to use writing in composing the poem. The writing process included editing as he went along and after its completion. This editing process is well recognized in the "oral" composition process of *maanso* poetry. Another young poet, Cali Mooge Geeddi, told me in Djibouti in the summer of 1995 that when he had composed a poem he would recite it first to his wife, who would comment on it before he made it public. Although a young poet, he did not use writing in the composition process at all. What is interesting is that the forms of poetry composed with writing and those composed orally are essentially not different from one another. It is true that Hadraawi and other modern poets such as Maxamed Xaashi Dhamac "Gaarriye" did and still do use innovative forms in their poetry, particularly modern *hees*, but this is not something associated with writing; rather I suggest it is the product of the development of the modern *hees* as a form in its own right. The only possible sign of the impact of

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Aw Jama explained to me that he had closely observed my ethnographic activities and, deciding that I was harmless, he had concluded that what I was doing was worthwhile, but could be done better by a native Somali speaker with knowledge of the religious background. I had thus inadvertently made a convert and we became friends and colleagues.

[29] A gifted young poet, Cabdulqaadir was a good friend and a patient teacher to me, for which I am grateful. Sadly, he died at the end of 2001.

writing in composition that I can see is the length of some of Hadraawi's recent poems. *Dabahuwan*, for example, is 803 lines long.[30] To summarize, then, we see that writing has had an impact on the practice of poetry of a few people and on the fact that "oral" poems can be written down, which "protects" them from the vagaries of human memory.[31]

We can see from this brief discussion that the use of writing has slipped into the overall practice of Somali *maanso* poetry unobtrusively. I suggest that this is a reflection of the concept of the definitive text. The Somalis already had this concept prior to the use of writing, and, as the concept is one that is not dependent on medium of communication, it allowed for writing to be easily adopted as simply another vehicle for the definitive text.

Conclusion

In this brief article I have presented arguments based on the way Somalis view their poetry. I hope to have established the presence of the concept of definitive text in Somali attitudes toward *maanso* poetry. I have looked at the extratextual attitudes toward *maanso* in contrast to those toward traditional *hees*. I have also presented, albeit very briefly, ideas pertaining to intratextual characteristics that support the concept of definitive text. These ideas have then been linked to the development of *heello* and modern *hees* and the use of writing in Somali poetry. By bringing in comparisons from Clarke's work on autonomy in Western tonal music, I hope to have shown that the idea of definitive text may be considered from a wider perspective than just the Somali and that comparative work may help to bring a deeper understanding of the creative use of language in performed verbal art, which is one of the aims of the Literature and Performance research project to which this article aims to be a contribution.

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[30] The text of this poem can be found at: www.aftahan.com/hadraawi/dabahuwan.htm.

[31] The act of writing, of course, does not legitimize a *maanso* text in its own right. The transcriber, just like the reciter, must be sure of the text he or she is writing down. Andrzejewski and Lewis, two very careful and trustworthy scholars, recognized the possibility that the texts they published might, upon further research, prove not to be recognized as definitive when they observed (1964:46): "Although great care has been taken in obtaining reliable versions, we make no claim that the texts given in this book should be considered as authoritative."

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My Mother Has A Television, Does Yours?
Transformation and Secularization
in an Ewe Funeral Drum Tradition
**eCompanion at www.oraltradition.org*

James Burns

This study addresses tradition and change within the funeral music and funeral culture in the town of Dzodze located in southeastern Ghana. Dzodze is located in the heart of the southern Ewe cultural area in Ghana, an area extending approximately east to west from the Volta Lake to Aflao on the Togo boarder, and north from the coast to Avenor and Hevi. Dzodze is an autonomous *duko* (city/state), located to the north of the Anlo, the largest *duko* in the region, with whom they share many cultural features.

In 1995, I was introduced to the Tagborlo family, an important family of drummers, singers, and dancers in Dzodze. I apprenticed with them as a drummer, joining them in playing at numerous funerals as well as ceremonies for the Yeve religious shrine for a period of nearly three years.[1] It was with this family that I learned the music of Agbadza-Ageshe, an important genre of funeral music. As I began studying the *vugbewo* [2] (drum language patterns) of the master drum, I was surprised to find that many of the phrases referred to things or events from contemporary life. Several of the *vugbewo* referred to really vulgar sexual rhymes/sayings, causing shock or embarrassment when I asked the meanings from the Western-educated Ewe who were assisting me with the translations. Looking at all of this, I

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[1] The initial research for this project was carried out from 1995-97 and again from 2000-01.

[2] *Vugbe* (plural *vugbewo*) literally means drum language or drum voice. It refers to the patterns played on the master drum and "answered" by the supporting drums. Some of these patterns correspond to phrases in the Ewe language; however, some of them have no meaning and yet are still called *vugbe*. See further the note on orthography at the end of this article.

became interested in the ways in which Ewe drummers had modified the traditional drumming handed down to them from their forefathers.

With these questions in mind, I embarked upon a three-month period of fieldwork in Dzodze during the summer of 2003.[3] I interviewed several members of the Tagborlo family as well as respected drummers and elders from several areas within Dzodze. My findings reveal new aspects of transformations that occur within a tradition that have not yet been given much attention by scholars. One article that has been useful as a starting place for my research concerns aspects of tradition and change in Yoruba culture. In a study of continuities and changes between Yoruba Fuji music and Oriki praise poetry, Karin Barber and Christopher Waterman (1995) provide a framework for looking at how globalization has influenced contemporary Fuji music by positing the traditional Oriki as a representation of "deep" Yoruba tradition. They propose that Yoruba artists have attempted to broaden their horizons and bring foreign influences into their work by transforming the meanings to suit local styles, all for the purpose of increasing their prestige as artists through the introduction of innovative stylistic devices. I have made some connections with their study, but have also tried to emphasize connections with African-American musical and cultural practices to demonstrate that while surface features like drum language texts may change through time, certain structural principles remain constant. Additionally, the Ewe have not transferred their music to Western instruments nor evolved neo-traditional music forms like *Fuji*, a genre that relies on the new sound created by using microphones to amplify or distort acoustic percussion for the production of new rhythmic patterns. Ewe music continues to use acoustic drums accompanied by a chorus of bells, shakers, and hand claps, and, while new <u>vugbe</u> are constantly being developed, the underlying rhythmical framework has remained the same.

This study begins by looking at the nature of change in Ewe society and how recent changes have affected the musical culture of Dzodze. The Tagborlo family is then introduced so that the reader can conceptualize the ways in which tradition is passed down and maintained as well as changed. Then it looks in detail at the evolution of *Agbadza-Ageshe* from earlier styles of *Agbadza* with the aim of setting the stage for specific developments brought by Kodzo Tagborlo in the *Ageshe* style of *Agbadza*. Finally, by looking at examples from the drum language texts that Kodzo Tagborlo

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[3] The research carried out during the summer of 2003 was partially supported with the generous assistance of an AHRB (Arts and Humanities Research Board) fieldwork grant. The results were presented at an AHRB conference on Literature and Performance entitled "Exporting and Recreating Performance," held May 12-14, 2003.

composed and by comparing them with similar themes drawn from differing genres, I strive to show the limits and extent of the processes of transformation in the genre of Agbadza music.[4]

Transformations in Contemporary Dzodze Society

Dzodze, like all *duko* in Eweland, is undergoing a period of transition between traditional beliefs and practices and those associated with Christianity and Western education. This combination of Christianity and Western education has provided the greatest impetus for change in Ewe society over the last century. John S. Mbiti has written about the link between these two forces in Africa in the following terms (1969:212): "Christianity from Western Europe and North America came to Africa not simply carrying the Gospel of the New Testament, but as a complete phenomenon made up of western culture, politics, science, technology, medicine, schools, and new methods of conquering nature." This is also a major theme of Birgit Meyer's recent study (1999) of Ewe Christianity, namely that the Ewe experience with modernity has been structured by the Christian duality between good (Christian, modern, advanced) and evil (traditional religion, primitive, backward). In this light, traditional drumming and dancing, and those who participate in them, are seen as backward or heathen, and one of the first requirements for admission into a Christian church is the eschewal of such activities (9-10, 24). In this section I want to highlight these processes of change and examine their effects on Dzodze music culture.

Before looking in detail at some of these transformations, something must be said about the nature of change in Dzodze Ewe society. Barber and Waterman (1995) have critiqued accepted notions of indigenous versus imported, arguing that change has always been present in Yoruba tradition, and that elements that might seem modern or postmodern in Fuji music were already present in Oriki. Among the elements they mention, inter-textuality and the prevalence of quotation and mixing of genres are relevant to *Ageshe* music (discussed below), but for the present I want to situate the changes brought by Westernization (or creolization, see Barber and Waterman 1995:240-41) within the continuum of change in Dzodze Ewe society.

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[4] The reader is also referred to the eCompanion to this article at www.oraltradition.org/ecompanion, which contains maps, photographs, music transcriptions, and audio examples.

Many elements in Dzodze society that were introduced long ago have become accepted in Dzodze culture. One example of how the "foreign" is "localized" is the case of *Afa* divination, which is believed to have come from the Yoruba system of *Ifa* divination at some point in the distant past.[5] *Afa* is a divination system that incorporates 16 basic major signs and 240 minor signs based on combinations of the 16 basic signs. Each of these major and minor signs has its own name, as well as a collection of texts— songs, poetry, myths, and other associated forms of oral literature. A person who consults a priest of *Afa*/*Ifa* will be given one of these signs through a process of divination, and these texts will be used to help isolate a solution to the problem or question that brought about the consultation.

Afa as practiced in Dzodze, and indeed throughout Eweland, has maintained certain structural equivalences with Yoruba *Ifa*. The names of the 256 signs are virtually the same, as well as certain ritual items—the chain used for divination and the tablet used to write the sign that is found through divination. Additionally, the philosophy and methodology of the two systems are similar—a client comes to ask about a problem or misfortune, and through divination she or he is given a sign and a prescription for certain sacrifices or taboos as well as specific rituals to be carried out to rectify the problem. There is an important difference, however, and that is that the texts themselves and their corresponding interpretations are completely different. When one compares the texts given to researchers from Yoruba informants in Nigeria with those given by Ewe informants in Togo and Ewe informants in Dzodze, they are all different.[6] In other words, it is a case of the Ewe taking certain outside elements and "creolizing" them to fit in with local religious and aesthetic needs.

Christianity and Western education (the two are closely linked) have undergone a similar process. Meyer (1999) argues forcefully that in regard to Christianity, the Ewe have modified certain ideas and practices to fulfill their need for protection and healing from the effects of evil spirit forces. Christianity was introduced to the Ewe by German missionaries in 1847 (Meyer 1999:5). Essentially what happened is that the Christianity propagated by the missionaries and inherited by Ewe church leaders emphasized that Ewe traditional religious beliefs were merely superstition and had no basis in fact. Eventually, however, many Ewe felt that

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[5] Interviews with Mishiso Tagborlo (2002), Kamasa Adegbedzi (2002), and Hotsu Vidzreku with Peter Atsu Dzila (2002).

[6] I base this assertion on a comparison of texts recorded by Bascom (1969) in Nigeria, Pazzi (1981) in Togo, and my own research in Dzodze.

Christianity should take on the spirit forces that they continued to believe were very real and constituted the main cause of misfortune in their society. As a result, many schisms arose within the once-unified Ewe Christian movement, and people increasingly began to join churches that emphasized various forms of Christian faith healing, such as speaking in tongues, exorcism of demons, or syncretism with traditional religion (Meyer 1999).

It is apparent that, like the Yoruba, the Ewe have a long history of incorporating various "foreign" elements into their culture, and that the new meanings these elements eventually take on reveal that the Ewe are more than passive recipients of these new changes. I would argue, however, that the nature and extent of the transformations brought on by Christianity and Western education far exceed previous changes or upheavals in Ewe society. *Afa* divination, for example, came into an Ewe culture already familiar with spirits, destiny, and divination, and therefore did not require any significant metaphysical or ontological changes. In contrast, the religious and secular ideas brought by the Europeans were bound up with colonialism and its efforts at building a subservient class of Christian, educated elites. The resulting transformations have affected all spectrums of Ewe life from work, health, recreation, and marriage to the performance of funerals and ceremonies. Bearing all of this in mind, I will now enumerate and describe specific changes in greater detail.

Based on my research, as well as interaction with the people of Dzodze, I estimate that of the entire population about 25% practice Christianity exclusively, 25% practice traditional religion exclusively,[7] and 50% mediate between Christian and traditional modes of worship. Sometimes Dzodze Christians refer to this last group as people who "go to church on Sunday and the shrine on Monday."[8] In fact, this group is made up of people who attend church occasionally as well as people who do not attend church but are not initiated into any shrine. Most members of this third group continue to practice ancestral customs and consult diviners in times of sickness or in cases of unexplained deaths. For ease of reference I will use the terms Christian, Traditionalist, and Syncretist to refer to these sub-groups of people.

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[7] Exclusive traditionalist implies someone actually initiated into a shrine, not one who simply goes for consultations or occasionally attends shrine activities. Exclusive Christian implies someone who not only goes to church but eschews all forms of traditional worship.

[8] Meyer quotes a similar phrase given by her informants (1999:106): "yesu vida dzo vide" ("a little bit of Jesus and a little bit of magic").

Each group has a different attitude toward traditional music and dancing, as well as appropriate procedures for carrying out a funeral. To some extent the beliefs of the deceased are the most important factor in determining the funeral proceedings, but the extended family also will try to ensure that the funeral meets the expectations of the majority of family members. Traditionalists perform the shrine dances as well as any funeral rituals required by that shrine. Many Dzodze Ewe do not feel comfortable attending these dances, but friends of the deceased in the Syncretist group might attend some of them. The Syncretist group generally performs the *Agbadza* dance at their funerals. Traditionalists as well as Syncretists both patronize *Agbadza*, making it the most widely attended music style. Christians have their own church hymns that they sing during service and at funerals. Within the Christian group, a small minority might attend an *Agbadza* dance if they knew the deceased, but most Christians do not attend traditional music events. As mentioned above, Christian church leaders, both Ewe and European, have emphasized the need to avoid non-Christian forms of music and dancing, but in the end it is up to the individual to decide which aspects of Ewe culture are evil or benign.

