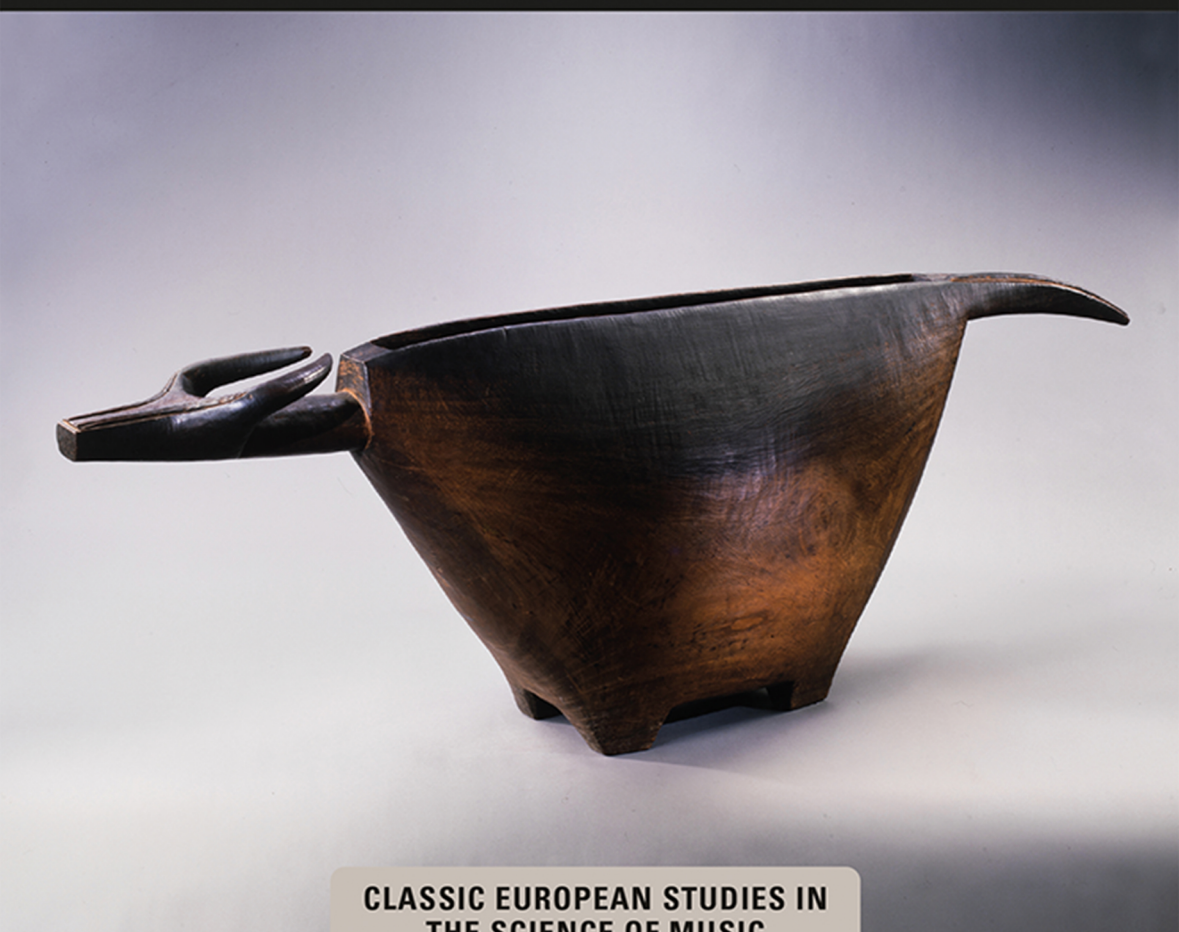
André Schaeffner

Edited and translated by Rachelle Taylor, Ariadne Lih and Emelyn Lih

The Origin of Musical Instruments

An Ethnological Introduction to the History of Instrumental Music



CLASSIC EUROPEAN STUDIES IN THE SCIENCE OF MUSIC

The Origin of Musical Instruments

The work of French musicologist, ethnologist and critic André Schaeffner (1895–1980) grew out of his first organological studies of the history of Western classical instruments in the late 1920s and is encapsulated in his wide-ranging *Origine des instruments de musique*, which captures his studies in Paris between 1931 and 1936.

Almost 80 years after its first publication, the scientific relevance and influence of Schaeffner's primary hypothesis—that the origins of music can be traced to the human body through gesture, dance and the movements in the use of musical instruments and their ancestor tools—remain pertinent in fields which have returned to informed speculative and empirical research on the origins of music.

This first English edition is accompanied by editorial footnotes and introductory texts, and the influence of Schaeffner's thought on several generations of musicologists makes his work an essential piece of reading for ethnomusicologists, music psychologists, organologists and musicologists interested in the history of their field.

André Schaeffner (1895–1980) was an ethnomusicologist whose musical knowledge came from his own curiosity and from encounters with some of the great creators and musical minds of his time: Ravel, Debussy, Stravinsky, Boulez and many others. His knowledge of philosophy—Kant, Nietzsche, Bergson—and of literature—Maeterlinck, Claudel, Barrès, Péguy, Gide, Proust—was no less impressive. Schaeffner pioneered the reorganization of the Musée du Trocadéro—later the Musée de l'homme—where he created a department of "musical organology" in 1928. In 1931 this department became the department of musical ethnology, which Schaeffner would direct until his retirement in 1965. In 1931, along with Michel Leiris and others, he participated in the Dakar-Djibouti expedition led by Marcel Griaule. Directly after the First World War, he became interested in music emerging from oral traditions. His research on musical instruments then led him—already the co-author of one of the first French-language books on jazz—to study the origins of Black American music. His initial fieldwork among the Dogon and other populations of northern Cameroon inspired *Origine des instruments de musique*, which he began preparing in French Sudan in 1931 and completed in 1936. It appears here in the English language for the first time, edited and translated by Rachelle Taylor, Ariadne Lih and Emelyn Lih.

Classic European Studies in the Science of Music

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by
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[Concordance *MQB* PV0044536 and PF0036464]

2 [Schaeffner did not give a Trocadéro inventory number; the *MQB* inventory number provided here is without a doubt correct when compared to the relevant section of Plate IV.]

3 [The Sandwich Island in question here is known today as Efate, in the Republic of Vanuatu.]

4 [Marquis Robert de Wavrin, Bottelare (Eastern Flanders), August 29, 1888—Uccle, June 29, 1971. See Wavrin's filmography: https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marquis_Robert_de_Wavrin—Filmographie.]

5 [See note 1 above.]

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3. Reindeer antler. La Roche excavations, Lalinde Commune (Dordogne). Musée des antiquités nationales, Saint-Germain-en-Laye [Concordance Musée d'Archéologie nationale, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, MAN74482, fonds Antiquités Nationales]
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6 [The modern-day equivalent of the *Equela* is unclear. Phonetically similar rivers in French Equatorial Africa include the Likouala River and the Ebola River, both tributaries of the Congo in French Equatorial Africa. On the other hand, perhaps Schaeffner means the Kadéï River, which meets the Mambéré to form the Sangha, another Congo tributary.]

7 [On this photo, the double bell resembles the one on Plate X and indeed is the same object, devoid of its small bell. The photo on Plate X is rather ancient, while the color digitized version at *MQB* gives only a one-sided view.]

8 [We were unable to identify a modern-day equivalent for Tuyogu.]

9 [The Trocadéro inventory number, when traced to *MQB*, corresponds to another object, also a bullroarer from the same geographical region: *MQB* 71.1931.49.21. This is possibly due to an error by Schaeffner or one that occurred during the object's transfer in 2006 to *MQB*.]

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   [See *MQB* 71.1976.58.2.1–3][12]

Plate XV

1. Friction drum, with stick (*zambomba*). Majorca. Trocadéro 35.67.1
   [Found neither at *MQB* nor *MuCEM*]
2. Drum with pellets whipped against the skin (*damaru*): human skin tensioned over the crowns of two skulls. Mekong region (Tibet). Trocadéro 31.57.49
   [Concordance *MQB* 71.1931.57.49]
3. Pair of large castanets. Ibiza (Balearic Islands). Trocadéro 34.4.1
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1. Membrane drum. Baga people. French Guinea. Trocadéro 33.40.84
   [Concordance *MQB* 71.1933.40.84]
2. Membrane drum. Koba people. French Guinea. Trocadéro 33.40.90
   [Concordance *MQB* 71.1933.40.90]

10 [Inscription: Handwritten inscription in blue ink on verso: "C. d'une épreuve (cl. Inst. de phonétique) Madagascar. Valihas des Mpilalao/Exp. Coloniale. Paris 1931." See also photo *MQB* PF0142004 from preceding collection at Musée de l'homme—Photothèque; Event: Exposition coloniale internationale de Paris 1931.]

11 [Possibly *MQB* photo PV0075705 or PV0075698 "Garçon jouant de l'osôba." Griaule's two photos are not accessible on the *MQB* website. Images 1. and 2. of Plate XIII are inverted in the third edition of Schaeffner, *Origine des instruments de musique* (Paris: Mouton, 1980).]

12 [The illustration does not correspond to a tube zither but rather a pole zither, according to the description at *MQB*. Former Trocadéro 33.42.3 is associated, rather, to *MQB* 71.1933.42.3. The description given in *MQB* 71.1933.42.1 reads: "Spécimens de fibres servant à ligaturer les roseaux de la cithare-radeau" (Specimens of fibrous material serving to tie the reeds of the raft-zither).]

13 [We did not locate the object itself in the collections of either *MQB* or *MuCEM*. According to the photo at *MQB*, the correct inventory number at Trocadéro was 34.5.2. This is an example of objects that have been transferred out of *MQB* but whose location is not known at this time.]

Plate XVII
1. Membrane drum, acquired by Aristide Aubert Du Petit Thouars. Tahiti. Trocadéro 30.44.1
[Concordance *MQB* 71.1930.44.1 Oc]
2. Membrane drum. Baoulé people. Kong (Ivory Coast). Trocadéro 36.376
[Concordance *MQB* 71.1895.7.1]

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1. Paired drums, male and female. Pila Pila people. Cercle de Djougou, Dahomey. Griaule expeditions
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2. Kettledrum and fiddle players, part of the Lamido Boukar's music. Mandara people. Mora (northern Cameroon). Griaule expeditions
[Concordance photo *MQB* PV0074311][15]

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1. Phonolith in the "Pagode des phonolithes," Thanh Hoa Province (Annam) Photo by the Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle, Paris
[See photothèque MUSEUMEDIA (forthcoming) of the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle][16]
2. Bronze drum. Alor Island (Sunda Islands). Photo by Kunst
[The same photo can be found in Kunst 1973, 114, ill. 5]
3. Bronze drum. Muong people. Hoa Binh (Tonkin). Trocadéro 32.41.113
[Concordance *MQB* 71.1932.41.113]

Plate XX
1. Wooden drum in the shape of a crotal bell (*mokugyo*). Japan. Trocadéro 33.52.6
[Concordance *MQB* 71.1939.99.14][17]
2. *Shao-tzu*: quintuple pigeon whistle. China
[Concordance (probable) *MQB* 71.1943.28.22][18]

14 [At *MQB*, there are two prints of a different photo showing the same pair of drums, likely taken during the same photo session; see *MQB* PV0023384 and *MQB* PP0030666. One of the two drums in Schaeffner's *Origine* was brought back to Paris; its mace ("banger") serving to drive the peg ("beni") into the drum is visible on these photos. The concordant object is *MQB* 71.1931.74.2173.]

15 [The photo is inverted. However, the date indicated for the shot (1938–39) is too late, perhaps an error of either date, or corresponding to a later print of the same negative; *MQB* links metadata to the photo of the Dakar-Djibouti expedition.]

16 [Curiously, a much better digital version of this photo can be found online on a Vietnamese tourism site at http://vietlandmarks.com/module/groups/action/view/id/1658/album/749.]

17 [The *MQB* inventory number identifies the same object but the date is slightly late if one considers the number's composition in relation to *Origine*. See also the photo *MQB* PF0141921, in which the object on the left is that of Plate XX.]

18 [The provenance of this object is not the Musée du Trocadéro but the Musée national des arts asiatiques Guimet. Its inventory number at *MQB* is late in relation to Schaeffner's *Origine*, because it was transferred to the Musée de l'Homme and then to *MQB*. It is presumed that Schaeffner studied the object onsite at the Guimet museum.]

3. *Launut* or rubbed wooden block. New Ireland. Ratton Collection[19]

Plate XXI

1. Arched harp. Ancient Chinese stele
   [Neither object nor photo located][20]
2. Pluriarc. Loma people. French Guinea. Trocadéro 34.143.5
   [Concordance *MQB* 71.1934.143.5]
3. Arched harp. Peul people. Fouta-Djallon. Trocadéro 33.40.300
   [Concordance *MQB* 71.1933.40.300.1–2. Cf. *MQB* PF0180968][21]

Plate XXII

1. Angular harp players. Assyrian bas-relief: British Museum
   [Concordance *BM* 124948]
2. Anthropomorphic arched harp. Upper Ubangi. Trocadéro 51.994
   [Object not found at *MQB* or elsewhere in spite of Trocadéro provenance. A similar instrument but with tuning pegs not on the same side is *MQB* 71.1901.35.29. Cf. photos *MQB* PV0061053 and *MQB* PP0116225][22]

Plate XXIII

1. Bark raft zither (*sarà-kad-ràjan*). Sora people. Madras Province (India). Trocadéro: 33.42.1
   [Concordance *MQB* 71.1933.42.1]
2. Monochord zither (*kisango*); one string laced around a wooden basin. Archicounda (Central Africa).[23] Trocadéro 05.7.7
   [Concordance *MQB* 71.1934.156.14][24]

19 [The object, which is also spelled "nunut" belonged to a private collection and has not been traced. Charles Ratton bequeathed many objects to different museums, including *MQB*, however, we have not located any there from New Ireland (Nouveau Mecklembourg).]

20 [Neither is any reference given by Schaeffner.]

21 [The description on the photo at *MQB* is "Guinée Fouta-Djalon. Harpe arquée. Peul. Photographie d'un objet Musée de l'homme numéro 33-40-300." The instrument, however, is not positioned in the same way as it is in *Origine*; it is seen from the left in the *MQB* photograph and from the right in the book. This may explain why the sound hole is in a different place: at the bottom of the body of the instrument in the *MQB* image and at the top, near the neck in the book.]

22 [Tagged in black ink: "Deux harpes en forme de corps humains. (Haut Oubanghi). (M. Loustau). Musée du Trocadéro. N: E-4159" [voir n° de projection]. And in red ink: [voir n° de classement.]
Description given by *MQB*: "Deux harpes en forme de corps humains. (Haut Oubanghi). (M. Loustau). Musée du Trocadéro. Plaque provenant de la collection de plaques de projection du Musée de l'homme." The instrument on the right on both photos could be the corresponding object, as the tuning pegs are on the same side as in *Origine*; however, the old Trocadéro inventory number does not correspond to it.]

23 [We were unable to identify a modern-day equivalent for Archicounda.]

24 [Normally, the updated inventory number corresponding to the Trocadéro inventory number given in *Origine* would have been *MQB* 71.1905.7.7 but it does not correspond to the same instrument.]

Plate XXIV Asymmetrical lyres:
1. *Beganna*. Shewa province (Abyssinia). Height: 1.08 m. Trocadéro 85.22.121
[Concordance *MQB* 71.1885.22.121]
2. An older instrument (the bridge is missing). Trocadéro: 34.151.2
[Concordance *MQB* 71.1934.151.2]

Plate XXV 1. Sumerian lyre. Ur excavations (1928-29). British Museum (museum number 121199)
[Concordance *BM* 121199]
2. Burmese harp (*saung-gauk*). Private collection
[Photo not located]

Plate XXVI 1. Forked harp (Buduma people). Cercle de Kanidougou[25] (French Guinea) Waterlot expedition
[See photo *MQB* PF0141921][26]
2. Symmetrical lyre. Abyssinia. Trocadéro 33.13.1
[Concordance *MQB* 71.1933.13.1]

Plate XXVII 1. Negro lute. Peul people. Fouta-Djallon. Trocadéro 33.40.302
[Concordance *MQB* 71.1933.40.302]
2. Moroccan lute. Trocadéro: 34.85.11
[Concordance *MQB* 71.1934.85.11]
3. Malay *rabab* player
[Provenance unknown]

Plate XXVIII 1. Vezo canoeist playing conch horn. Madagascar. From a film by Roger Mourlan
[Concordance photo *MQB* PV0070130]
2. Transverse flute player. Somba people. Natitingou, Dahomey. Griaule expeditions
[Concordance photo *MQB* PV0070128]

Plate XXIX 1. and 2. Baked earth whistle-figurine from the Yucatán
[Cf. photo *MQB* PV0030528, object at the center of the photo]

25 [We were unable to identify any modern-day equivalent for Kanidougou.]

26 [The object *MQB* 71.1935.124.62 was collected during the Georges Waterlot expeditions and resembles the instrument on this plate, but without metal jingles and other variants. The photo number given here corresponds to an unclassified instrument from the Waterlot expedition whose provenance is the Musée de l'Homme photo collection. In other words, the object itself was not found at *MQB*; only the photo. There are many forked harps at *MQB*.]