With the establishment in 1963 of the Dzodze-Penyi Secondary School, Dzodze now has a comprehensive educational system through the secondary level. Although education is not free, most children in Dzodze attend school at least to the junior secondary school level. It too has been a standard bearer for Western culture. All of the schools are Christian in orientation—many are set up and run by the Roman Catholic mission. While religious textbooks attempt to portray Islam and the traditional religions in a neutral light, no child would feel comfortable admitting involvement in a shrine. In fact, many children who were given shrine names at birth change to a Christian name when they begin school.

Additionally, education tends to orient children toward white-collar careers and away from the customary types of work found in the village. This has resulted in the migration of a great percentage of educated Ewe to the capital, Accra, or other urban centers in search of work. In this climate of "progress" musicians are seen as idlers, and are derided by their educated peers.

Most importantly, education, and the educated governmental ministers who set national cultural policy, have defined which elements of "culture" are appropriate for preservation and study. For that reason, when school children learn traditional music in school, they learn the music that has little or no association with indigenous religion. Therefore the secular *Agbadza*

dance has become the biggest representative of southern Ewe culture in Ghana.

Apart from Western ideas, another important source of transformation is what Daniel Avorgbedor (1998) describes as the "rural-urban interchange" between Ewe living in the villages and those who have moved to urban centers to seek work. In his article, which deals with the Anlo Ewe but is applicable to the situation in Dzodze, he lays out the contributions each side brings to the shared musical culture (396). The village is seen as a repository of musical knowledge that is drawn upon by the music groups that are put together in the city by Ewe immigrants. These groups are formed to allow the urban Ewe to continue the music and dancing that they enjoyed in the villages. Initially, all of the musical knowledge comes from the village, but soon an important change occurs.

The music groups formed by these urbanites are composed of Ewe from several different villages, as well as some non-Ewe, who join the group because they enjoy the music. Thus these urban groups draw on dances, songs, and _vugbewo_ (drum language patterns) from many different areas and ethnic groups. Consequently, the urban musicians will often have a greater breadth of musical knowledge than the village groups.

As pointed out by Avorgbedor, funerals provide an important link between the village and urban groups. When someone from the city group dies, the group performs in the city and then brings the corpse home to the village for burial. They then perform in the village, giving the local musicians a chance to evaluate their playing, and importantly, to pick up new ideas and incorporate them into the village music repertoire (_ibid_.:393-94). Through this very means, Dzodze has incorporated the _Kpanlogo_ dance, from the Ga ethnic group whose hometown is Accra, and modified the drumming parts and songs to conform to their own aesthetic needs.

Another aspect of this relationship that needs attention is the dichotomy that has emerged between "city" and "village," not only in Ewe culture but also within virtually all of the ethnic groups in Ghana. On one hand the village can be seen as the storehouse of culture, but often the village and those who remain there are looked at disdainfully for their perceived simplicity or backwardness. One of the most stinging reproaches one can convey to a person is to call him or her a "villager," an insult that can even be heard in the village proffered by one villager to another! In this sense a "villager" connotes someone whose "eyes aren't open," in other words a person who has not gone to school or received any formal education. In contemporary Ewe culture people from the village are often seen as country bumpkins who have never experienced modern life.

The processes of transformation mentioned above, which are only part of the influences affecting contemporary Dzodze, highlight the religious, social, and musical changes that have led to the development of new *vugbewo* in Dzodze *Agbadza* music. Parallel with the movement away from modes of traditional religious worship, changes in world outlook brought about by education, and influences from urban popular culture, Dzodze musicians have opened up a floodgate of creativity and injected it into the traditional rhythms they inherited from their forebears. I now describe this process in detail by looking at the innovations produced by the Tagborlo family.

The Tagborlo Family—A Family Tradition

Tagborlo metsona hliha o, hliha le tsihe biam.
The bare head can't carry a rough stone; it needs a padded cushion.

The Tagborlo surname is derived from the above proverb and connotes a difficult job that requires some assistance. It turns out to be apropos of the way in which the current *azaguno* ("chief drummer")[9] Kodzo Tagborlo has drawn on the unique musical heritage of this large extended family in creating a new style of *Agbadza* music—*Ageshe*.

The Tagborlo family has a long history of music. Their oldest known ancestor, Togbui Avoklia, who was among the elders who led the migration from Notsie[10] to Dzodze sometime in the late seventeenth century, was a well-known musician. According to legend, his son Tovo was born with a small drumstick in his hand and went on to become a great drummer (interview with M. Tagborlo 2002). Each succeeding generation all the way to the present day has boasted Tagborlo ancestors who were famous drummers, dancers, and singers. Elders in Dzodze today remember Togbui Tagborlo, the father of the present family head Mishiso Tagborlo and the source of the Tagborlo name, as the most accomplished drummer in the area.

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[9] The Ewe term *azaguno* is often translated as "master drummer," but I prefer to use "chief drummer" because there can be many drummers who play the master drum, but out of them one will be the acknowledged leader.

[10] Notsie is a city in Togo from which all Ewes in Ghana trace their origin. Oral traditions from the various Ewe *duko* mention a wicked King Agokoli, whose tyranny caused the townspeople to escape from the walled city that he had them build and to migrate to their present homes in Ghana sometime in the late seventeenth century.

He was known to be conversant in many genres of music, sacred and secular, a tradition that continues today.[11]

Looking at the situation today, Mishiso Tagborlo, now in his nineties, has had 36 children, virtually all of whom are renowned musicians. His son Lucas is a drummer for a dance group at the National Theatre in Accra. Lucas and another son, Kofitse, a well-known *heno*[12] ("song leader"), are leaders of Novisi, an important urban music group located in Nima, an area in Accra. His daughter Dzenko is an important singer in Dzodze, and is a member of several musical groups. His son Kodzo is the most talented of all his children, and has taken over as *azaguno* for the Tagborlo family, and by extension the division[13] of *Apeyeme* in Dzodze. It is Kodzo who has served as my teacher of Dzodze music and culture and has been my primary informant.

The most unusual aspect of this musical heritage is that I was the first person to receive active instruction in music. Throughout their history no one was taught to drum, dance, or sing—they were born with the talent. The Ewe believe in something akin to reincarnation that they call *amedzodzo*. The essence of this belief is that when people die their talents, mannerisms, and general appearance are inherited by succeeding generations. This idea is similar to the way we talk about genes in the West. For the Ewe this means that if you are meant to drum you will be born with it; it is not something that is taught or learned.

I observed this feature firsthand in Kodzo's son Sosro, whom I first met when he was nine years old. At that time he was already an accomplished drummer, able to correct mistakes in my playing when his father was not around. Now, at age 17, he is a master drummer able to play better than many adults. He was able to reach this point without ever being taught *anything* by his father! It is believed that Sosro inherited his talent from Togbui Tagborlo, who passed away before he was born.[14] Recently I

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[11] Interviews with Kodzo Tagborlo, Mishiso Tagborlo, Aholi Woname, and Kamasa Adegbedzi.

[12] *Heno* is a term for the song leader in a group, Ewe music groups having a song leader and then a chorus who sings the response. It also implies a person who composes his or her own songs.

[13] I am translating the Ewe term *to*, denoting an area within the town settled and inhabited by certain patrilineal groupings, with the term "division," which reflects Ewe habits of use when speaking English.

[14] Interviews with Kodzo Tagborlo and Sosro Tagborlo.

observed King, a two-year-old toddler who is the great-grandson of Mishiso Tagborlo and is just beginning to walk and learn his first words of Ewe, pick up drumming sticks and play patterns on the drum. The most amazing aspect of his performance is that he is able to vocalize the patterns using the drum syllables used by Ewe drummers as he plays. All of this adds a certain mystery to Ewe music, in that the complex drum language patterns used in each musical genre are apparently learned only through observation and without any instruction.

In the late 1970s Kodzo and his brother Lucas went to a funeral at a village outside the Ewe town of Agbozume, and there they first heard the *Ageshe* rhythm. Inspired by the new sound, they returned to Dzodze and (re)created it.[15] Essentially they took the rhythmic foundation and composed their own drum language patterns to go along with it. It is these *vugbewo* that form the basis of this study.

This is where the advantage of the large Tagborlo clan comes into play. Unlike other divisional music groups that are composed of people from different families, the Tagborlo family, in addition to the numerous children and grandchildren of Mishiso Tagborlo, also draws on the other descendants of their ancestor Tagborlo; all together they number at least 100 drummers, dancers, and singers. This vast reserve of talent was drawn upon by Kodzo to create new *vugbewo* of a scale and complexity never before seen.

With the departure of his brothers Lucas and Kofitse for Accra, the type of rural-urban connection described by Avorgbedor was established, and Kodzo was able to draw on ideas from Accra to complement his own creations. Through the establishment of a Dzodze style of Ageshe, Kodzo has become a renowned drummer throughout southern Eweland and in Accra. Having looked at the environment of change and the musical heritage that led to the creation of the new style of drum language, I now turn to the music of *Agbadza*.

The Development and Style of *Agbadza Ageshe*

Agbadza has a long history in Dzodze and throughout Eweland. Nissio Fiagbedzi (1977:51-61) classifies it as having been created during the early settlement period after they arrived from Notsie, a period he defines as

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[15] Interviews with Mishiso Tagborlo, Kodzo Tagborlo, and Lucas Tagborlo.

1650-1886. This was confirmed for me by the Dzodze elders I interviewed.[16] In Dzodze it is said that *Atrikpui* was the foundation of *Agbadza*, and is considered the oldest style of *Agbadza*. *Atrikpui* was originally a war dance, which Fiagbedzi believes was developed in Anlo after the 1680 war with Dahomey (*ibid*.:57-58). Like many *Atrikpui* songs, the following one refers to war:

> *Afika dzi miaƒe viwo woto woyia adzogbe? emo ee.*
> *Afika dzi miaƒe viwo woto woyia adzogbe?*
> *Amekae du 'zanu hegbe aγameyi a?*
> *Amekae be emo menyo o?*
>
> Which path did our sons take to their fate? Which road?
> Which path did our sons take to their fate?
> Who ate the food and refused to go to war?
> Who says that the road is not good?

In Dzodze, *Atrikpui* is now played as part of *Agbadza*, and is referred to as *Tovi Agbadza*, or uncle's *Agbadza*. Played at a medium tempo of about 120 beats per minute, this is the style of *Agbadza* that was played before *Ageshe*. The elder master-drummers I interviewed in Dzodze feel that at some point after the British came in 1874, *Atrikpui* ceased to be performed as a war dance due to the cessation of ethnic conflicts brought on by the British colonial occupation.[17] It is still played as a folkloric war dance in the Anlo Ewe state to the south. It seems likely that at one time *Agbadza* and *Atrikpui* were separate dances with differing *γugbewo*, but as *Atrikpui* lost its original context and *Agbadza*'s popularity rose, the *γugbewo* became merged into one. In Dzodze, as in many towns in southern Eweland, the *Agbadza/Atrikpui* dance has been eclipsed by *Ageshe*.

Another style of *Agbadza*, *Akpoka*, is also very ancient. Fiagbedzi (1977:56) classifies it as originating in the same period as *Atrikpui*. *Akpoka* has a slow tempo ranging from 78-90 beats per minute, and is played at the opening of each *Agbadza* performance for the old people to dance. These songs also have many war references. The following song, available for preview in the eCompanion to this article, refers to a person who advises another not to accompany him to war because he is not strong enough:

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[16] Interviews with Mishiso Tagborlo, Aholi Woname, Kodzo Tagborlo, Kamasa Adegbedzi, Hotsu Vidzreku with Peter Atsu Dzila, and Zogli Amegbleto.

[17] Interviews with Mishiso Tagborlo, Aholi Woname, Kodzo Tagborlo, Kamasa Adegbedzi, Hotsu Vidzreku with Peter Atsu Dzila, and Zogli Amegbleto.

Mebe mayi wobe nyemegayi o nuka nuti?
Agbeto fle nu mefle agbe le ku asi o.
Avutsu wo da mele kpo le dzogbe o.
Meyina Xogbonu, kalewoe menyo o
  meyina Xogbonu.

I say I am going (to fight) and you say I shouldn't go—why?
The living may buy things but they can't buy life from Death.
The dog can bark but he can't catch a leopard in the bush.
I am going to the fight[18] (alone), foolhardiness isn't good, I am going to
  the fight.

Akpoka, like *Atrikpui*, has also been mixed with other genres of music in Dzodze. In this case, it uses many *vugbewo* and songs from the slow *Afa* dance. Originally slow *Afa* was performed for rites of the *Afa* shrine, and as discussed above, many of the *Afa* signs have their own songs. At some point in the past, *Afa* came to be played in secular contexts as well, for example at the starting of the *Agbadza* dance or at the opening of a recreational dance group's performance. Through time, *Afa* has come to have two forms—slow and fast—and the slow version has gradually been merged into *Akpoka* as they both share the same tempo and musical structure.[19]

The cases of *Atrikpui* and *Akpoka* highlight changes that have been brought on by the colonial experience and the introduction of Christianity. Transformations in performance context have resulted in the hybridization of these two dances. If Christianity continues to gain converts, it is possible that one day in the future the sacred genres of Ewe traditional religion will no longer be a prominent part of Ewe music.