3. Ash-bark *tontarde* from the Vendée department. "Les vieilles danses de France" exhibition (1935-36) at the Archives internationales de la Danse, Paris
[The instrument is held at *MuCEM* (1938.42.1)][27]

Plate XXX

1. Horn player. Kirdi people of the Mora region (Cameroon). Griaule expeditions
[Photo *MQB* PV0074307]
2. Oboe (*algaita*) player. Peul people of Garoua (Cameroon). Griaule expeditions
[Provenance unknown]

Plate XXXI

1. Naseré, intermediate instrument between flute and duct flute. Toba-Pilagá people. Formosa Province, Gran Chaco (Argentina). Trocadéro 33.72.566
2. Rear view of the same instrument
[Concordance *MQB* 71.1933.72.566; Cf. *MQB* PF0141924]
3. Double recorder. Čačak (Old Serbia). Trocadéro 29.2.2
[Concordance *MuCEM* DMH1929.2.2; Cf. *MQB* PF0141924][28]
4. Triple clarinet. Modern-day Egypt. Trocadéro 33.165.133
[Concordance *MQB* 71.1933.165.133]
5. Mouth organ (*sheng*). China. Trocadéro: 33.52.46
[Not located at *MQB*]
6. Harp and mouth organ. Mural in Greco-Buddhist style, temple at Kumtura, Central Asia. After von Le Coq and Waldschmidt, *Neue bildwerke II*, vol. 6 of *Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, plate 22
[See Le Coq 1922-33]

Plate XXXII

1. Double and triple recorder players. Bajawa, west of Flores (Sunda Islands) Photo by Kunst
[Photo by Jaap Kunst not located]
2. *Khaen* players. Hmong people. Lào Cai, Tonkin. Trocadéro photo library
[Concordance *MQB* PP0205022]

27 [Though it displays the ravages of time, the instrument corresponds to the one illustrated on Plate XXIX, whose donor was Mme Yvonne Cacaud-Beaudoin, who during the exhibition gave a lecture, with one Dr. Beaudoin (presumably her husband), titled "Les vieilles danses de France"; see Cacaud-Beaudoin 1936.]

28 [The inventory number for this object corresponds to the four last numerals of the old inventory number of the Trocadéro for a double flute, held at the *MuCEM*. The photo at *MQB* is inverted compared to the one at the *MuCEM*, and there is an error in the metadata at *MQB* for this photo, which gives its original provenance as "Africa." *MuCEM* doesn't give any provenance.]

Tables

Abbreviations

Bibliographic abbreviations

EM	*Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du Conservatoire.* Edited by Albert Lavignac; Lionel de la Laurencie; Paris: Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation. Paris: Lavignac, 1913–34
GDoMI	*The Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments* (2nd ed.). New York: Oxford University Press, 2014
GWM	Sachs, Curt. *Geist und Werden der Musikinstrumente*. Berlin: D. Reimer, 1929
PMA	Aristotle. *Les problèmes musicaux d'Aristote: texte grec avec traduction française, notes philologiques, commentaire musical et appendice*. Edited and translated by F. A. Gevaert and J. C. Vollgraff. Ghent: Hoste, 1903
OED online	*The Oxford English Dictionary.* Second edition. Edited by John Simpson and Edmund Weiner. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989 www.oed.com

Holding institutions (most often cited)

BM	London, British Museum
IM	London, former India Museum
MQB	Paris, Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac
MT	Paris, former Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro
MuCEM	Marseille, Musée des civilisations et de la Méditerranée
PRM	Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum
VAM	London, Victoria and Albert Museum

Editors' and translators' notes

Rachelle Taylor, Ariadne Lih and Emelyn Lih

Those who knew André Schaeffner thought of him as a man of immense culture whose erudition transcended the limits of his official specialization, musicology. But his literary style impressed his contemporaries as much as his achievement in his discipline: "that he was a pioneering musicologist there can be no doubt. He was also an ethnologist, a literary critic, a philosopher, and above all, a writer," wrote Michel Aghassian.[29]

Origine des instruments de musique is a summit of ethnomusicology and a work of literature combined, and therein lies the main challenge of producing a good English version. Bringing Schaeffner's staggering number of bibliographic references up to date and providing new English sources was another.

In preparing this English edition, we decided that it was crucial to provide accurate and up-to-date documentation to accompany the wealth of illustrations that make the book what it is. The objects to which the figures and plates in *Origine* refer are dispersed in holding institutions across the globe today, though most of them were transferred from the Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro, Paris' first ethnographic museum where Schaeffner founded and directed the musical organology department (1929), to the Musée de l'homme (1937) and most recently, to the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac (2006).

Figures

There are twenty numbered figures (drawings) of which four comprise several illustrations, for a total of twenty-nine, some of which are very fine. When drawn from objects—by artists unknown or by Schaeffner himself—Schaeffner provides former Musée du Trocadéro inventory numbers for each. With a few exceptions (mainly objects lost in the migration of collections outside the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac where most of them are housed today), we have updated these inventory numbers. This will enable the modern reader to conduct an advanced search in holding institutions' web pages,

29 Michel Aghassian, "André Schaeffner, 1895–1980," *Cahiers D'Études Africaines* 19, no. 73/76 (1979): 603–4.

instantly viewing digitized versions of the original objects depicted and discussed in *Origine*. It should be noted, however, that in one or two instances, Schaeffner's Musée du Trocadéro inventory numbers are difficult to trace to modern ones because their numbers do not concord in the usual way (core reference numbers were usually retained, but a few were not). In these cases, we have provided what appears to be, or is by virtue of circumstantial evidence or observation, the closest match. It should be noted, as for the plates, that metadata on these institutions' websites give further descriptions, provenance and bibliographic references, although in some cases corrections have also been made in our translation, in consultation with collection curators. All these updates are explained in square brackets within relevant footnotes. When a photo of the drawn object was available, we included its archival reference number, as well.

A few figures in *Origine* were reproduced by Schaeffner from secondary sources: books and articles by Balfour, Galpin, Hornbostel, Izikowitz, Kaudern, Knosp and Sachs. These are usually fully documented by Schaeffner, but we have corrected the occasional page information error (again, in square brackets). Many of these books and articles are also available online in full text for the modern reader.

Plates

Thirty-two plates, many of which are subdivided into several images, yield a total of seventy-seven photographs. Since these plates are agglomerated in one place in this edition (at the back of the volume), we chose to document them directly and fully at the front of this volume in the List of plates, using footnotes and other annotations.

In the most recent French edition of *Origine* (1994) the provenance of many of these plates is given as "Photothèque du Musée de l'Homme," but the reference numbers refer, for the vast majority, to objects and not photos. This became obvious when examining the reference numbers themselves, which were found to be old Musée du Trocadéro inventory numbers. These have, therefore, also been updated. In cases where the source of a plate is really a photo, we have updated their archival reference numbers as well. Again, the reader may simply enter these modern inventory numbers or archival reference numbers using the advanced search facility on the holding institution's web pages to view the sources of most plates in *Origine*.

Concordances for nine plates could not be found because they had been photographed from private collections, during expeditions that had not yet been fully documented, or from objects collected by Georges Waterlot, a representative of the French government in West Africa from 1904 to 1934. Three plates were extracted from films by Roger Mourlan (1912–87) and Marquis Robert de Wavrin (1888–1971), fully referenced here. There are several instances where objects were simply given the wrong inventory number, calling for more extensive research.

Previous editions of *Origine* present mirror images of original photos, and we have corrected one instance of an inverted plate that did not correspond to its caption in the Mouton edition of 1980, an error carried over to the 1994 edition. Inscriptions and other relevant metadata have been added to the information on several plates, and where they occurred, errors of provenance have been corrected. The reader may obtain further information about the objects and photos that make up the plates in *Origine*, again by perusing descriptions provided on holding institutions' web pages.

Textual references to other objects in holding institutions

In his text, Schaeffner refers to myriad objects held in memory institutions across the globe: twenty-eight mentions of the Musée du Trocadéro; twenty-four of the Oxford Pitt Rivers Museum; eight of the British Museum; four of the former Indian Museum (relevant collections were transferred to the Victoria and Albert Museum); two each of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum, the Berlin Egyptian Museum, the Brussels Congo Museum and the Horniman Museum in London; and one mention each of the Bagdad Museum, Brussels Conservatory Museum, Geneva Ethnographic Museum and Musée du Louvre. Sometimes, many objects are described for each of these institutional mentions, but in every case where an instrument or other object is described in writing and not illustrated, we have treated that case as we would have an illustration: updating inventory numbers, and determining whether or not they are still held by the same institution. An interesting case—and one that became problematic in terms of locating objects (in this instance, triple and quadruple flutes from the Queen Charlotte Island off British Columbia, Canada)—reflects modern ethical concerns for returning objects to the cultures that created them. Thus, the Haida Collection at the Oxford Pitt Rivers Museum has been, since 2006, subject to repatriation efforts by the *Haida Gwai* Museum in British Columbia in collaboration with curators at the Pitt Rivers Museum.