For the most part, the *vugbewo* for both *Akpoka* and *Atrikpui* are not associated with any meanings in the Ewe language. They are simply phrases that use various combinations of the three drum sounds: bass, tone, and mute. These parts have recognizable sounds, and when called by the master drum, *agbobli*, are answered by one of the supporting drums, called *asivui*. Each pattern has its own response; thus it is essential that the master drummer and support drummers know and recognize common patterns. The

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[18] *Xogbonu* is actually the name of a town in Benin, known as Porto Novo, but often connotes a kind of dangerous place in contemporary Ewe song texts—a place one should not go because one is not ready or has not been initiated. I have translated it as "the fight" in line with the theme of the song.

[19] Interviews with Mishiso Tagborlo and Kodzo Tagborlo.

phrases, therefore, are usually short—occupying two or sometimes three bell cycles. This changed considerably in *Ageshe*.

It is interesting to contrast the tone of *Akpoka* and *Atrikpui* with that of *Ageshe*. The first two styles were created in the ancient past, a time of powerful warriors who used their great powers, physical and spiritual, to overcome their enemies. *Ageshe* was created in the 1970s, more than 200 years afterwards. Meanwhile, enormous changes are taking place in Ewe society. The gods that were powerful in the past have now largely been superseded by a new god, along with a new type of knowledge, and rituals that once held great power and significance are now falling out of use, replaced by a new mixture of ideas deriving from foreign sources as much as local ones.

Ageshe is the fastest style of *Agbadza*, performed at a tempo of 150-60 beats per minute. For the uninitiated the speed alone is overwhelming. The *vugbewo* are also quite different. Most have meanings in Ewe and extend several bell cycles, some more than ten cycles. This all requires a lot of coordination between the master and support drums, something Kodzo was able to work out with his family of drummers. I do not believe another drummer could have worked out complex phrases like these without that kind of family support. This first *vugbe* phrase is a prime example of the *Ageshe* style:

> *Ege metuna exo na adaba o.*
> *Ege metuna exo na adaba o,*
> *adaba li xoxoxo hafi ege va dzo.*
> *Gake kpekpe le ege asi wu adaba.*

> The beard can't tell stories to the eyelash.
> The beard can't tell stories to the eyelash,
> Because the eyelash was there long before the beard came.
> But it is the beard that grows thick and beautiful.

A comment on the old and the new, this drum language pattern represents the essence of the *Ageshe* style created by Kodzo. Using six bell cycles, it is a long and complicated pattern to work out. It also nicely sums up the innovations Kodzo created—many elders thought he was spoiling *Agbadza* when he first brought out *Ageshe*, but gradually the whole community accepted it, and it has grown thick and beautiful.

This next pattern is a type of sexual verse complete with onomatopoeia, not too dissimilar from a dirty limerick:

Kolo do supporta, ava do gakuku.
Kolo do supporta, ava do gakuku.
Bolo bolo dodzadza gedeme.
Alekea Mawu wo, wosi ami de to,
Za me míadogo kolo nuti gba gba gba za nado!

The vagina is wearing lingerie, the penis a hat.[20]
The vagina is wearing lingerie, the penis a hat.
An uncircumcised penis has to fight to get in.
But thankfully the Lord has prepared the vagina with oil.
Let us meet in the night, and the vagina skin goes bang bang bang, it's
    all over!

While these patterns are being played on the drums, a chorus of men and women chant the texts along with them—all at a funeral! Such language is considered vulgar by many older Ewe, who have expressed to me their belief that when they were growing up people would not use this type of language in public. They blame "the youth of today" for having lowered the standards of polite speech. In any case, it is also important to acknowledge the process of secularization that has transformed the sacred traditional music genres into new forms that resemble popular music with all of its openness to experimentation and its willingness to break social taboos and barriers.

    Musically, this pattern extends over ten bell cycles long, and therefore because of the speed and complexity is very difficult to follow and work out. Interestingly, this type of virtuosic phrase shares much in common with the "riffs" that played an important part in the evolution in the 1940s of bebop in jazz among African-Americans. A "riff" is a musical phrase that is played over a set of chord changes, and like the Ewe *vugbewo*, requires working out with members of the group who must harmonize with the soloist. At that time there was much serious competition between individual musicians and groups. The way to set yourself or your group above the rest was to develop a complicated "riff" that would blow away the competition. Interviewing Clyde Bernhardt, a pioneer musician of bebop, about the complicated "riffs" composed by Buster Smith, also a famous bebop saxophonist, Scott DeVeaux reports him saying the following (1997:191):

The other guys would have to harmonize with that, and if they didn't get the harmonic notes to every one of those things he made, they just [got] eliminated . . . and Buster would do that in a jam session, especially when

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[20] An uncircumcised penis apparently looks like it has a hat on according to Dzodze Ewe.

it got to be too many horns in there. He'd set some of them heavy riffs and the guys would just get their horns and go away and sit down.

Significantly, Kodzo often told me that many people could play the master drum, but to be considered a true *azaguno*, it was necessary to compose your own *vugbewo*.[21] When *Ageshe* is played at a funeral, there are often two *agbobli* master drums alternating phrases. During the final hour of the dance, drummers from different divisions within Dzodze, or even from outside, challenge the local group. Ewe master drummers pride themselves on their ability to sit and watch the *vugbewo* played by other groups, and then sit down and play them back on the spot. During a challenge, therefore, playing complicated *vugbewo* gives the local group an advantage because outside challengers have to be very fast in order to catch the phrases and play them back. I think this connection between "riffs" and *vugbewo* is an important example of the connection between African and African-American music.

Another type of "riff" used in *Ageshe* is what Henry Louis Gates, Jr. describes as a signifying riff. He cites the following quote by Ralph Ellison (Gates 1988:104-5):

> Back during the thirties members of the old Blue Devils Orchestra celebrated a certain robin by playing a lugubrious little tune called "They Picked Poor Robin." It was a jazz community joke, musically an extended "signifying riff" or melodic naming of a recurrent human situation, and was played to satirize some betrayal of faith or loss of love observed from the bandstand.

Signifying riffs allow musicians and cognoscenti to tease or make fun of a situation or a person without their knowledge. The following *vugbe* is a prime example of this strategy. It relates an incident in which a local pastor took someone's wife to be baptized at the riverside, and ended up seducing her:

> *Mawufe se ewoawo gbogblom be megamo*
> *Amesro o, megawo hasi o,*
> *Pastor fe home!*

> God's ten commandments say don't have sex with someone's wife,
> Don't engage in prostitution,
> But the pastor split the vagina!

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[21] Interview with Kodzo Tagborlo.

Kodzo said his inspiration for composing this pattern was the fact that Christians in Dzodze are always trying to claim the moral high ground. As a musician and practitioner of certain elements from the traditional religion,[22] he has been derided by members of the Christian community. Kodzo says this _vugbe_ allows him criticize their behavior, which seems to contradict their beliefs—thus the reference to the ten commandments. It is also another example of the continuity between Africa and the Diaspora: the secretive nature of the signifying riff in both areas allows marginalized groups to comment on the behavior of the elite to their face without their knowledge. Indeed many of the Christians who attend that pastor's church have rejected music like *Ageshe* and consequently would not understand the drum language.

The title of this study comes from another drum language pattern, which teases someone by stating "my mother has a television, does your mother have one?" When, presumably, the answer is no, the speaker retorts "get up and buy a round of drinks then!" It is not difficult to transport this scene to a schoolyard in America where a boy might boast of owning a Sony Playstation 2 as he teases another boy who does not have one, and this was created in a village that did not even have electricity at the time!

> *Televisi le danye asi, ele asiwo a?*
> *Tso yi sela gbo!*
>
> My mother has a television, does yours have one?
> Then get up and buy a round of drinks!

This type of phrase also seems reminiscent of another African-American tradition—the dozens. The dozens is a type of rhetorical game in which opponents try to out insult each other, usually by insulting the opponent's mother or family. The bystanders cheer both sides until one person is able to give an insult that is so original that it cannot be countered. In this type of game the audience plays an important role as the "judge" by responding favorably to especially original insults (see Gates 1988:68-70, 99-101). In the challenges that occur between Ewe master drummers, the audience plays the same role by favoring the drummer with the most original drum patterns.

The final pattern I want to discuss is from a Bob Marley song called "Kaya." Kodzo "sampled" the chorus from the song and put it into the *Ageshe* rhythm. The use of reggae "samples" like this one has given *Ageshe* the nickname *Agbadza* "reggae." It is interesting to compare the Western

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[22] Kodzo could be considered to be part of the Syncretist group discussed above.

post-modern aesthetic of sampling and allusions that are so much a part of our music, films, and T.V. shows with what Kodzo has done in his own music:

> Gotta have kaya now. Got to have kaya now.
> Got to have kaya now, because the rain is falling.

This sampling is also a feature of Fuji music as described by Barber and Waterman (1995). They give an example of a signature tune by Dr. Ayinde Barrister and his group that uses the melody from Malaika, a folk tune from Kenya that was made popular by Pete Seeger, Harry Belafonte, and Miriam Makeba (246-47). Although quoting from the works of other artists may well have been a part of African aesthetics before the arrival of Europeans, it must also be acknowledged that the scope of references now available has increased exponentially as globalization has flooded groups like the Yoruba and Ewe with material not only from other parts of Africa but also from the rest of the world, including the African Diaspora. Bob Marley's music is a prime example of this—he is probably the most popular musician in Africa and the lyrics of his songs adorn buses, shops, and residences.

The *vugbewo* presented here aim to show how the *Agbadza* funeral music has been affected by the encounter between the Ewe and the outside world. Unlike neo-folk traditions such as Fuji, the Ewe have not made use of new instruments or amplification. In fact, to an outside observer the surface structure of *Ageshe* is indistinguishable from the earlier styles like *Akpoka* or *Atrikpui*. It is at the level of the drum texts that the transformations can be seen, as Ewe musicians like Kodzo have spiced up the phrases by linking them to oral texts. The fact that *Ageshe* is a secular dance has also permitted excesses in the composition of many of these texts, especially the ones with sexual themes. The older sacred dances like *Afa* or *Yeve* have been resistant to these changes, and significantly the *vugbewo* are believed to have remained relatively stable throughout time.[23] Therefore it appears that secularization has also been an important influence in the composition process.

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[23] Interviews with Mishiso Tagborlo and Kodzo Tagborlo.

Tradition and Change in Dzodze *Agbadza*

Based on my interviews with older drummers in Dzodze, I would affirm that change has always been a part of their music.[24] Indeed, as described above, the mark of an *azaguno* is that he composes his own *vugbe* in addition to playing those already known. The fact that the *Ageshe* patterns are so different from the older ones attests to the change that Dzodze has undergone in the last 30 years.

When I asked the meaning of *Agbadza*, Kodzo told me it means "everyone's music" or "the people's music." He explained that unlike the shrine music or the music of the folkloric dance ensembles that are meant only for those members to participate in, *Agbadza* is for everyone. When I asked him how he felt about comments from certain elders that he was spoiling the music, he replied that most of the village funeral groups now play *Ageshe* using the *vugbewo* he created, and the music he created was his own inspiration.[25]

Ageshe is a prime example of transformations going on within a tradition. The context of playing the music at funerals has not changed, the instruments have not changed, and the rhythmic structure of the music is the same. The innovation therefore lies solely in the creation of new drum language patterns that are relevant to the times. The humor, music "samples," sexual jokes, and taunts present a snapshot of Dzodze at this moment, and form an interesting link between Ewe and African-American aesthetic devices. In the future other drummers will come to take over from Kodzo and they will bring their own *vugbe* to the music. Perhaps by then the patterns created by Kodzo will be out of date, and therefore no longer relevant to Dzodze culture. It will be interesting to see how this art form evolves in the next (re)creation. But in the meantime Dzodze is alight with the new sounds brought by Kodzo and the *Apeyeme Ageshe* group.

Binghamton University

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[24] Interviews with Mishiso Tagborlo, Aholi Woname, Kodzo Tagborlo, Kamasa Adegbedzi, Lucas Tagborlo, and Zogli Amegbleto.

[25] Interview with Kodzo Tagborlo.

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Interviews

Adegbedzi 2002

Kamasa Adegbedzi. Interviewed Thursday 4 July 2002 at his home in Afetefe, Dzodze, accompanied by Kodzo Tagborlo.

Amegbleto 2002

Zogli Amegbleto. Interviewed Tuesday 6 August 2002 at his home in Ablorme, Dzodze, accompanied by Kodzo Tagborlo.

K. Tagborlo 2002

Kodzo Tagborlo. Interviewed a) Friday 19 July 2002, b) Sunday 21 July 2002, c) Thursday 25 July 2002, d) Thursday 8 August; all at the Tagborlo home in Apeyeme, Dzodze.

L. Tagborlo 2002

Lucas Tagborlo. Interviewed Sunday 18 August 2002 at his home in Achimota, Accra.

M. Tagborlo 2002

Mishiso Tagborlo. Interviewed on Thursday 25 July 2002 at the Tagborlo home in Apeyeme, Dzodze, accompanied by Kodzo Tagborlo.

S. Tagborlo 2002

Sosro Tagborlo. Interviewed Saturday 17 August 2002 at my flat in Medina, Accra.

Vidzreku and Dzila 2002

Hotsu Vidzreku and Peter Atsu Dzila. Interviewed Tuesday July 9 2002 at their home in Fiagbedu, Dzodze, accompanied by Kodzo Tagborlo.

Woname 2002

Aholi Woname. Interviewed Thursday July 4 2002 at his home in Kpodeave, Dzodze, accompanied by Kodzo Tagborlo.