Again, if one maps their museum provenance, the great majority of objects illustrated by figures and plates or textually described in *Origine* is the Musée du Trocadéro. One can well imagine Schaeffner spending hour upon hour perusing every angle of these objects in the collections of which he himself was the curator: his textual descriptions are as vivid as his illustrations.

Previous French editions

The three French editions of *Origine* that post-date the original one (Payot, 1936)[30] are facsimile prints of the text with the addition of a *Complément de bibliographie* by Schaeffner himself (Mouton, 1968, reproduced integrally by

30 André Schaeffner, *Origine des instruments de musique: Introduction ethnologique à l'histoire de la musique instrumentale* (Paris: Payot, 1936).

the same publisher in 1980),[31] and a multi-part index-glossary of musical terms, names and places by Nathalie Cousin and Gilles Léothaud (EHESS, 1994) discussed further below.[32] We decided to prepare a general index for our English version and have excluded Schaeffner's original *Bibliographie méthodique* and 1980 *Complément de bibliographie*. His indispensable *Classification des instruments de musique* has, however, been translated and provided here in the Appendix, preserving its original design.

Other features of this English version

Jean-Jacques Nattiez has enriched this English version with his *Anthropology and History According to André Schaeffner*, Prefatory remarks—rather too modest a category but one that avoids confusion with Schaeffner's own *Avant-Propos* and the Introduction that is Chapter 1. Professor Nattiez's account of *Origine*, set in the context of Schaeffner's career, is an inspiring guide to the volume, genuinely accessible to the reader, and fascinating as a narrative.

We have provided bibliographic abbreviations in all the footnotes; readers will consult the bibliography for full documentation of secondary sources. In the bibliography, discussed hereafter, new entries are clearly distinguished from Schaeffner's original bibliography using bold characters. Sigla of holding institutions most often cited by Schaeffner (and their modern counterparts) appear only in footnotes, to preserve the original feeling in the main text body.

Acknowledgements

The book's all-embracing title and its age were a safe indication that an updated English version would require many hands. We acknowledge the help of curators and reference services staff at the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac, Oxford Pitt Rivers Museum, British Museum, and Victoria and Albert Museum in locating modern inventory and archival reference numbers; Anne Madelain at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales for providing key information on the 1994 French edition; Joel Natanblut and Cathy Martin at the Marvin Duchow Music Library of McGill University for processing illustrations; and independent scholars Jean-Pierre Noiseux and Hélène Panneton for their research and work respectively on inventory numbers and bibliographic abbreviations.

Two gifted young scholars from Yale and New York Universities were engaged in the project from the very beginning. The excellence of their work

31 André Schaeffner, *Origine des instruments de musique: Introduction ethnologique à l'histoire de la musique instrumentale*, coll. Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Rééditions, 3 (La Haye: Mouton, 1968); Idem, 2e Éd. ed. Maison des Sciences de l'Homme (Paris: Mouton, 1980).

32 André Schaeffner, *Origine des instruments de musique: Introduction ethnologique à l'histoire de la musique instrumentale*, nouvelle édition avec des index établis par Nathalie Cousin et Gilles Léothaud (Paris: Éditions de l'EHESS, 1994).

in translating the text, meticulous bibliographic research to supplement and optimize the book's already impressive critical apparatus, and tireless dedication have made this English version possible. They must receive sole credit for establishing the complete draft of the English translation of Schaeffner's monumental work, so I leave it to them to describe their process and decisions.

Rachelle Taylor
Montreal, 2020

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Perhaps the first challenge in crafting an English edition both faithful and current was the translation of musical instrument names. Schaeffner's novel instrument classification system is a *sine qua non* of *Origine*, and one of our central tasks was to create an English counterpart for this system while accurately translating the names of the many, many instruments discussed and their component parts. The 1994 Cousin and Léothaud edition provides an index of musical instruments with corresponding entry names in *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*. We have adopted a similar model: throughout the present volume, we use corresponding terminology from the second edition of *The Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments* (Oxford University Press, 2014). Whenever Schaeffner's vocabulary clearly mapped onto vocabulary in *Grove*, we adopted the latter throughout. When no satisfactory equivalent could be found, we used the documented English-language spelling closest to Schaeffner's. Our goal in this and in all matters has been to make *Origine* an accessible point of departure for further research and exploration.

Place names were another crucial issue. We translated but did not modernize the names of cities, towns, districts, countries, islands and so on. Times and borders have changed so much that replacing *Annam* with *Vietnam* or *French Sudan* with *Mali* could only lead to confusion and inaccuracy. On the other hand, we have attempted to refer to ethnic groups by the names they call themselves rather than the names given to them during the colonial era, in the interest of both comprehensibility and respect. Thus, for instance, we give *Khoikhoi* for Schaeffner's *Hottentot* and *San* for his *Bochiman*.

But the translation of *Origine*'s copious bibliography and footnotes was perhaps our greatest and most fascinating undertaking outside the work of literary translation. Schaeffner's library embraces nearly every kind of document imaginable over an incredible historical, geographical, generic and linguistic range. We have done everything in our power to put the fruits of Schaeffner's research at the reader's disposal, honoring Schaeffner's scrupulous and passionate scholarship and—in the words of Professor Nattiez—his exemplary intellectual honesty.

All bibliographical references have been reformatted to follow the *Chicago Manual of Style*, supplying missing information where Schaeffner's citations were elliptical or incomplete. We also cited English translations and originals of Schaeffner's sources whenever possible, finding equivalent quotations and page numbers and substituting these references for the original French ones.

In general, footnote citations that direct the reader to an English-language text are substitutions, and all other references are unchanged. Likewise, if the reference for an outside quotation cites an English-language text, the translation has been drawn from that source. Otherwise, translations of outside sources are our own. Any confusion on this front can be resolved by consulting the bibliography, in which works cited for the present edition are clearly distinguished from those cited in the original, and all of Schaeffner's original sources have been preserved.

Although this strategy creates the occasional bibliographical anachronism, it has allowed us to connect this edition with the most current state of English-language scholarship and reproduce, as much as possible, Schaeffner's detailed engagement with every cited text. We have added translators' notes throughout the book to complement these general policies, elucidating thorny translation problems and occasionally glossing the text itself. Our interventions appear in footnotes only, set apart in square brackets to distinguish them from the text of the original footnotes.

The nitty-gritty of Schaeffner's bibliography and vocabulary provides an extraordinary window onto his life and times, but not without occasionally underscoring the temporal, geographical and intellectual distance between us and *Origine*. Inevitably, there are aspects of Schaeffner's idiom that we can only find reprehensible today. One of them appears in the very first paragraph of the preface: the word *primitif*. Used here to designate a capacious category of peoples with no known tradition of musical notation, this term resonates unpleasantly with the great body of dismissive and profoundly racist writing on so-called "societies without history." *Primitif* reappears, as noun and adjective, throughout the book. As the reader progresses, however, she will note that the significance of this word in this context has little to do with the brutal binary between "inferior" and "modern" societies or between magical and logical systems of thought used by writers such as Lucien Lévy-Bruhl.

Instead, Schaeffner's use of *primitif* falls in line with the founding ambition of *Origine*: to identify the origin of the human impulse to make music. For Schaeffner, *primitif* is not a marker of imperfection, limitation or lack of sophistication, nor does it refer to some more lowly position along an imaginary, exclusionary musical timeline, whose crowning achievement might be the Western orchestra. It does not even entail simplicity, but rather a cocktail of notions—first, original, unalloyed, new and others—whose exact dosage in each instance is difficult to determine.

We have retained the word *primitive*, since our aim has been not to modernize Schaeffner but to show how his work was both of its time and ahead of its time. In his search for *primitive* origins, Schaeffner constantly directs his intellectual energy toward objects that have lacked sympathetic historians—rattles and castanets, buzzers and bullroarers—and reveals the ingenuity and complex heritage behind each one. Musical instruments, whether displayed at the Musée du Trocadéro or described in the travels of Captain Cook, are for him the fundamental path towards genuine understanding of different musical

cultures, all of which are treated with respect and earnest scholarly attention. In the end, Schaeffner's methodical focus on the concrete and his insistence on the value of studying music from every corner of the globe have caused *Origine* to age remarkably well.