Note on Orthography

To make the Ewe texts included here easy to read, I have kept the use of diacritics to a minimum. Ewe is a tonal language, and the tones can often be marked after the vowels. However, I have not attempted to reproduce this quality here, as this paper focuses more on the symbolic value of the texts more than their representation. I use the following characters to depict certain unique sounds found in the Ewe language:

d̲ is pronounced with the tongue against the back of the teeth like a rolled "r"
v̲ is a bilabial "v"
f̲ is a bilabial f
x is an unvoiced "h" pronounced by lifting the tongue against the roof of
    the mouth
o̲ is pronounced like "aw" as in "saw"
e̲ is pronounced "eh" as in "let"

The Many Shapes of Medieval Chinese Plays: How Texts Are Transformed to Meet the Needs of Actors, Spectators, Censors, and Readers

Wilt L. Idema

When Voltaire's *L'Orphelin de la Chine* (1755) is mentioned nowadays in general histories of Western theater, it is not because of its eminent literary qualities, even though, like practically everything by Voltaire, the play is written with wit and flair. It is rather mentioned for its influence on one particular aspect of performance: costume. *L'Orphelin de la Chine* was in its own day an extremely popular play that was performed, in French and in translation, all over Europe by actors and actresses in "authentic costume." Until well into the eighteenth century, actors in tragedy performed all plays in a limited set of costumes, but in *L'Orphelin de la Chine* they tried to dress as Chinese—to the best of their knowledge. As with every change in performance practice, this daring innovation had its detractors at the time. One Dutch observer noted that the heavily perspiring performers of the Dutch version of Voltaire's tragedy in their oriental draperies looked more like "Armenian merchants" than anything Chinese (Hartnoll 1968:158-59, Worp 1908:268).

As is well known, Voltaire's *L'Orphelin de la Chine* was only one of the many eighteenth-century adaptations of the first Chinese play to be translated into a Western language, Ji Junxiang's (紀君祥) *Zhaoshi gu'er* (趙氏孤兒; *The Orphan of the House of Zhao*).[1] We know little about Ji Junxiang, except that he must have been active in the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Most likely he was a playwright working for the burgeoning commercial theater of the big cities of the time—to begin with, Dadu (modern day Peking), the capital of the Mongol Yuan dynasty (1260-

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[1] For general surveys of the history of Chinese drama and theater, see Dolby 1976, Mackerras 1983 and 1990, and Idema 2001.

1368.).[2] The specific genre of Chinese theater that was practiced by Ji Junxiang and his Northern colleagues is called *zaju* (雜劇; Shih 1976, Idema 1988). Because *zaju* plays are relatively short (modern editions usually divide them into four acts), can deal with any conceivable subject, and usually end on a happy note, in the past I have used the term "comedy" as my translation of the term *zaju*. However, it should immediately be stressed that traditional Chinese theater did not know the genre distinction between "tragedy" and "comedy" that is so central in the tradition of Western drama—and perhaps even more in writings on drama. These terms have only become common in China in the twentieth century, giving rise to heated debates about whether or not traditional China produced "tragedies," and, if it did not produce "tragedies" that adhere to all the formal Western rules, whether we can identify "tragedies with Chinese characteristics," which many critics believe to be possible (*Zhongguo* 1983, Xie 1993). Actually, since the early years of the twentieth century, Ji Junxiang's *The Orphan of the House of Zhao* is listed as one China's first Chinese tragedies, not in the least (one surmises) because its eighteenth-century French translator Joseph de Prémare had called it a "tragédie chinoise."[3]

In traditional China dramatic genres were not distinguished on the basis of the social status of characters or the nature of the plot, but on the basis of the type of music used for the songs and the general background music. This can be done because all forms of traditional Chinese drama are a form of ballad-opera: they all include arias that are composed to a limited number of melodies. Plays that share one specific repertoire of melodies (and related musical conventions) form one genre. *Zaju* or comedy employs "northern music" for its arias; moreover, all arias in an individual play are assigned to a single actor or actress (Johnson 1980). The male lead or female lead as a rule plays the same role throughout the play, giving the genre a highly asymmetrical character since only one of the parties (the single singing role) in the central love affair or dramatic conflict is given much

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[2] The theater is just one of the many aspects of contemporary culture that is ignored by Marco Polo in his description of Dadu. For a translation and study of the written materials relating to Chinese theater and performance of this period, see Idema and West 1982. A detailed study of the visual and archeological materials relating to the theater and performance is provided by Liao 1989 and 1996.

[3] The first Chinese scholar to use the term *Zhaoshi gu'er* a *beiju* (悲劇; "sad play," the Chinese neologism created to translate the notion of tragedy) was Wang Guowei in his seminal *Song Yuan xiqu kao* (*An Inquiry into the Drama of the Song and Yuan Dynasties*) of 1912.

more space to express his or her opinions and feelings at length. Occasionally the male or female lead will play more than one role. Most likely, such plays are not the victim of clumsy plotting (as was long assumed by modern critics); they may well have been written, as has been suggested by Kim Moonkyong (1991), with a specific actor or actress in mind as a vehicle for a virtuoso display of versatility in performance. In the case of *The Orphan of the House of Zhao*, for instance, the male lead is expected to play not only the now eighteen-year-old Orphan in the fourth act, but also, in the preceding acts, three other characters (his young princely father, a veteran general, and a retired elderly statesman), who all submit themselves to execution or commit suicide so that the Orphan may survive and, once grown up, take revenge on the man who killed all 300 members of the house of Zhao.

The readers of Prémare's translation did not have to wonder about the puzzling arrangement of having a single actor perform these different roles in the subsequent acts of the play, as Prémare on purpose had omitted all the songs from his translation. As a result, his European readers encountered a play fully written in prose. Actually, they were not the intended readers of the play at all, as the translation had been made by Prémare, a Jesuit serving at the court in Peking and a fine linguist, to provide the learned Parisian scholar Étienne Fourmont with an extensive example of modern spoken Chinese in translation to help him in his study of the Chinese language.[4] To find such an example, Prémare had turned to the most popular drama anthology at the time, the *Yuanqu xuan* (元曲選; *Anthology of Yuan Dynasty Drama*), a collection of 100 *zaju* plays edited and published by Zang Maoxun (藏懋循) in 1616-17. From this voluminous compilation he had chosen the only five-act play in that collection, which also happened to have the most extensive prose dialogues (with the result that the play made perfect sense without the arias). It was only when this aid to language learning was printed in 1734, without Prémare's knowledge, in Du Halde's *Déscription de la Chine*, that it was greeted enthusiastically as a first authentic example of Chinese drama and eagerly mined by a host of now mostly forgotten playwrights and composers of opera libretti in the heyday of *chinoiserie* (Liu 1953).[5] Prémare's version, which reproduces only the prose dialogues and omits the arias, is, however, the very counter-image of

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[4] On the relation of these two men, see Lundbaek 1991.

[5] The first complete translation of *The Orphan of the House of Zhao* was provided in Julien 1834.

the earliest preserved Chinese edition of the play. This printing of *The Orphan of the House of Zhao* dates roughly from the first half of the fourteenth century, and only includes the arias; it has no prose dialogues or stage directions whatsoever (to the extent that it is not even specified that the arias are assigned to four different characters). Prémare's source text in the *Anthology of Yuan Dynasty Drama* of 300 years later did of course include arias, prose dialogues, and stage directions, but as soon as one compares the two editions it is clear that the later edition is not simply a fleshed-out version of the earlier text. In the later edition, a complete fifth act has been added and, while the sequence of the melodies of the arias is still recognizably the same, the text of almost every aria is extensively rewritten. As a result, the two editions of *The Orphan of the House of Zhao* are quite different in plot, characterization, and meaning—we are not dealing here with minute details that delight the philologist but may be of little relevance to the student of performance. Something drastic has happened to the text between its first appearance in print and the moment it acquired its canonical version in the *Anthology of Yuan Dynasty Drama*.

It is possible to retrace some of the stages in the development of the texts of Yuan drama. Such a study makes clear that some of the changes are due to the varying ideological constraints to which *zaju* was submitted as it moved from the urban commercial theater of the Yuan dynasty, to the court stage of the early Ming dynasty, and from there to the studio of the late Ming literati. Some of the changes are a reflection of changing performance practices over the centuries. However, many of the differences between the various preserved texts of Yuan drama are due to the specific purposes for which the texts were prepared and to the different relations of these versions to performance (Idema 1996, West 1998).

For the Eyes of the Audience

When we look into the various relations of dramatic texts to performance, we first of all have to remind ourselves of the fact that actors and actresses do not need a text in order to put on a performance. Even when the performance is based on a text in some way or another, the text is invisible in the actual performance (modern-day puppet-performers in Fujian dutifully turn over the pages of the manuscripts of their plays during their performance, but they do not look at the text because they know their play by heart and improvise at will). Many cultures, including China, know many forms of dramatic performance that do not have written-out texts and in

which the text is created in each performance over and over again by the actors concerned.

So who needs a text? Here it becomes interesting to return to the earliest known edition of *The Orphan of the House of Zhao*, which consists only of the texts of the arias. As a script for a performance, this edition of the text is clearly not usable. It is only the existence of the later version of the play that allows us to reconstruct to some extent the narrative in the earlier version. In cases of Yuan dynasty printings of Yuan-era plays where no later version of the text is available, it is often quite difficult or even impossible to reconstruct the details of the plot. Most scholars in the field would agree that the text most likely was printed not for the benefit of actors, but for the benefit of those members of the play-going audience who might have difficulty in following the words of the arias. The likelihood of this hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that most of the Yuan-time printings of Yuan *zaju* are not from Dadu in the north, but from Hangzhou in the south. Hangzhou (Marco Polo's Quinsai) was a major city, as it had been the capital of the Southern Song dynasty (1127-1278) and served as the regional center for the administration of the southern provinces upon their conquest by the Mongols. As a result, the city had a sizable population of northerners, but for many of their friends and hangers-on the northern dialect in which *zaju* was performed must have been a second language. Dadu itself must have had a large immigrant population from all over China. Many playgoers there who may have had no difficulty in following the dialogue may have had more trouble in following the lyrics of the arias. In other words, playgoers may have a greater need for a text than the performers, and what they need may not be a script for performance, but just a "hearing aid" for the difficult passages, such as is provided in modern theaters during opera performances by projection. Moreover, the number of playgoers may have made the printing of the songs economically feasible.[6]

For the Eyes of the Lead Performer

Now where would an enterprising publisher find the complete text of the songs for any given play? Here the most convenient source would be the role text of the male or female lead. Of the 30 Yuan-era printings of Yuan

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[6] These editions of the text of all the arias from a single play should be distinguished from the songbooks that included individual arias and the arias from single scenes and probably were intended for professional and amateurs who wanted to be able to sing highlights and hits.

zaju, five consist solely of the arias, whereas the remaining 25 present us with more or less complete role texts of the male or female lead. These editions contain minimal stage directions for the other performers and cue lines, together with more detailed stage directions for the male or female lead, basic prose dialogue, and the songs. The fact that we are dealing with texts that derive from role texts is indicated by the form of the stage directions, which often address the needs of a single actor: "wait until so-and-so has finished doing (or saying) this-or-that, and then . . . ." That these texts were also printed for the benefit of the listening playgoers is suggested by the fact that in many plays the space allotted for prose dialogue and stage directions quickly decreases from act to act.

The Yuan-era editions of Yuan drama as a rule have been considered defective texts because they were measured against a fully written-out text that provides complete stage directions, prose dialogue, and songs as the author was supposed to have written them. It is, however, very doubtful whether Yuan-dynasty playwrights ever wrote such scripts—at least, no such fully written-out script of a *zaju* from the Yuan dynasty has been preserved as a Yuan-era printing or manuscript. It is more likely that the playwrights, meeting the demand for a constant supply of new plays and working for highly professional but largely illiterate professionals, limited themselves to providing a basic outline of the plot to all concerned and to writing out a more detailed role text for the lead performer. After all, prose dialogue can easily be improvised, but song lyrics that have to meet the metrical demands of a great variety of tunes are less easily made up on the spot.

As scripts for the lead performer, these role texts could be extremely detailed, providing not only the full texts of the songs, but also extremely precise stage directions. For instance, in the Yuan-era printing of *Baiyueting* (拜月亭; *The Pavilion of Praying to the Moon*) by Guan Hanqing, the female lead is repeatedly instructed to enact contradictory emotions. However, even in the most complete role texts, the playwrights felt no need to repeat themselves or to write out known information. In *The Pavilion of Praying to the Moon,* the female lead is often told to "explain what happened before" or to "explain the plot." From this one may conclude that the playwright assumed that actors and actresses could fittingly improvise their own prose dialogues and that he felt no need to prescribe their spoken lines (Idema 1994). Here it may be useful to point out that Chinese opera companies were traditionally organized as stock companies: actors and actresses were trained from an early age to perform a specific character-type and therefore would know how to play their role; all they needed to know to

put on a new play was what was specifically new. The role of the playwright at this stage in the development of Chinese drama was not necessarily to create new plays, but rather to contribute to their creation in a limited and circumscribed way. To what extent the printed versions of more or less complete role texts reflect the text as it left the hands of the author and to what extent they incorporated later changes by other hands we cannot say; all we know is that the majority of Yuan dynasty printings of Yuan plays most likely were produced at a considerable remove in time and space from the presumed moment and location of the original composition (West 1998:243-48). It is as if the earliest editions of Shakespeare's plays included only the sections in blank verse and were printed in Paris for the benefit of the expatriate court of Charles II.

For the Eyes of Friends

The earliest preserved *zaju* editions that provide a more or less complete text of their play date only from the first half of the fifteenth century. These are not editions of earlier plays but editions that had been written recently by authors of the early Ming dynasty (1368-1644).[7] The stimulus to provide more or less completely written out texts may well have been provided by the example of the texts of contemporary southern plays (*xiwen*, 戲文) in which all characters were assigned arias, and where it therefore may have made more sense for the playwright to include all new songs in a single script.[8] But even while Zhu Youdun (朱有燉), the

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[7] The only exception would appear to have been Wang Shifu's *Xixiang ji* (*Story of the Western Wing*; 1991). Wang Shifu's play was remarkable for consisting of five single *zaju*. A fragment of a printed edition of the early Ming has been preserved. This edition follows the conventions of the early Ming editions in providing full stage directions as well as full dialogues; it also included illustrations (Wang 1991:11-19).

[8] The genre of *xiwen* originated in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in eastern China south of the Yangzi river. However, the earliest texts that have been preserved are three plays that were part of the many *zaju* and *xiwen* included in the *Yongle dadian* (*The Great Compendium of the Yongle Reign*), a huge compendium compiled at court in the early years of the fifteenth century and completed in 1409. The *Yongle dadian* was never printed, and now only a limited number of the thousands of volumes of the original manuscript (or its copies) survive. One of these surviving happens to be the final volume of the section devoted to *xiwen*. Since no volume containing *zaju* survives, we do not know to what extent the texts of *zaju* included in *Yongle dadian* may have been different from the Yuan printings.

Exemplary Prince of Zhou and a prolific playwright, had all of his plays printed with the proud legend *quanbin* (全賓; "with complete prose dialogues") following the title, he did not live up to his claim: his prose dialogues at times are rudimentary at best, actors are often instructed to repeat prior information or to *yunyun* (云云; "improvise"), and no texts are provided for well-known stage routines (Idema 1985). As long as any pair of clowns worth their salt knows how to do the skit of the battling quacks, there is no need to write out the full text and the stage directions—"perform here the skit of the battling quacks" will suffice, unless the playwright wants to come up with his own and wittier version (Idema 1984). In the case of Zhu Youdun, we know that some of his plays were intended for a single performance, and in this case it is conceivable that he had the text printed to serve as a souvenir for those present at the performance.

For the Eyes of the Court Censor

By the early Ming dynasty (1368-1644) *zaju* had been adopted as court theater. Many of the early Ming emperors were extremely unpleasant characters, and no one at court wanted to be held responsible for provoking their displeasure. It is under these circumstances that we find the first fully written-out texts. It seems safe to assume that these texts were prepared for the eyes of the court censors, who inspected each text carefully before it was performed for His Majesty (Komatsu 2001). There were some explicit taboos that had to be observed (for instance, no emperor could be performed onstage), but it is clear that the rewritings went much farther than the explicit rules required: elements of social criticism were very much toned down, and the authority of the state was very much stressed (Komatsu 1991; also see Idema 1990a and 1990b). In the case of *The Orphan of Zhao*, for instance, the nature of the revenge of the Orphan is changed from an act of private vengeance against the man who killed his father to a state-ordered execution of a criminal. However, what should perhaps interest us even more at this moment is that now, for the first time in the development of the text of individual plays, the full text is written out, not only of the songs but also of the prose dialogues, including all extensive repetitions and all lame jokes. It is clear that the censors were most concerned about the words of the play, as the stage directions are often left quite rudimentary and rarely show the same degree of detail one may sometimes encounter in Yuan-era printings of presumably complete role texts or in the early Ming *zaju* of Zhu Youdun, who liked to detail his special effects in his stage directions (Idema

1990c). If the censors felt that the body language of the actors was beyond their control, their attempt to control the actors and actresses' words and lines was only the more insistent.

A sizable number of late sixteenth-century and early-seventeenth century manuscript copies of these palace scripts have been preserved, both of Yuan plays that survived in the Ming palace repertoire and of plays that were composed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is not clear when exactly the originals of these manuscripts were prepared, but it seems a safe suggestion that most of them date from the middle of the fifteenth century to the middle of the sixteenth century. By the end of the sixteenth century *zaju* had basically disappeared from the stage, as it had lost the battle for the favor of the audience, both outside and inside the imperial palace, to the various forms of southern drama. Actually, *zaju* might well have disappeared from the stage without leaving any trace in literary history, if it had not been for the efforts of a few aficionados and the publishing boom of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Up to the end of the sixteenth century, printed editions of *zaju* had been very rare indeed. However, late sixteenth-century Jiangnan witnessed a period of explosive economic growth that also benefited the publishing industry. Meeting the suddenly emerging and apparently insatiable demand for light reading and entertainment literature, publishers started to print plays and novels in ever larger numbers and increasingly beautiful editions. The publishers, with only very rare exceptions, initially limited themselves to printing the texts as they found them in the palace manuscripts, even though some of them tried to enhance the attractiveness of their publications by the insertion of woodblock illustrations. Such illustrations would depict scenes from the story of the play, not highpoints of the performance of the play; while in some cases their artistic value may be considerable, their value for the history of performance, unfortunately, is negligible.

For the Eyes of Sophisticated Readers

These late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century collective editions of Yuan dynasty *zaju*, however, were soon to be eclipsed completely by Zang Maoxun's *Anthology of Yuan Dynasty Drama*, a collection of 100 plays, printed in two installments of 50 plays each in 1616 and 1617. The texts in this collection as a rule were based, directly or indirectly, on the

palace manuscripts.[9] It is easy to see why this collection almost immediately replaced the earlier anthologies (to the extent they were only rediscovered in the twentieth century): the more than 200 woodblock illustrations in *Anthology of Yuan Dynasty Drama* are of superior workmanship in design and execution, and the printing of the text was of the finest quality. To this very day, the *Anthology of Yuan Dynasty Drama* is used by many scholars inside and outside China as the basic collection for the study of Yuan-dynasty *zaju* as literature and theater. However, the texts as presented are not only far removed from performance in the Yuan dynasty itself, having already passed through various revisions, but also from the performance practice at the Ming imperial court. The deeply ingrained preference for this collection therefore deserves a more profound explanation than the fine qualities of the original edition of *Anthology of Yuan Dynasty Drama* as an example of seventeenth-century print culture. This explanation has to be sought, I believe, in the nature of Zang Maoxun's editorial strategy, as it was he who transformed the plays from scripts for performance (or rather scripts for the imperial censor) into enjoyable literary texts for sophisticated gentlemen.

In order to be readable as literature, the texts of plays first of all had to be assigned to authors in accordance with the traditional Chinese concept of literature, where texts were first of all read as an expression of the feelings and character of the author. Relying upon catalogues of plays from earlier times, Zang Maoxun made a valiant effort to provide as many plays as possible with a named author, irrespective of the changes to which the text might have been subjected in the intervening centuries. As a next step, Zang Maoxun heavily edited the texts at his disposal to transform them from scripts for actors to respectable writings for gentlemen. This process started at the very innocent level of correcting wrong spellings, faulty allusions, and imperfect parallelisms. However, Zang progressed from there to extensive "improvements" of dialogues and arias, together with a tightening-up of the plot. While claiming to reconstruct the Yuan-era originals, Zang Maoxun was very much under the influence of the dramatic conventions of his own

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[9] Some scholars argue that Zang Maoxun did have access to earlier editions and used them in his compilation (Xu 1985:11-24). Li Kaixian, a sixteenth-century bibliophile and a pioneer publisher of Yuan-dynasty *zaju*, may well have based at least some of the plays he had printed on Yuan-dynasty printings. In the single case where we can directly compare his version of a play with a Yuan-dynasty printing, all the arias have been preserved, and the sparse dialogue would appear to have been derived by the editors from a meticulous reading of the arias. Li Kaixian very much intended his editions for reading. His editions were often reprinted by later editors around 1600.

time. Southern plays as a rule ended in a grand reunion scene, and Zang set out to turn his Yuan *zaju* into well-made plays as well. This meant that quite often he not only had to tighten up the plot, but also change it. While he often cut extensive passages, both dialogues and arias, from the first three acts, he just as often considerably expanded the final fourth act, adding dialogue and arias of his own design. As a result, the tone and meaning of the play may be changed in many subtle and less subtle ways. For instance, whereas the scripts adopted for use at the imperial court had drastically cut passages of outspoken criticism of social abuses, Zang Maoxun often would insert social criticism of his own, directed of course against abuses of his own time. As a result of his many changes, Zang Maoxun's *zaju* editions were highly readable closet-dramas, which in their style and ideology reflected the aesthetic and philosophical concerns of the early seventeenth-century sophisticated Jiangnan elite, of which Zang himself was a representative (West 1991).

In the Eyes of Modern Scholars

Zang Maoxun successfully transformed the Ming dynasty imperial court versions of Yuan dynasty *zaju* into a minor genre of Chinese literature. The status of this genre was further enhanced when, at the beginning of the twentieth century, modernizing Chinese scholars instituted the field of Chinese literary history. Under the influence of the Western veneration of epic and drama and in the belief that novels and plays could play a major role in modernizing the nation, they assigned a major role to drama and fiction in modern Chinese literature and in traditional Chinese literature as well. But when they did so, the only forms of drama that were included in the new canon were those that already for centuries had been part of the reading culture of the literati, such as *zaju* of the Yuan dynasty as edited by Zang Maoxun. This enhancement of the status of Yuan dynasty *zaju* was facilitated by the fact that plays from *Anthology of Yuan Dynasty Drama*, beginning with *The Orphan of the House of Zhao*, had been translated into Western languages from the eighteenth century onward and had exerted a considerable influence on European theater. The fact that *The Orphan of the House of Zhao* had been introduced to the Western world as a tragedy further enhanced the status of this individual play in the modern master narrative of the history of traditional Chinese literature. This master narrative, however, had no place for the scripts of traditional Chinese theater as it was actually performed in the early years of the twentieth century. Most modern intellectuals of the time looked with deepest disdain upon the

actually performed and widely popular forms of traditional drama, such as Peking opera, and hoped to replace it as quickly as possible with Western-style drama—in Chinese called *huaju* ("spoken drama")—to set it off from the Chinese tradition of musical drama.

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Textual Representations of the Sixteenth-Century Chinese Drama *Yuzan ji* (***The Jade Hairpin***)
**eCompanion at www.oraltradition.org*[1]

Andrew Lo

The late Ming period in China (1573-1644) was a golden age for drama and woodblock printing. This is a study of textual representations of the *chuanqi* drama *Yuzan ji* (*The Jade Hairpin*) composed by Gao Lian in 1570.[2] In this preliminary investigation, I focus primarily on the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and on four types of representations, namely, full-length editions of the drama, selections of acts in anthologies, technical manuals, and cards for drinking games.

I will first present the background to the author and play, and then give a brief history of the textual representations of this work. Next I will analyze these texts and ask various questions, such as "why do some texts contain dialogue, musical notation, and/or stage directions and others do not?"; "what was the function of illustrations?"; "who read the texts and why?"; and "why were only selections published?" and "what criteria determined which selections were chosen?"

Notes on the Playwright Gao Lian

Gao Lian hailed from a merchant family in Qiantang (present-day Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province).[3] He failed twice in the provincial

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[1] All figures that accompany this article may be seen in the eCompanion at www. oraltradition.org.

[2] For a stimulating study that discusses textual representations of Tang Xianzu's *chuanqi* drama *Mudan ting* (*Peony Pavilion*), see Swatek 2002.

[3] For a biography of Gao Lian, see Xu 1993:197-222.

examination and gave up hope for an official career, but his father left him well off. His *Zun sheng ba jian* (*Eight Discourses on the Art of Living*, 1591) has been studied by the cultural historian Craig Clunas (1991:13-20). He was also a noted writer of *sanqu* ("independent songs"), which may be found in anthologies such as Chen Suowen's *Beigong ciji* (*A Collection of Songs in the Northern Mode*, Wanli period [1573-1620]; see Du 1983:8/4b), Feng Menglong's *Taixia xinzou* (*New Tunes from the Clouds Above*, 1627), Zhang Chushu's *Wu sao hebian* (*Joint Edition of Encountering Sorrow in the Wu Style*, 1637), and so on.[4] Two of his *chuanqi* plays are extant, *The Jade Hairpin* and *Jie xiao ji* (*The Upright and the Filial*, 1571; see Xu 1993:212-13). This second work is divided into two parts: the first (in 17 acts) is about Tao Qian, the hermit par excellence; the second part (in 14 acts) is about the filial grandson Li Mi. Lü Tiancheng (1980:217-18) places Gao Lian in the sixth grade of dramatists out of nine. Qi Biaojia (1980:49-50) places both his works in the fifth grade of *neng* ("able"), after the categories of *miao* ("marvelous"), *ya* ("elegant"), *yi* ("otherworldly"), and *yan* ("beautiful").

Here I will concentrate on *The Jade Hairpin*. There are versions of the story in prose and in a Ming period *zaju* drama, but since this paper concentrates primarily on representations of Gao Lian's play, we will not go into the story's development in various genres.[5]

Synopsis of the *Jizhi zhai* Edition of *The Jade Hairpin* in 34 Acts

The story is set in the beginning part of the Southern Song period (1127-1279). Pan Su, former governor of Kaifeng Prefecture, sends his son Pan Kai to sit for the civil service examination at Lin'an (Hangzhou). Our heroine, Chen Jiaolian, daughter of the former Assistant Governor of Kaifeng Prefecture, had been betrothed to Pan Su's son even before they had been born, with an exchange of a jade hairpin and a mandarin duck ornament as betrothal gifts. Troops from the Jin Dynasty attack the Southern Song, and Jiaolian is separated from her mother. The mother seeks refuge

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[4] Zhuang 1982:881-82.

[5] For versions of the story in prose form, see Zhuang (1982:618) and Huang C. (1956:119). There is also a manuscript copy of the Ming *zaju* drama entitled "Zhang Yuhu wu su Nüzhen guan" ("Zhang Yuhu Stays Over at Female Chastity Nunnery by Mistake") with a *xiezi* ("wedge prologue") and four acts. The manuscript copy was made by Zhao Qimei in 1615, and has been reset in a modern edition. See Zhongguo xiju 1958: vol. 3, no. 99.

with the Pan family, while Jiaolian finds refuge at Female Chastity Nunnery on the outskirts of Jiankang, and is given the Buddhist name Miaochang.