Jean Jamin wrote of his friend, "The purpose of his writing was not only information: for André Schaeffner, writing—as if contaminated by its own subject—often became music."[33] This has certainly been our experience, and we believe that the power of Schaeffner's prose is one of the most fundamental reasons for *Origine*'s continued relevance. Throughout his life, Schaeffner resisted displaying instruments as lifeless artifacts, stripped bare of meaning and context, and in his magnum opus, he guides readers through an exhibit free from the constraints of brick and mortar. With brilliance, elegance and profound love of music, Schaeffner has brought countless musical instruments to life.

We wish to thank Professors Alison Laywine and Paul Bishop for their scholarly advice, the Yale and NYU library systems for enabling bibliographical research, and our own professors, friends, and family for their advice, and invaluable support: Denis Hollier, Peter Cole, Jacob Reed, and our parents Lars Lih and Julie Cumming.

Ariadne and Emelyn Lih
Montreal, 2020

33 Jean Jamin, "André Schaeffner, 1895–1980," *Objets et mondes* 20, no. 3 (1981): 131.

Prefatory remarks

Anthropology and history according to André Schaeffner

Origine des instruments de musique,[34] the imposing work by André Schaeffner (1895–1980), is considered a monument of musicology and ethnomusicology—in the Francophone world. It is a matter for dismay that, Italy excepted,[35] Schaeffner's contribution to organology has gone unnoticed outside France. He earns no entry in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*; his name appears only in bibliographical references in entries dedicated to other people.[36] He is the subject of a short, unexceptional entry in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, accompanied by a bibliography of forty-five titles,[37] while a bibliography from 1982, published after his death, lists 122.[38] Twenty-two years before his death, a list of fifty-eight titles established by Barbara Krader was more generous.[39] In the second edition of Bruno Nettl's *The Study of Ethnomusicology*—very complete in other respects—*Origine* is mentioned only in

34 André Schaeffner, *Origine des instruments de musique: Introduction ethnologique à l'histoire de la musique instrumentale* (Paris: Payot, 1936). *Origine*, rev. ed. (1968; repr., Paris: Mouton et Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, repr. 1980, 1990). *Origine*, 3rd ed. facsimile of the first edition, with additional indices of names, musical terms and places and ethnic groups by Nathalie Cousin and Gilles Léothaud (Paris: Édition de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1994). Hereafter to be referred to as *Origine*. Citations refer to the English translation.

35 André Schaeffner, *Origine degli strumenti musicali*, 2nd ed., trans. Salvatore Gagliardi, introduction by Diego Carpitella (Palermo: Sellerio Editore, 1996).

36 *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed., comp. Friedrich Blume (Kassel: Bärenreiter; Stuttgart: Metzler, 1994–2008), s.vv. "Guillaume de Vau," "Hugo Zemp," 17: 1307 and 1423.

37 Christiane Spieth-Weissenbacher and Jean Gribenski, "André Schaeffner," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., eds. Stanley Sadie and J. Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), 22: 430–31.

38 [Jean-Michel Nectoux], "Bibliographie des écrits d'André Schaeffner," in *Les fantaisies du voyageur: XXXIII Variations Schaeffner* (Paris: Société française de musicologie, 1982), 401–8.

39 Barbara Krader, "André Schaeffner," *Ethnomusicology* 2, no. 1 (Jan. 1958): 27–34. This bibliography also has the advantage (in relation to later ones) of providing a list of forty-four reviews of books, music and concerts written by Schaeffner. It is regrettable that this valuable selective bibliography was not taken up again and pursued for the period corresponding to the rest of Schaeffner's life (1957–80).

passing.[40] In Margaret Kartomi's book devoted to musical instrument classification systems, which has the immense merit of including Indigenous taxonomies, *Origine* is discussed, and the author notes, correctly, that its impact outside France has been minimal.[41] All this should demonstrate the crucial importance of Irène Deliège's initiative to have this major contribution translated into English, thus allowing André Schaeffner and his work to enter the complex concert of international musicology.[42]

It is critical to remember that André Schaeffner was not only an ethnomusicologist.[43] His mother, noticing his excellent ear, had him learn solfège and piano, but the greater part of his musical knowledge came from his own curiosity and from chance encounters: Ravel and Debussy most importantly, the music of the Middle Ages, and later, Classical and Romantic music. *The Rite of Spring* was a revelation and a turning point for him, helping to temper the more academic teaching he received from Vincent d'Indy at the Schola Cantorum (although this teaching did give him the opportunity to try his hand at composing). His knowledge of philosophy—Kant, Nietzsche, Bergson—and of literature—Maeterlinck, Claudel, Barrès, Péguy, Gide, Proust—was no less impressive. *Origine* offers ample evidence of Schaeffner's compelling epistemological observations and his beautiful writing style. He named Romain Rolland (who was, among other things, an important music historian) and the anthropologist Marcel Mauss as his masters. He met figures such as Wanda Landowska and Ernest Ansermet. His widow Denise Paulme-Schaeffner writes that he expressed "an unquestioning admiration for everything aggressive": Ravel, Schoenberg and Pierre Boulez. Boulez paid Schaeffner frequent visits at the Musée du Trocadéro, and this relationship contributed greatly to "the originality and richness of his instrumentations, specifically with regard to percussion. With Schaeffner, Boulez discovered and experimented with many instruments, including those he would later use in *Le Marteau sans maître*."[44] But Schaeffner never ceased to appreciate Les Six (Poulenc in particular) or French music in general (as opposed to German music)[45] as demonstrated by

40 Bruno Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-one Issues and Concepts*, rev. ed. (Urbana/Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 383 (though Schaeffner's name is absent from the index).

41 Margaret J. Kartomi, *On Concepts and Classifications of Musical Instruments* (Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), 174–76.

42 In the bibliography listing 122 titles, mentioned above, it is notable that only one article of Schaeffner's has appeared in German translation; five have appeared in English, and eight in Italian.

43 The information below relies on the biographical sketch by Schaeffner's widow Denise Paulme-Schaeffner, which can be found in *Les fantaisies du voyageur*, 363–65; at the beginning of Pierre Boulez and André Schaeffner, *Correspondance Pierre Boulez-André Schaeffner (1954–1970)* (Paris: Fayard, 1998), 11–13; and in the foreword to Schaeffner, *Le sistre et le hochet: musique, théâtre et danse dans les sociétés africaines* (Paris: Hermann, 1990), 9–11.

44 Rosângela Pereira de Tugny, introduction to *Correspondance Pierre Boulez-André Schaeffner*, 17.

45 In response to Charles Duvelle's question "What is French music?" Schaeffner retorted "Music that is not German." Charles Duvelle and André Schaeffner, "Rencontre avec André Schaeffner," *Les Fantaisies du voyageur*, 379.

the "Concerts de la Pléiade," which he organized from 1943 to 1947: Boulez' "Domaine musical" concerts (1953–67) are the direct descendants of these. A considerable portion of Schaeffner's musicological work relates to Western art music: Costeley, Lassus, Janequin (publishing an edition of his Ronsard settings), Rameau, Rossini, Schubert, Wagner, Liszt, Verdi, Brahms, Tchaikovsky, Schoenberg. A remarkable assortment of these studies is brought together in *Variations sur la musique*, which also includes reflections on the differences between folk music, art music and national music.[46] He unconditionally admired Stravinsky, to whom he devotes an entire book.[47] He is the author of numerous articles on Debussy, almost all of which appear in the third section of *Variations*.

Directly after the First World War, however, he became interested in music emerging from oral traditions: first Balinese music (through recordings), then African music (of the Kissi, Baga and Bété peoples in particular). His research on musical instruments then led him—already the co-author of one of the first French-language books on jazz[48]—to study the origins of Black American music. This marked a decisive commitment to the field of comparative musicology. (This term—*vergleichende Musikwissenschaft*—was invented by Curt Sachs and Erich von Hornbostel, two of the rare ethnomusicologists who found favor with Schaeffner.) He helped coin the term "ethnomusicology" during the 1954 Colloques de Wégimont, and would later acknowledge, with a tinge of regret, that the term was partially his own creation.[49] Schaeffner was instrumental in the reorganization of the Musée du Trocadéro—later the Musée de l'homme whose ethnology collections were relocated in 2006 to the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac—where he created a department of "musical organology" in 1928. In 1931 this department became the department of musical ethnology, which Schaeffner would direct until his retirement in 1965, to be succeeded by Gilbert Rouget. In 1931, along with Michel Leiris and others, he participated in the Dakar-Djibouti expedition led by Marcel Griaule. His first fieldwork among the Dogon and the ethnic groups of northern Cameroon inspired *Origine des instruments de musique*, which he began preparing in French Sudan in 1931 and completed in 1936. He would participate in five other expeditions to Mali, Guinea and the Ivory Coast. He can claim to be the first ethnomusicologist to have performed fieldwork after Constantin Brăiloiu and Béla Bartók.[50] In 1945–46 and 1948–49, he returned to a specific Dogon

46 André Schaeffner, *Variations sur la musique*, introduction by Robert Piencikowski (Paris: Fayard, 1998). This is a revised and expanded edition of Schaeffner, *Essais de musicologie et autres fantaisies* (Paris: Le Sycomore, 1980).

47 André Schaeffner, *Stravinsky* (Paris: Rieder, 1931b).

48 André Schaeffner and André Cœuroy, *Le jazz* (Paris: Claude Aveline, 1926); and repr. with preface and critical articles (Paris: Jean-Michel Place, 1988).

49 Duvelle and Schaeffner, "Rencontre avec André Schaeffner," 376.

50 See *Les fantaisies du voyageur*, 375.

ethnic group, the Kissi. His 1951 monograph on this people[51] focuses on the organological description of the instruments of their culture and how they are played, as well as their role in the society's rituals: "The challenge is to define with precision what each instrument is linked to."[52] Only an inventory of all the various circumstances in which each instrument is used—an inventory as exhaustive as possible—can rise to this challenge, whence the confluence of organology and ethnology at the heart of this monographic work devoted to the study of a single culture. The same rigorous principle governs *Origine des instruments de musique*, but extended to the entire planet: the books and articles cited in the bibliography[53] are divided according to the regions of the world and the historical eras to which they relate most closely.

Schaeffner is, thus, the author of no fewer than five books, to which we may add his editions of Renaissance songs and the chamber music of François Couperin; the third French edition of Hugo Riemann's *Dictionnaire de musique*; and selections from the correspondence of Friedrich Nietzsche and Claude Debussy. After his death, several other volumes appeared: some of his articles on African music were published, as was his correspondence with Boulez, and a collection of musicological and ethnomusicological writings, *Variations sur la musique*, mentioned earlier. All of this would easily suffice to make of André Schaeffner a major musicologist and ethnomusicologist, given his immensely diverse interests and knowledge, and his commitment to comparative musicology. To analyze the influence of ethnomusicology on those parts of Schaeffner's work that are devoted to "art music," as it is generally understood, is beyond the scope of this preface: let us restrict our remarks henceforth to *Origine des instruments de musique*, which alone should guarantee Schaeffner a position of first importance in the history of ethnomusicology. What, then, makes *Origine* both original and foundational?

The subtitle of *Origine* defines this magnum opus as "an *ethnological* introduction to the *history* of instrumental music" (our emphasis). Let us linger a moment on these two italicized words: did they have the same meaning in 1936 as they do today? This question is rendered even more relevant by the fact that Schaeffner does not begin the book with an explanation of his methodology. His chosen means of analysis is revealed little by little, and only the final chapter affords the reader full grasp of the epistemological presuppositions of his enterprise, specifically his position regarding different conceptions of history in ethnomusicology. The Preface-writer's privilege is to let the reader in on these premises without further delay so as to facilitate access to Schaeffner's method, eighty years after the book's first publication.

51 André Schaeffner, *Les Kissi. Une société noire et ses instruments de musique*, L'Homme, Cahiers d'ethnologie de géographie et de linguistique 2 (Paris: Hermann, 1951), repr. in Schaeffner, *Le sistre et le hochet*, with a portrait by Michel Leiris, 13–136.

52 Schaeffner, *Les Kissi*, in *Le Sistre et le Hochet*, 14.

53 The shape of Schaeffner's original bibliography indeed seems to have inspired the indices by Cousin and Léothaud, but it makes finding specific texts very challenging. In the present English edition, we have chosen to subsume all such documentation in the general index to the present volume.

By *ethnology*, as we suggested with the example of his work on the Kissi, Schaeffner meant, first of all, the description of the ethnographic context for the use of each musical instrument belonging to a given ethnic group. He uses the same method in *Origine*, following the example of Curt Sachs who, in his *Geist und Werden der Musikinstrumente* (hereafter *GWM*),[54] drew up an extraordinary inventory of 290 instruments or instrument families (according to its index), each accompanied by an organological description and notes on geographical distribution. *GWM* is supported by a bibliography boasting 770 entries, and Schaeffner had set out along this same path in *Origine*. In the impressive editorial effort furnished by Nathalie Cousin and Gilles Léothaud for the third edition of *Origine* published in 1994, the indices of instrument names (both in French and in their vernacular) and of objects and things considered "sounding objects" extend over thirty-three pages (I counted close to 600 entries). The index of names of places and ethnic groups is fourteen pages long.[55] Schaeffner identified and described these myriad objects in various ways: using his own early fieldwork, studying artifacts in museums such as the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, but above all by consulting more than 500 books and articles.[56] Schaeffner frequently cites Sachs' *GWM*—126 times by my count[57]—showing thereby an exemplary intellectual honesty.[58] Such scrupulous rigor is all the more laudable when we consider that although Schaeffner recognizes that he "drew heavily on [Sachs'] work with respect to points of detail"[59]—for instance, organological descriptions and information on the ethnological environment of specific instruments—and calls the *GWM* a "monumental work,"[60] he distances himself from the Hornbostel-Sachs classification system for which the two scholars are so renowned,[61] and from Sachs'

54 Curt Sachs, *Geist und Werden der Musikinstrumente* (Berlin: Reimer, 1929).

55 Schaeffner, *Origine*, 3rd ed. (1994), 459–92 and 495–509 respectively. No such indices appear in the earlier editions. There is also, 439–56, an index of names of people and authors cited.

56 When *Origine* was reissued in the 1960s, Schaeffner prepared a bibliographical supplement with 312 additional references (401–20 in the 1968 edition), separate from the bibliography of the book proper, since its integration "would have required a revision of the work itself" (401). This supplement is interesting for the history of ethnomusicology, since it shows the extent of the organological literature available to a researcher working in the post-war period. Today, however, it would be useful only if it were completed by a similarly minded literature review for the period from 1965 to 2017.

57 Not to mention the thirty or so references to other works by the man he consistently names "Professor Sachs."

58 Schaeffner is also much more precise than Sachs when it comes to the attribution of these details. Sachs, indulging a weakness too common in researchers, supplies a list of references consulted at the end of each chapter, in such a way that it is impossible to establish from which text a given piece of information is taken.

59 The text of the 1994 edition of *Origine* comprises eighty-eight allusions to Sachs, who is by far the author most frequently cited.

60 p. xlvii.

61 Erich M. von Hornbostel and Curt Sachs, "Systematik der Musikinstrumente," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 46 (1914): 553–90. English translation by Anthony Baines and K.P. Waschsmann, "Classification of Musical Instruments," *Galpin Society Journal* 14 (1961): 3–29.

"stratigraphy" whose methodological basis is the diffusionist conception of history that Sachs shared with the Berlin ethnomusicological school. Indeed, when comparing *GWM* and *Origine*, one has the sense that Schaeffner began preparing his book in 1931 with the express intent of reacting and responding to *GWM*, which had come out two years before. For Schaeffner allows himself to criticize—with nuance but without mercy—the diffusionism advocated by Sachs *only after* developing his own conception of the origin of musical instruments over the whole length of *Origine*.[62]

I stated earlier that precision is called for in identifying what Schaeffner meant by *history.* At the beginning of the twentieth century—following the powerful rise of the historical perspective ushered in by the nineteenth century—it was to be expected that music from oral traditions should be examined historically. But how is one to write the history of the musical instruments that are immersed in societies with no writing system? Sachs rejected the idea that instruments develop from simple to complicated. He knew that it was impossible to establish definite chronologies, and he did not believe that instruments were connected to what one might call the degree of civilization of the culture in question. Nonetheless, he thought it possible to establish "a *rough* chronology of primitive civilizations … by comparing them with the stages of prehistoric evolution in Europe and other continents."[63] The method he championed was thus both geographical and comparative. His entire historical and anthropological approach was based on a theory of "culture circles" (the *Kulturkreis* method): from a center of diffusion, an object or an ethnographic document radiates outward, as a stone thrown into water causes concentric circles to form. The farther from the center of diffusion, the older the phenomenon. Based on this theory, *GWM* (taking as its material the vast inventory of instruments mentioned above) proposed thirty-three historical strata divided among the Stone Age, the Iron Age and the Middle Ages. Hornbostel reduced these thirty-three to a mere eleven in 1933[64] (Schaeffner refers to this modification)[65] and later, in 1940, Sachs himself was content with three levels, corresponding to Paleolithic excavations, Neolithic excavations and more recent Neolithic excavations.[66] Under these conditions, it is easy to understand why Schaeffner felt the need to express some skepticism about the soundness of this vast system, which he criticizes methodically at the end of his book.[67] His colleague and friend Constantin Brăiloiu would later express this with greater

62 pp. 303–309.