Zhang Xiaoxiang—historically a statesman and poet—stays in the nunnery incognito, on his way to Jiankang to take up his post of governor. He is impressed by Miaochang's beauty, and while playing *weiqi* ("encirclement chess") with her, tries to seduce her verbally and by writing a poem on her fan. He fails, and leaves the nunnery to go to his official post. Meanwhile our hero Pan is in Lin'an for the examination, but does not finish because of illness. He leaves Lin'an and decides to stay with the head of the nunnery, who is his maternal aunt.

At the nunnery, the beauty of Miaochang also captivates Dandy Wang. The nun Wang at the Convent of the Concentrated Spring agrees to introduce her for a sum of money. At this time Pan has tea with Miaochang and is also captivated. She plays the zither one evening, and Pan visits her and plays also. He hints at his longing for her, but she is offended and he leaves. Assuming he has gone, she sings out her fond feelings for him, which he overhears but does not fully understand. Miaochang writes a poem describing her desire for Pan. The nun Wang comes as matchmaker for Dandy Wang, but Miaochang refuses him. Pan visits Miaochang while she is asleep, and reads her poem on a piece of paper hidden in a Buddhist sutra.

[Figure 1][6]

Pan wakes Miaochang up, wishing to consummate their love. She refuses until Pan sings to her that he has read her poem. She turns her back to the audience and sings out, "I try bashfully many times, and untie my silk gown."

[Figure 2]

The aunt suspects the affair between Pan and Miaochang, and forces Pan to go to Lin'an to prepare for the examination. She sees him off at the ferry, but Miaochang hires a boat and catches up with Pan after his aunt has gone. She gives him a green jade phoenix hairpin as a good luck piece for success in the examination, while he gives her a white jade mandarin duck fan pendant, hoping that they will be united in the future.

Dandy Wang and the nun Wang accuse Miaochang at court of cheating Dandy Wang in a proposed marriage, but Zhang Xiaoxiang sees

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[6] See the eCompanion at www.oraltradition.org for figures not present in the print version of this article.

through the two of them and gives them a beating. Pan passes the examination and marries Miaochang. There is a happy reunion with Pan's parents and Miaochang's mother, and a realization that Pan and Miaochang had been betrothed to each other since before they had been born.

Full-Length Editions

We next proceed to look at full-length versions of the drama. The modern scholar Fu Xihua provides a useful listing of 13 extant editions of the work (1959:117-18):

1. *Jizhi zhai* (Studio for Continuing the Ambition) edition, National Library, Beijing. Two *juan* ("chapters"). At the end of the Table of Contents for the 34 acts is a line that reads, "Edited by Chen Dalai from Moling [Nanjing, Jiangsu Province], in the first month of summer of the *yihai* year [1599]".[7]

2. *Wenlin ge* (Hall of the Forest of Letters) edition, National Library, Beijing. Wanli period (1573-1620). Two *juan*.

3. *Changchun tang* (Hall of Everlasting Spring) edition, private collection of Fu Xihua. Wanli period. The front page reads, "Edited and punctuated [?] at *Huanya zhai* [Studio of The Return to Elegance]. *The Jade Hairpin*, newly printed and illustrated. Blocks kept at *Changchun tang*." The first column—at the beginning of Act 1—reads, "*The Jade Hairpin*, Newly Collated." The center of the folio page reads "*The Jade Hairpin*, complete with illustrations and notes." There is a Table of Contents in front of each *juan*.

4. Wanli period edition entitled *Sanhui Zhenwen an yuzan ji* (*Three Meetings at Zhenwen Nunnery and the Jade Hairpin)*. Location unknown.

5. *Shide tang* (Hall of the Virtue of Generations) edition, private collection of Nagasawa Kikuya. Wanli period. Two *juan*.

6. Xiao Tenghong edition, private collection of Fu Xihua. Wanli period. Two *juan*. The first column reads, "*The Jade Hairpin*, newly printed." The following columns read respectively, "Commentary by Chen Jiru [1558-1639], courtesy name Meigong, from Yunjian [in modern Jiangsu Province]. Read by Yu Wenxi, courtesy name Yonghui, studio name Yizhai. Printed by Xiao Tenghong, courtesy name Qingyun [from Shulin, Fujian Province?]." The center of the folio page reads, "*The Jade Hairpin*, with commentaries by Chen Meigong." There is a Table of Contents in front of

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[7] This has been reprinted. See Gao 1954.

each *juan*, beginning with the line "*The Jade Hairpin*, with commentaries by Mr. Chen Meigong."

7. Late Ming edition, with commentaries by Li Zhi. Former Nanyang High School.

8. *Ningzhi tang* (Hall of Attainment of Peace) edition, Kunaichō Library, Japan. Chongzhen period (1628-44). Two *juan*. The first column of *juan* 1 reads, "*The Jade Hairpin*, with commentaries by I li an [Li Yu] (late Ming period)." Another title reads, "*The Jade Hairpin*, with commentaries by Mr. Xu Wenchang [Xu Wei] (1521-93)." This edition has been reprinted in *Chuanqi sishi zhong* (*Forty Chuanqi Dramas*).

9. Original first *Jigu ge* (Hall of Drawing from the Past) edition. Two *juan*. The front page is entitled "*The Jade Hairpin*, definitive edition." Published by the bibliophile Mao Jin from Changshu, modern Jiangsu Province.

10. Edition in *Liushi zhong qu* (*Sixty Plays*), published by *Jigu ge*.

11. Palace manuscript, National Library, Beijing. Kangxi period (1662-1722). Only second *juan* extant.

12. 1745 manuscript edition (*Zhongguo xiqu yanjiu yuan* collection).

13. Reprint of Xiao Tenghong edition in *Liuhe tongchun* (*Spring in the Whole Universe*), printed by *Xiuwen tang* (Hall for Literary Cultivation), National Library, Beijing and Beijing University Library. Qianlong period (1736-95).

Unfortunately, I have only had access to the *Guben xiqu congkan* edition (No. 1) and a woodblock edition from the *Liushi zhong qu* in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London; but even from the list above and the two editions that I have seen, I am able to ascertain the following points:

(i) There were numerous editions in the late Ming period, and some were illustrated. For example, in the *Jizhi zhai* edition, there are the following fine illustrations:

- a full-folio page illustrating the farewell scene in Act 2 (*shang juan* 2b, 3a)
- a half-folio page illustrating the head of the nunnery expounding on the *Lotus Sutra* to the nuns in Act 8 (14b)
- a half-folio page illustrating the chess scene in Act 10 (19b)

Figure 3. The chess scene, Act 10. The official Zhang Xiaoxiang is trying to seduce Miaochang verbally while playing the elegant game of *weiqi*. This is a rare depiction of a man and woman who are not from the same family playing *weiqi* together.

- a full-folio page illustrating the tea-drinking scene in Act 14 (28b, 29a)
- a full-folio page illustrating the zither scene between the two future lovers in Act 16 (31b, 32a)
- a full-folio page illustrating Pan's page staring at Miaochang in Act 19 (*xia juan*, 9b,10a)

- a half-folio page illustrating Pan kneeling in front of Miaochang and vowing that he will never forget her in Act 19 (11a)
- a full-folio page illustrating the reunion of the two lovers in the boat in Act 23 (19b, 20a)
- a half-folio page illustrating Miaochang and a friend in Act 27 (26a)
- a full-folio page illustrating the reunion scene in Act 34 (35b, 36a)

(ii) Some of the editions have commentaries. The *Jizhi zhai* edition has commentaries at the top of the page to explain the pronunciation of Chinese characters, difficult vocabulary, and allusions. Educated scholars would not have required these types of commentaries.
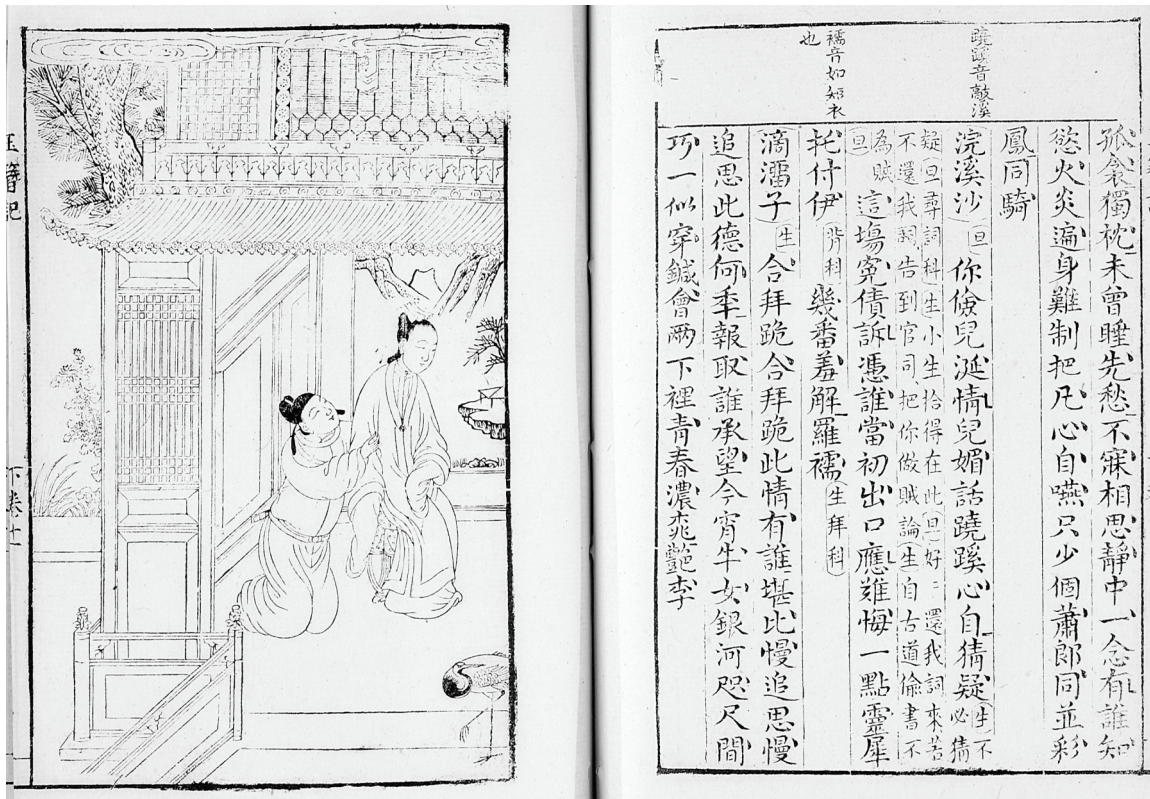
Figure 4. The first column of characters on the top right gives pronunciations of characters. The next two columns on the top right give the pronunciation and meaning of a character. The illustration is of Act 19. (Gao 1954:10b-11a).

(iii) Some of the editions have commentaries attributed to such famous literati of the late Ming period as Xu Wei, Li Zhi, Chen Jiru, or Li Yu. These may be attributions to attract customers, but they need further research.

(iv) The *Jizhi zhai* edition is punctuated, and musical beats are indicated for most of the arias. The titles of the arias and stage directions are bracketed. Also, the stage directions and dialogue are set in smaller type relative to the arias. (Note in Figure 4 the indication of different types of musical beats to the right of certain characters in the arias, for example, in column one on the right.[8])

(v) The reprinted *Jigu ge* edition is in plain text, without any commentaries. Only the titles of the songs are bracketed, and the stage instructions and dialogue are set in smaller type relative to the arias. The text is not punctuated, and no musical beats are indicated.

[Figure 5]

Differentiating the market for the *Jizhizhai* edition and the *Jigu ge* edition is not easy. One can probably say that the *Jizhizhai* edition published in Nanjing was aiming at a broad market, where the general public would appreciate all the packaging. While the educated would neither have needed nor minded the commentaries, they would probably have appreciated the punctuation and musical notation. It would have been cheaper than the *Jigu ge* edition, which came in a series of ten plays. The *Jigu ge* edition, in all its purity, would have been a greater challenge for any type of reader. The texts for these two editions have been collated and reprinted (cf. Huang C. 1956).

Selections of Acts in Anthologies

Independent songs (*sanqu*) and selected acts or arias from dramas were also anthologized together in the Ming period (1368-1644),[9] and scholars have noted at least 30 of these anthologies (Hu 1980:1-2). One of the earliest, but no longer extant, is the *Bai ershi jia xiqu jijin* (*Gems from the Plays of One Hundred and Twenty Playwrights*) of the Chenghua period (1465-87; see Zhou W. 1999:240). Some early extant anthologies include the following:

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[8] For an explanation of musical beat notation, see Zeng 1991:143 and Zhou W. 1999:352.

[9] For an introduction to these anthologies, see Shanghai yishu 1983:540-44, Wang Q. 1984:series 1 and 2, 1-9, and Wang Q. 1987:series 4, 2-3.

1. *Shengshi xinsheng* (*New Sounds from this Prosperous Era*, 1517), compiler unknown. This contains *sanqu* and arias from drama of the Yuan and Ming period (Shanghai yishu 1983:541).

2. *Cilin zhai yan* (*A Selection of Beautiful Songs from the Forest of Words*, 1525), compiled by Zhang Lu and based on the above with modifications (*ibid.*:541-42).

3. *Fengyue jinnang* (*Love in a Brocade Bag* [*of Writings*], 1553), compiled by Xu Wenzhao.[10] This rare anthology is in the Royal Library of San Lorenzo, Escorial, Spain, and consists of a selection of songs and drama excerpts from the Yuan and Ming periods.

4. *Yongxi yuefu* (*Songs from the Bureau of Music in this Era of Peace and Joy*, 1566), compiled by Guo Xun (cf. Zhao X. 1988:279). This is partly based on *Cilin zhai yan*, and contains Yuan *zaju* drama and so on.

We now turn to drama anthologies of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The vast majority has been collected in the *Shanben xiqu congkan* (*Collection of Fine Editions of Drama and Songs*), and the following 16 contain selections of acts from *The Jade Hairpin*[11]:

1. *Qunyin leixuan* (*A Selection of Songs in Categories*, c. 1593-96), compiled by Hu Wenhuan. Selections from *guan qiang* (the official singing style) (Kunqu), *qing qiang* (pure singing style of arias not from drama), *bei qiang* (northern singing style), and various local singing styles. The complete work should contain 46 *juan* ("chapters"), but seven *juan* are missing.

2. *Yuefu jinghua* (*The Essence of the Bureau of Music*, 1600), compiled by Liu Junxi. *Sanhuai tang* (Hall of the Three Chinese Scholartrees) edition, of Wang Huiyun, (of Shulin, Fujian Province?). Twelve *juan*. The text is divided into an upper and a lower section, each six *juan*, and contains selected acts of Ming period *chuanqi* dramas.

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[10] For a detailed study of this anthology, see Sun 2000. For a modern annotated edition of this text, see Sun and Huang 2000.

[11] See Wang Q. 1984 and 1987. Anthologies 2-4 and 7-11 are from Series 1; 5, 6, and 13-16 are from Series 2; and 1 and 12 are from Series 4.

3. *Yugu xinhuang (New Tunes from the Jade Valley*, 1610*)*, compiled by Retired Scholar Jing. Printed by Liu Ciquan, (of Shulin?). Five *juan*. The pages are divided into three horizontal sections. The upper and lower sections contain 50 selected acts from 23 *chuanqi* dramas, while the middle section contains songs.

Figure 6. This is the title page, and the scene of the couple with their eyes closed invites the reader to enter a gentle and soft realm (*wenrou xiang*). (Retired Scholar Jing 1984:series 1, vol. 2, p. 3).

[Figure 7]

4. *Zhaijin qiyin* (*Extraordinary Sounds of Selected Fine Tunes*, 1611), compiled by Gong Zhengwo. *Dunmu tang* (Hall of Cordiality and Harmony) edition, of Zhang Sanhuai, (Shulin?). Six *juan*. The pages are divided into

two sections. The upper section contains songs, wine games, and lantern riddles. The lower section contains 66 acts from 32 *chuanqi* dramas.

5. *Wu yu cui ya* (*A Collection of Elegant Songs from the Wu Area*, 1616), compiled by Zhou Zhibiao (Suzhou, modern Jiangsu Province). Four *juan*. Selections of Yuan and Ming *sanqu* suites and acts from Yuan Ming drama, with a total of 280 suites. The work also contains 18 items from Wei Liangfu's *Qulü* (*Rules for Songs*).

6. *Yue lu yin* (*Sounds [Fresh and Clear as the] Moon and Dew*, Preface dated 1616), compiled by Lingxu zi (Li Yuer). Four *juan*. Contains *sanqu* and selected acts from Ming *chuanqi*.

7. *Cilin yizhi* (*A Branch from the Forest of Songs*, Wanli period [1573-1620]), compiled by Huang Wenhua. Printed by Ye Zhiyuan, from Shulin, (Fujian Province). Four *juan*. The pages are divided into three sections. The upper and lower sections contain 48 selected acts from 35 Ming period *chuanqi* dramas, while the middle section contains *sanqu* songs and *xiaoqu* tunes.

[Figure 8]

8. *Baneng zou jin* (*Beautiful Tunes from the Eight Accomplished Musicians*, Wanli period), compiled by Huang Wenhua. *Airi tang* (Hall of Love for Time) edition, of Cai Zhenghe, Shulin, (Fujian Province). Six *juan*. The pages are divided into three sections. The upper and lower sections contain 47 selected acts from 33 Ming period *chuanqi* dramas, while the middle section contains *xiaoqu* tunes. The work is missing some pages.

[Figure 9]

9. *Da Ming chun* (*Spring of the Great Ming Dynasty*, Wanli period), compiled by Cheng Wanli. Printed by Tang Jinkui, of Shulin, Fujian Province (see Xie and Li 1997:332). Six *juan*. The pages are divided into three sections. The upper and lower sections contain selected acts from *chuanqi* dramas, while the middle section contains short tunes, miscellaneous poems, and dialectal phrases. It includes 54 acts from 31 *chuanqi*.

[Figure 10]

10. *Hui chi ya diao* (*Elegant Tunes from Huizhou and Chizhou* [in modern Anhui Province], Wanli period), compiled by Xiong Renhuan. Printed by the Master of Yanshi Lodge (Xiong Renhuan), of Shulin, Fujian Province (see Xie and Li 1997:301). Two *juan*. The upper and lower sections contain 38 selected acts from 12 *chuanqi* dramas, while the middle section contains *xiaoqu* tunes.[12]

11. *Yao tian le* (*Joy in this Grand Era of Peace and Prosperity*, Wanli period), compiled by Yin Qisheng. Printed by Xiong Renhuan of Shulin, Fujian Province. Two *juan*. Format identical to *Hui chi ya diao*. The upper and lower sections contain 60 selected acts from 43 *chuanqi* dramas, and one act from the Yuan *zaju* drama *Xixiang ji* (*The Western Wing*). The middle section contains wine games, lantern riddles, jokes, and so on.

12. *Sai zhengge ji* (*A Collection to Compete with Those Inviting Singing Courtesans*, Wanli period), anonymous compiler. Six *juan*. Selections of acts from 27 Yuan and Ming period dramas.

13. *Cilin yixiang* (*Other Worldly Notes from the Forest of Songs*, 1623), compiled by Xu Yu. *Cuijin tang* edition. Four *juan*. 120 Ming *sanqu* suites and 121 suites from Yuan Ming drama. Contains Wei Liangfu's *Kunqiang yuanshi* (*On the Kunshan Mode of Singing*).

14. *Yi chun jin* (*Joyous Spring Brocade*, Chongzhen period [1628-44] edition),[13] compiled by Chonghe Jushi. Six *juan*. Selections of *sanqu* and 76 acts from 51 Ming *chuanqi* dramas. The anthology is also entitled *Xinjuan chuxiang dianban chantou bailian* (*A Hundred Bolts of Gifts of Brocade for Performers; Newly Printed, with Illustrations and Beat Notations*).

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[12] For a study of this anthology, see Zhao Jingshen (1958:124-35). He notes the inclusion of acts from three Yuan period *nanxi* dramas.

[13] The title is from the saying "a thousand *taels* of silver to buy a smile, he does not begrudge the gift of brocade for the performer" (Chonghe Jushi 1984:1). I have checked Beijing University's electronic databases, and this couplet is not in the *Quan Tang shi* (*Complete Poetry of the Tang Period*) or the *Quan Song shi* (*Complete Poetry of the Song Period*).

15. *Shanshan ji* (*The Sparkling and Crystal Clear Collection,* end of Ming period),[14] compiled by Zhou Zhibiao (Suzhou, modern Jiangsu Province). Four *juan*. Selections of song suites from Ming writers and arias fromYuan and Ming period drama.

16. *Gelin shicui (Spring from the Forest of Songs)*, an anonymous Ming period compilation. Qing period reprints. Divided into a first *ji* ("collection") with selections from 16 *chuanqi* and a second collection with selections from 14 *chuanqi*. Not divided into *juan*.

The following lists the anthologies and the acts selected from *The Jade Hairpin*:

Anthology	Acts
(1) *Qunyin leixuan*	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 27, 31, 32, 33, 34 (pp. 71-113) (punctuated arias only)
(2) *Yuefu jinghua*	16 (pp. 168-73); 23 (pp. 186-96) (arias and dialogue, not punctuated, with stage directions, illustrated)
(3) *Yugu xinhuang*	19 (pp. 72-81); 23 (pp. 81-90) (arias and dialogue, not punctuated, with some stage directions, illustrated)
(4) *Zhaijin qiyin*	19 (pp. 115-21); 23 (pp. 121-26) (arias and dialogue, not punctuated, with stage directions, illustrated)
(5) *Wu yu cui ya*	Nine arias from Act 19 (pp. 708-12); one aria from Act 31 (p. 788) (arias punctuated, with musical notation)
(6) *Yue lu yin*	Just arias from Act 16 (pp. 330-34) (not punctuated)

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[14] The title comes from Scholar Pei's couplet: "A song without musical accompaniment is sung in the middle of the night; the bright moon is sparkling and crystal clear" (Zhou Z. 1984b:1). I have checked Beijing University's electronic databases, and the couplet is not in the *Quan Tang shi* (*Complete Poetry of the Tang Period*) or the *Quan Song shi* (*Complete Poetry of the Song Period*).

(7) *Cilin yizhi*	Act ? "Chen Miaochang kongmen si mu" ("Chen Miaochang yearns for her mother within the gate of emptiness"; pp. 31-39); Act 21 (pp. 39-45); Act ? "Chen Miaochang yueye fenxiang" ("Chen Miaochang burns incense on a moonlit night"; pp. 45-51)[15] (arias and dialogue, some punctuation for arias, dialogue not punctuated, no stage directions, illustrated)
(8) *Baneng zoujin*	19 (corrupt text) (p. 20); 21 (pp. 72-80); 23 (pp. 98-102) (arias and dialogue, not punctuated, with stage directions, illustrated)
(9) *Da Ming chun*	Act ? "Miaochang si mu" ("Miaochang yearns for her mother"; pp. 10-26); Act 14 (pp. 26-33); Act ? "Jianbie Pan sheng" ("A farewell drink to Scholar Pan"; in Table of Contents but not in main text); Act 23 (pp. 33-46) (arias and dialogue, not punctuated, without stage directions, not illustrated)
(10) *Hui chi ya diao*	22 (p. 125-29) (arias and dialogue, some punctuation for arias, dialogue not punctuated, most stage directions omitted, not illustrated)
(11) *Yao tian le*	Act ? "Jiaolian nü kongmen simu" ("The maiden Jiaolian [Miaochang] yearns for her mother within the gate of emptiness"; pp. 38-46); Act 21 (pp. 46-51); Act ? "Chen Miaochang baiyue yi ren" ("Chen Miaochang pays homage to the moon and yearns for someone"; pp. 51-57) (arias and dialogue, not punctuated, no stage directions, not illustrated)
(12) *Sai zhengge ji*	Acts 21, 19, 23 (pp. 307-38) (arias and dialogue, not punctuated, with some musical notation, with stage directions, illustrated)

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[15] These two acts are not in the *Jizhi zhai* edition. Anthology 11 also contains the same two acts, and anthology 9 also has one of these acts.

(13) *Cilin yixiang*	Nine arias out of 14 from Act 19 (pp. 648-52); five arias out of 11 from Act 23 (pp. 652-54); one aria from Act 31 (p. 655) (arias punctuated, with musical notation)
(14) *Yi chun jin*	Act 19 (pp. 130-38); Act 21 except for first three arias (pp. 923-27) (arias and dialogue, punctuated, with musical notation, with stage directions, not illustrated)
(15) *Shanshan ji*	Five arias out of eight from Act 14 (pp. 287-88) (arias punctuated, and with musical notation, not illustrated)
(16) *Gelin shicui*	Acts 6, 9, 10, 12, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22, 23 (pp. 927-84) (arias and dialogue, not punctuated, no musical notation, with stage directions, not illustrated)

From the 16 anthologies above, we are able to get a glimpse of some of the favorite acts from *The Jade Hairpin* during the late Ming period: Act 16 (four anthologies), Act 21 (seven anthologies), Act 19 (nine anthologies), and Act 23 (nine anthologies). These acts (most of them mentioned in the synopsis above) represent some of the highlights in the play. Act 16 centers on music performed within an opera, and brings the love between Miaochang and Pan almost to a crescendo. In this act Miaochang plays the zither one evening, when Pan visits her and plays also. He hints at his longing for her, but she is offended and he leaves. Assuming he has gone, she sings out her fond feelings for him, which he overhears but does not fully understand. Act 21 skillfully develops the tension between love and Buddhist meditation on emptiness. Pan is late for an appointment with Miaochang because his aunt orders him to study while she sits in meditation. Act 19 continues to develop the tension between love and Buddhist emptiness, when Pan visits Miaochang while she is asleep and reads the love poem that she has hidden in a Buddhist sutra. Filled with desire for her, Pan awakes Miaochang. She refuses him until Pan sings to her that he has read her poem. She turns her back to the audience and sings out: "I try bashfully many times, and untie my silk gown." There follows a comic scene with the page Jin'an. Act 23 brings the agony of separation to a height when the aunt sees Pan off at the ferry. Miaochang hires a boat and catches up with Pan after his aunt has gone. She gives him a green jade phoenix hairpin as a good luck piece for success in the examination. He gives her a white jade mandarin duck fan pendant, hoping that they will be united in the future.

It is also interesting to note that at least two acts in anthologies 7 and 11 are not preserved in the 34-act edition.[16] All of the anthologies obviously contain arias. Five have musical notations, 11 include dialogue, and six include stage directions. Seven feature illustrations for *The Jade Hairpin*. Five have all the arias punctuated, and only one has the dialogue punctuated.

What then is the nature of these anthologies? From the different packaging of the content, marketing strategies are obviously different for some of the publishers. Anthologies 2-4 and 7-11 share a similar format, in that the pages are divided into either two or three sections and that some of these contain wine games, lantern riddles, and so on. These clearly were used for the amusement of the solitary reader or those at banquet gatherings. Other anthologies, such as the five with musical notation (5 and 12-15), would seem to be aimed at those who would like some help with the music.

In terms of musical style, the publishers advertise their anthologies with long titles, from which we can point out the following: (1) anthologies 3, 4, and 7 advertise the *gun diao* ("rolling melodies"), which refer to the *Qingyang qiang* (singing style from Qingyang Prefecture, modern Anhui Province)[17]; (2) anthologies 9, 10, and 11 represent the *Yuyao qiang* (singing style from Yuyao Prefecture, modern Zhejiang Province)[18]; and (3) anthologies 5 and 13 contain Wei Liangfu's treatise on the Kunshan (in modern Jiangsu Province) mode of singing, and anthology 15 should belong to the same group.