63 Curt Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments* (New York: Norton, 1940), 60–61. My emphasis. In this later book, Sachs summarizes this rough chronology.

64 Erich von Hornbostel, "The Ethnomusicology of African Sound Instruments: Comments on *Geist und Werden der Musikinstrumente* by C. Sachs," *Africa* 6 (April and July 1933): 129–57 and 277–311.

65 p. 310 and p. 310 notes 1332–1334.

66 Sachs, *History of Musical Instruments*, 63–64.

67 pp. 310–320.

vehemence. It is, to say the least, perilous to depend on "supposed prehistorical contact" and "fabulous migrations," affirms Brăiloiu. "The deficiency and the feebleness of the information available should discourage such vast projects."[68]

Schaeffner's project is altogether different. He has no wish to reconstitute the empirical history of each individual musical instrument. What he proposes instead is what Nietzsche would have called a *genealogy*,[69] a method with which Schaeffner was deeply familiar: when annotating allusions in Nietzsche's correspondence with Peter Gast, Schaeffner quotes *On the Genealogy of Morals* seven times,[70] evidence of an intimate acquaintance with the work. By using such a *genealogy*, Nietzsche hoped to identify "the *origin* of our moral prejudices," ask "the question of where our good and evil really *originated*."[71] (Notice the instance, among many others in the text, of the word *origin* in the singular, as Schaeffner uses it.) These questions lead to the statement of his philosophical project: "under what *conditions* did man devise these value judgments of good and evil?"[72] Nietzsche answers the question by laying out a personal synthesis. Like Nietzsche, Schaeffner does not set out to follow the empirical, diachronic evolution of musical instruments, but rather to describe the *principles* that support their origin and development, specifically for instruments used by oral tradition societies, which Sachs—like most authors of his period, Schaeffner included—called "primitive."

The genealogy Schaeffner proposes is *anthropological*, but we should interpret this word differently than the way ethnomusicologists John Blacking and Alan Merriam use it: for them, a musical corpus is structured according to its underlying musical behavior and concepts, which are anchored in a specific culture. Schaeffner's genealogy is anthropological in the sense that the objects considered are the product of characteristics unique to the human species. His method is analogous to that of André Leroi-Gourhan, who explains the emergence of language by the transition to the upright position in the process

68 Constantin Brăiloiu, *Problèmes d'ethnomusicologie*, ed. Gilbert Rouget (Geneva: Minkoff Reprints, 1973), 110.

69 See Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals* [1887], trans. Walter Kaufmann and R. J. Hollingdale, in *On the Genealogy of Morals and Ecce Homo*, ed. Walter Kaufmann (New York: Vintage, 1967/Repr. Knopf Doubleday, 2010), pp. 13–163. [For the French edition see *La généalogie de la morale* [1887], eds. Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari, trans. Isabelle Hildenbrand and Jean Gratien (Paris: Gallimard, 1971), 213–47.]

70 Nietzsche, *Lettres à Peter Gast* (Monaco: Éditions du Rocher, 1957), 2 vols. In the first volume, the introduction and notes by André Schaeffner refer to the *Genealogy* on pages 96, 128, 324, 326, 327, 329 and 339. I would like to add, in the effort to make this portrait of Schaeffner more complete, that the term *introduction* is too modest. The dizzying erudition—musical, musicological, historical and literary—of this 350-page essay makes it one of the best works I have read on the relationship between Nietzsche and music in general, and on his relationship with Wagner in particular. Ideally, the book should have featured a cover page bringing out its deep originality.

71 Nietzsche, *Genealogy*, 15–16.

72 My emphasis. Ibid., 17.

of hominization.[73] For Schaeffner, the origin of musical instruments must be sought in the human body (Chapter 1), bodies that "might well have been able to grasp the rudiments of music if they were guided by their first dancing or laboring gestures."[74] Rhythmic noises come from people "beating parts of their torso or arms,"[75] and the "foot strikes the ground," with nuances of timbre depending on whether the sole, the heel or the ball of the foot is used.[76] "It was on the ground that the first instrumental music was hammered out."[77] What could be more natural, then, than for the body, hands or feet to wear sounding ornaments? Thus "the human body envelops itself in music,"[78] specially to accompany dance. From this perspective, Schaeffner describes jingles, attached to feet; maracas and rattles that act as extensions of wrist movement; castanets, crotala and cymbals that prolong handclapping. In passing, he mentions an idea that he will soon explore further: the role played by different forms of cavity in musical instruments, "another essential facet of organology."[79] He speaks later of "the universal importance of the resonator," which is "at the origin of all instrumental music, together with gestures of the human body."[80] Lastly, Schaeffner observes, material bodies may be knocked together.[81] In this way, Schaeffner reaches an analysis of rhythm and meter in music, and of the various forms of rhythmic proliferation (Chapter 2). In Chapter 3, this analysis branches out. "Percussion—which is derived from stamping on the ground or from hands hitting the body—is executed using other types of instruments."[82] Thus Schaeffner moves to the drum, which is nothing but a cavity, often covered by a membrane: the argument has now reached the phenomenon of resonance.[83] The sticks that follow the drum can also strike wooden tongues or lamellae: this brings us to the bala and the xylophone, and consequently to the introduction of a melodic voice.[84] Schaeffner never neglects the ethnographic side of the study of instruments, a side that remains connected to the body: he spends some time discussing the analogies between drums and sexual organs, for example.[85] The next step, after the ground struck by humans, is the ground used as a material base for theater; accordingly, our author presents an

73 André Leroi-Gourhan, *Le geste et la parole* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1964–65), 2 vols. In English, see Leroi-Gourhan, *Gesture and Speech*, trans. Anna Bostock Berger (Cambridge, MA/London: MIT Press, 1993).
74 p. 2.
75 p. 13.
76 pp. 20–21.
77 p. 20.
78 p. 21.
79 p. 32.
80 p. 118.
81 p. 42.
82 p. 49.
83 p. 61.
84 p. 62.
85 pp. 98–102.

overview of the organology of theater (Chapter 4). For him, "the theater in its entirety forms a vast resonator."[86]

After dance and theater, the next step is work and play (Chapter 5). Schaeffner lists the musical instruments used in hunting and fishing, as weapons, in livestock farming, agriculture and smithing, as ornaments, in connection with sexuality, and in games. These instruments are legion: bullroarers, buzzers, ratchets, clappers, tops, etc. The logical next step is to examine the role such instruments played in religion and magic: they are often used to ward off evil spirits, or on the contrary (in the case of bells), to summon the faithful (Chapter 6). This calls for an analysis of the symbolism of materials and forms, including the zoomorphic or anthropomorphic character of many instruments.[87] After an analysis of the importance of dance in instrument genealogy, Chapters 5 and 6 act as a kind of second section of *Origine*, dominated by ethnological observations. I would even go so far as to call it *semiological*, for the idea of instruments as signs is clearly a crucial dimension of Schaeffner's view of them.

> Mute instruments carry, in fact, a twofold significance. First, they act as *signs*. Their raw materials, their outward shape, the fact that they "contain" sound, or have the potential to do so (witness votive instruments), are linked to a vast complex of human beliefs, customs and needs, which they powerfully convey. Instruments are situated at the bustling intersection of art, science and ritual.[88]

With this paragraph, Schaeffner sums up the ethnological ambitions of the first nine chapters of *Origine*. The second important dimension of instruments is that they represent "an essential source for a comprehensive history of music."[89] The entire book has worked toward demonstrating this, but it will be the object of special theoretical attention in Chapter 10.

With Chapter 7, a third, more directly organological section begins, in which Schaeffner follows, step by step, the action of the different solid bodies that resonate inside cavities.[90] The progression of his argument is clear. Building on the foundations laid in Chapters 1 to 3, he notes the introduction of "instruments superimposed onto their antecedents"—the mouth onto the Jew's harp or the body of the violin onto the strings, for example.[91] This leads him to a typology of "solid bodies: rigid, flexible or tensionable" (Chapter 7). At this juncture, he is in a position to cast an eye over the instrument classifications proposed by his predecessors Victor Mahillon, Erich von Hornbostel and

86 p. 69.
87 pp. 106–10.
88 p. 262.
89 p. 262.
90 pp. 111–54.
91 pp. 128–29.