Six of the anthologies (5, 6, and 12-15) contain prefatory material, and in the following discussion we can glimpse the views (whether sincere or masking pecuniary interests) of the compilers and their friends.

Musical and Tonal Notation for the Arias

We would assume that tonal and musical notations are for those who wish to understand the pronunciation and the music. In the *Wu yu cui ya*, besides musical notations, closed vowels and nasal sounds are noted (Cai 1989:434).

[Figure 11]

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[16] Zhao Jingshen (1958:134-35) notes these two extra acts.

[17] For an explanation of this style of singing, see Zhang et al. 1994:289-90.

[18] See Zhao J. 1958:125. For an explanation of this style of singing, see Zhang et al. 1994:549.

The compiler of *Shanshanji* notes that he has corrected musical notation, which is either wrong or partially missing due to the carelessness of the woodblock carvers (Cai 1989:437). The section on the organizational principles of the *Cilin yixiang* states the following (*ibid.*:443):

> There are single tunes and joint tunes. Singers do not understand what rules they have broken, and look bewildered. These have all been marked clearly. As for tones being level or oblique, characters with non-nasal or nasal rhymes,[19] and the use of different rhymes, we have carefully checked [Zhou Deqing's] *Zhongyuan yinyun* [*Phonology of the Central Plain*, 1324] and made notes, so that teachers can steer those out of the ford of delusion, and students can get on the precious raft [that heads towards enlightenment].

The section on the organizational principles of *Yue lu yin*, however, states that musical notations are not necessary (*ibid.*:429):

> To add musical beat notations is like adding circles next to prose compositions [to point out the fine phrasing]. It is extremely superfluous and incorrect. There is beautiful and ugly writing, but the singing style and musical beat are basically the same for the heart and for the arias. Someone who appreciates music will be able to follow the beats, while those who do not will only be like the person who looked for a fine steed with a picture as a guide. Can he rely on these notations [like a pictorial guide] and say he is a good singer?

Zhou Zhibiao writes in his preface to *Wu yu cui ya* that those who understand music criticize mistakes in the words used in current arias, and his purpose is to retrieve the elegance. He has picked the finest and added illustrations for the emotions and scenes to please the eyes and ears, noting (1984a:432-33): "One does not have to rely on fast wind instruments, or complicated string instruments. One can concentrate on the beauty in song unaccompanied by music and in tunes that are otherworldly."

With or Without Dialogue?

The arias are obviously the most important, but what about the dialogue? Those anthologies that include just the arias are appealing to an audience primarily interested in the lyrical experience of both the singing and the imagery in the arias. Those that provide dialogue care about the

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[19] See, for example, Chen W. 1966:140-41.

development of the story also, and we find that seven of our anthologies provide dialogue. The section on the organizational principles of *Shanshan ji* notes that "the work contains some dialogue for understanding the plot, and this can provide material for discussions later, and readers are urged not to skip over them casually" (*ibid.*:437).

With or Without Stage Directions?

There are only six anthologies that give stage directions in the dialogue section.

Illustrations

At the simplest level, illustrations can help the reader visualize the world in the arias or arias with dialogue. Zhou Zhibiao writes in his *Wu yu cui ya* (*ibid.*:434): "Illustrations are just for ornament. Still, if they are all taken away, those with vulgar eyes will grumble. I have thus specially invited a marvelous hand to set out the emotions behind the topics. The fine artisan suffers alone, and I offer it to those with a fondness for such matters."

Qingyu Jushi writes in his preface to *Yue lu yin* (*ibid.*:428): "The illustrations of the emotions and scenes are extremely fine and beautiful, but they are just icing on the cake." Again, the section on the organizational principles of the same anthology notes (*ibid.*:430): "Illustrations are just for decoration. If they are all taken away, vulgar eyes will grumble. [Note the same wording in *Wu yu cui ya.*] For this collection, I have specially invited a marvelous hand to arrange something new and wonderful. Not too many illustrations will be given for emotions, scenes, and intentions that are similar."

Why Read These Texts?

Zhou Zhibiao writes in his Preface to *Wu yu cui ya* (*ibid.*:435):

Alas! The ways of the world are turning for the worse, and people's hearts are similar. Genuine [*zhen*] writings and true enterprises [that come from the heart] are rare, and even for the lowest lascivious songs and erotic tunes, it is absolutely rare to find those that approach the genuine. Emotions and scenes are genuine for women who are pining away in their boudoirs, or soldiers who are beyond the frontiers, and these can be depicted. A poet can speak for someone with his own brush, . . . and in expressing it, is clearly genuine. Those who sing it are also clearly

genuine. Thus, how can the eight-legged [examination] essay compare to the 13 modes of music? Scholars, instead of reading putrid contemporary examination essays, should read genuine contemporary songs.

Zhou Z. also writes (*ibid*.:433): "The present world does not lack people with emotions. They can keep this work on their low tables or high desks, and read it several times a day as a draft of cool medicine to ward off the heat of the world." On the selections, Zhou Z. observes (*ibid*.:435): "The 300 poems in the *Book of Poetry* praise the good and ridicule the bad, and are awe-inspiring in urging people to do good and to punish evil. *Chuanqi* drama is the same, and one or two acts from *chuanqi* drama serve the same purpose. Reading the anthology is like reading the complete versions of the plays." In addition to the Confucian function of inspiring readers to do good and to chastise evil, reading these anthologies, for Zhou Zhibiao, becomes an act of retrieving the genuine.

Criteria for Selection

The section on the organizational principles of *Cilin yixiang* notes (*ibid*.:443): "People are captivated by contemporary tunes and arias from drama, so the selections are almost equal."

In the *Wu yu cui ya* Zhou Z. explains (*ibid*.:435) why his anthology contains both contemporary songs (*shi qu*) and arias (*xi qu*). The events and emotions in dramatic arias are genuine, and that is the ideal. For contemporary songs, even if the events depicted may not be real, the emotions are genuine.

In Zhou Zhibiao's other anthology, *Zengding Shanshan ji* (*The Sparkling and Crystal Clear Collection*, *Expanded Edition*), it is mentioned (*ibid*.:436-37) that the first anthology, *Wu yu cui ya*, was very popular, and so this one came out with arias from new *chuanqi* drama.

Jingchangzhai Zhuren (Master of the Studio of Quietude and Constancy) also explains (*ibid*.:429) in the organizing principles of *Yue lu yin* that over half of the selections are new works, and 70 percent are from famous composers. However, old tunes are also included and, even though readers may not find this very exciting, it is necessary, like the staples of cloth, silk, beans, and millet.

He also notes the following (*idem*):

Someone who selects songs is different from a composer. The composer wishes to connect the events, and arranges the plot like the intricate blood vessels of the heart. If the genuine emotions are brought out indirectly and completely, people will praise him for being outstanding and marvelous**.**

As for the selection of arias, if they are not finely wrought like the carved dragons [ornate prose] of Zou Shi (Warring Stated Period),[20] or like those of Cao Zhi (192-232), the tiger of embroidered composition,[21] dare one try to fool people and include them? Please do not rule that the selections should be made using a standard based on the viewing of a stage performance.

If the selections have to be genuine and superlative, we also find anthologies that go one step further and classify the songs according to different types of emotion, for the convenience of the reader. Qingyu Jushi mentions in his Preface to *Yue lu yin* (1616) that in his day there was nearly one collected work for each poet and scholar, but there were no good collections of fine songs. Therefore the compiler Li Yuer gathered beautiful women on West Lake in Hangzhou, and in his boat laden with wine, spread out the beautiful songs and picked new ones, drank and sang, and anthologized them in one mighty gesture. The songs had to fit the emotions described, make sense, and conform to proper standards; thus the anthology was divided into four sections under the headings of *zhuang* ("robust"), *sao* ("wistful"), *fen* ("indignant"), and *le* ("joyful").
Li Yuer goes on to say (Cai 1989:428):

He has selected songs to such a high standard, which are not merely arias sung on stage. . . . I am going to see its completion soon, and it will sing of the great peace [we enjoy in our time]. Do we necessarily need puppet [actors] from the Pear Garden [dramatic world] to show off their wares in the daytime? The illustrations of the emotions and scenes are extremely fine and beautiful, but this is just icing on the cake.

Influenced by the tradition of *sanqu* independent songs, Qingyu Jushi concludes that we do not need the actors.

Why Selections?

Why were there so many anthologies in the late Ming period that contained only selected acts instead of entire dramas? The anonymous writer (1987:series 4, vol. 46, pp. 1-4) of the Preface to *Sai zhengge ji* notes that *chuanqi* drama can be verbose and depict too many events; for this reason he applauds the selection of choice acts in anthologies. Another reason could be

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[20] See Shih 1983:3.

[21] See Luo 1992:1037.

that publishers assume that the reader knows the plot of the whole drama and is just interested in the highlights. A practical reason should come from the tradition of actual performance, when only selected acts were performed.

There are questions concerning when this performance tradition began and when it became popular. Lu Eting (1980:175), in his *Kunqu yanchu shi gao* (*A Draft History of Kunqu Drama Performance*), observes the complicated process for the formation of *zhezi xi* ("single-act drama")— drama where certain acts from a longer play are chosen for performance. Lu places its beginnings in the late Ming early Qing period; such drama became the fashion from the early Kangxi period (1622-1722) onwards. He notes (*ibid.*:175-78) the origins in private performances in banquet halls to entertain guests, and gives instances discovered in jottings and diaries of scholar-officials for the years 1617, 1623, 1632, 1636, 1637, 1638, 1639, and 1644. However, if we turn to the earlier novel *Jinpingmei* (*The Plum in the Golden Vase*), which David Roy (1993:vol. 1, xvii, xlii-iii) prefers to see as a product of the Wanli period in the second half of the sixteenth century, we also find descriptions of performance of selected acts.[22] We may then ask the following questions. Do the anthologies of selected acts of Ming drama that appear from at least the mid-sixteenth century reflect the actual performance situation or were they one stimulus for the rise of *zhezi xi*? Once both the performance of *zhezi xi* and the practice of anthologizing became prevalent, did the two further stimulate each other? More research is required to answer these questions.

Selections of *The Jade Hairpin* (Acts 16, 21, 22, and 23) may also be found in the eighteenth-century drama anthology *Zhui bai qiu* (*The White Sewn Fur Coat*), published in Suzhou, Jiangsu Province.[23] This edition is notable for its use of the Suzhou dialect, and not Mandarin Chinese, for comic dialogue.

Technical Manuals

I do not know of any extant Ming period edition of *The Jade Hairpin* that gives all the musical, pronunciation, and tonal pattern notations. Shen

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[22] Dai Bufan (1984:419-21) notes that in the novel only exciting or boisterous acts from *chuanqi* drama are chosen.

[23] Wang X. 1940:Fourth Collection, *juan* 4, pp. 227-31; Eighth Collection, *juan* 3, pp. 122-27; Second Collection, *juan* 1, pp. 19-32.

Jing's *Zengding nan jiugong qupu* (*Drama Manual of the Nine Modes of Southern Music, Expanded and Revised*) gives model examples for tunes from different musical modes, but does not give examples from *The Jade Hairpin*. His nephew, Shen Zijin, however, referred to one aria in his *Nan ci xin pu* (*A New Manual of Southern Songs*, 1655). At the end of the model song to the tune of "Xiu dai er" ("Embroidered Belt") from Gao Ming's fourteenth-century play *Pipa ji* (*The Lute*), there is a note to the effect that the aria to the same tune in *The Jade Hairpin*, Act 19, is missing lines 7 and 8 of the model aria, and should probably be regarded as another form (Shen 1984:series 3, vol. 29, pp. 424-26).

Cards for Wine Drinking Games

Cards used for wine-drinking games were very popular in the late Ming period. There are 26 cards from the Wanli period, given the modern title *Yuan Ming xiqu yezi* (*Yuan and Ming Drama Cards*; see Zheng 1988:vol. 4, 1-36). These measure 8.2 x 15.8 cm. and are printed in blue ink. The 15th card depicts a scene from Act 21 of *The Jade Hairpin*, where Miaochang is waiting for Pan Kai in the evening after their union the night before, with the aria to the tune of "Pomegranate Flowers" and a poem that explains the context for Miaochang's waiting. In the game, the person who draws this card reads out the instructions, which instruct, "those who are mumbling to themselves drink a huge cup" (*ibid.*:17).

[Figure 12]

There is also an assorted collection of 69 Ming period wine cards in the National Library of China in Beijing. Twenty-two of these illustrate scenes from drama. The cards measure 9.8 x 17 cm., and at the top horizontal section each card has a value according to money suits in regular Chinese playing-cards. A second section below gives lines from a drama, followed by drinking instructions. The third section is a scene from the drama.

Concluding Remarks

Through textual representations of *The Jade Hairpin*, I hope that I have demonstrated a fraction of the richness and complexity of dramatic culture in the late Ming period. Some of the texts help us to approximate

performance traditions on stage through the inclusion of dialogue, stage directions, punctuation, and illustration. Some help us to approach performance of a different kind, that is, the strong tradition of *qing chang* ("pure singing"), defined as performance with no make-up and no dialogue, where the tunes are sung to relatively simple musical accompaniment and where gestures and actions are allowed (see Luo 1991:1316).

Trying to read these texts myself, I found that they went very fast, since I know very little about music. Surely I was not appreciating the arias in the right or the best way. Again, to read dramatic texts as literary composition (*wenzhang*), we could turn for help from the editions with brief commentaries by late Ming literati, but it is only through the early Qing period full-length commentaries of Jin Shengtan on *Xixiang ji* (*The Western Wing*, 1658), and those of Mao Lun and his son Mao Zonggang on *Pipa ji* (*Story of The Lute*, 1665; see Chen X. 1995:9) that the appreciation of Chinese drama as literature takes a new turn.

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