Curt Sachs. He pays tribute to the importance of these classifications—today, museology still follows the now-standard division into idiophones, membranophones, chordophones and aerophones, which Schaeffner mentions[92]—but having adopted a resolutely ethnological point of view, he criticizes Hornbostel, Sachs and others for not having taken into account the *means of playing*: here again, he insists on the importance of resonance. But he goes further still, asking the crucial question, which stands out from the page in italics: "*Surely the sameness of these gestures transcends the boundaries between instrumental categories?*" "Terms like *percussion* or *plucking*, meanwhile, fail us in their mediocre specificity," he adds harshly.[93] Whence the new instrument classification system he proposes, "based on the material of the first body to be set into vibration,"[94] which can be found in an appendix[95] that readers are encouraged to consult even when Schaeffner does not refer to it directly. In this classification, instruments are not only divided according to whether they are rigid, flexible or tensionable, matters discussed in Chapter 7, but in reference to "relationships between techniques used for instrument building and those used to create other artifacts of material culture,"[96] supporting and developing Schaeffner's ethnographic interpretation of instruments. He can then list all the organological subtleties that are brought out by examining the material of solid bodies in connection to how they are set into vibration.[97]

The reader may be wondering why the originality of Schaeffner's classification system is explained and emphasized before the author reaches string instruments (Chapter 8) and "air instruments" (Chapter 9). The reason is that in these two chapters, Schaeffner seems to return to a more empirically historical perspective than in the general genealogy of the preceding chapters. "Our study must restrict itself to the examination of archaic or *archaicizing* types of instruments,"[98] he states, but when dealing with instruments whose morphology is similar to the instruments we use in the Western world today, he cannot help outlining a chronological genealogy (whence the title of Chapter 8, "Genealogy of String Instruments"). "The harp, the guitar and the violin are the endpoints of genealogical lines that began with the musical bow and later diverged."[99] "The construction of the harp, the lyre, the lute and the violin" offer a starting point for taking up "the narrative of the most probable genealogy of string instruments starting with the musical bow."[100] After seeking the origin of single-membrane instruments and polychord instruments, he sets off in search of "even more distant ancestors." Among these are the drum-rattle,

92 pp. 112–18.
93 p. 150.
94 p. 152.
95 Appendix, pp. 321–23.
96 p. 152.
97 pp. 152–54.
98 p. 184.
99 p. 155.
100 p. 156.

which leads to the single-membrane drum, and the heterochord bow, which seems itself to have no ancestors at all, but which bequeaths its string to the monochord zither and to polychord instruments ("The bark or liana zithers probably needed the introduction of the string to transcend their origins").[101] Schaeffner shows that our bow used for bowing is also descended from the musical bow. A similar argument appears in Chapter 9, about air instruments "whose only function is to cause the air *surrounding them* to vibrate."[102] Could it be, asks Schaeffner, that the double oboe is in fact the oldest form of the instrument, the single oboe having detached itself from the double oboe later on?[103] Armed with this hypothesis, he suggests, in the genealogy of air instruments, this approximate sequence: "reed—cavity or tube of whistle, flute or horn—clarinet—double clarinet and double oboe—oboe."[104] Thus Schaeffner's argument leads us first from the ground and body up, then outward to the immediate spatial environment of the musician, who becomes distinct from the instrument itself but remains essential for creating resonance by exploiting the instrument's cavities.

Having rejected the diffusionist perspective of Curt Sachs and the Berlin School of Ethnomusicology, Schaeffner nears the *evolutionist* perspective with which he will end his work (Chapter 10 is explicitly titled "Instruments, the Evolution of Music and the History of Civilization"). The section of Chapter 10 called "Evolution or Diffusion of Musical Instruments" clearly indicates the school of thought Schaeffner intends to set up in opposition to diffusionism. He is in an ideal place to defend evolutionism, for he has just analyzed the types of instruments—string and "air"—whose empirical historical evolution in modern societies is sometimes possible to follow, as it is for the lute, fiddle, flute, horn, clarinet and oboe.

Schaeffner does not set forth his own positions on history until the very end, and these explanations retrospectively illuminate everything that went before. His goal was not to write a treatise on the epistemology of musicology, but to lay out the sum of his conception of organology. Nonetheless, today's reader would benefit from approaching the book with some knowledge of its author's theoretical postulates: for this reason, I recommend that readers begin at the end—not with Chapter 10 in its entirety, but with the brilliant Captain Cook quotation that Schaeffner is justly proud of having discovered.[105] In this note to the account of his third voyage, Cook takes a firm stand against the diffusionism that would flourish a century later in German anthropology: the resemblances between geographically distant peoples or cultural phenomena should not lead one to believe that "all these islands were peopled by the same nation, or tribe," because "customs very similar prevail

101 p. 172.
102 p. 192.
103 p. 239.
104 p. 239.
105 p. 299.

amongst very distant people, without inferring any other common sources, besides the general principles of human nature, the same in all ages, and every part of the globe."[106] Cook—and Schaeffner with him—ascribe unambiguously to the belief in universals. These observable identical customs, writes Cook, do not warrant "the conclusion, that they who use them have copied each other, or have derived them from one common source; human sagacity being the same every where."[107] But our navigator does not dismiss the notion of an evolutionary approach to cultural resemblances among "those customs to which no general principle of human nature has given birth," resemblances which can be explained by the fact that different ethnic groups share a connection to an earlier group. He ends by highlighting the parallelism between these behavioral analogies and the analogies discernible in the *languages* of the populations in question, in which progressive transformations are not only indisputable but directly observable.

Using this remarkable text as a starting point, Schaeffner recalls the elements of his entire argument. Ground struck, hands clapped, objects knocked, pellets shaken, cavities blown into: "the mechanisms of collective and individual excitement, in both music and dance, contain elements whose origin lies not in some particular corner of the inhabited world but in humans themselves."[108] And Schaeffner goes so far as to outline some aspects of what today would be called zoomusicology, by mentioning several similarities between the musical behavior of humans and animals.[109] Clearly, then, diffusionist theories, duly criticized, cannot account for the fact that everywhere "the same foundations of dance, the same music of the human body, and the same rudiments of instrumental music" have been established.[110] For this reason, the turn to "primitive" societies, with their analogical connection to Western prehistory, is preferable to diffusionism, its practice of "overly hasty sociology," and its attendant faith in positive links between a given instrument and phenomena of social organization such as "clan structure, sexual segregation, totemism and exogamous dual organization."[111] Such an approach, approved by Sachs among others, entails dabbling in "risky" chronologies that compare purportedly identical stages of social development and depend on hypothetical original points of diffusion now lost in the mists of time.[112] Schaeffner does not, however, deny the legitimacy of searching for patterns of evolution and migration when such patterns can be empirically historically demonstrated. In his discussion of the need for such study he sets the stage for a psychological

106 James Cook, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean. Undertaken, by the Command of His Majesty, for Making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere* (Dublin: Gale Eighteenth Century Collections Online, 1785a), 373n. Quoted by Schaeffner in Chapter 10, p. 299.
107 Ibid.
108 p. 300.
109 pp. 300–2.
110 p. 303.
111 p. 310.
112 p. 311.

explanation of human constants[113] and even for a kind of comparative psychology.[114] In this he is remarkably ahead of his time.

On this basis, Schaeffner incorporates the existence of instrument *migration* into his view, but only migrations that are observable during the recorded history of musical development.[115] He gives numerous examples,[116] but to avoid confusing the reader, he mentions diffusionist approaches by encasing the word in distancing quotation marks. Despite his skepticism toward a naively evolutionist perspective, Schaeffner recognizes that "we find the same instrument in different stages of evolution *in the same time period*, spread widely across space; their coexistence and adjacency surely prove that processes more *organic* than historical contact are at work."[117] This leads him to turn his back explicitly on the "stratigraphic division" proposed by Sachs in *GWM*, which "reconstructs, layer by layer, the gradual distribution of musical instruments across the globe."[118] All while giving due credit to the fertility of many of *GWM*'s observations, Schaeffner applies critical scrutiny to each layer[119] and continues to insist that "*we are plainly missing a truly exhaustive inventory of the musical instruments of each society that would allow us to pass judgment on these things*."[120] This last is a methodological principle of great significance: indeed, any comparisons and stratifications claiming such a high level of general validity must imperatively be based on corpora far less incomplete. For this reason, having accumulated all appropriate precautionary remarks, Schaeffner ends with a resounding expression of confidence in comparative musicology as a constantly developing field, one that would avoid the pitfalls of classical diffusionism while learning from those of its results that can be empirically verified. Such verifications are most convincing when they stem from elements of material culture, *such as musical instruments*: "of all the remnants of the art of music—which, since no notation can safeguard it fully, tends to vanish at the very moment of its flourishing—we have collected the most evidence, assembled the best witnesses, among musical instruments."[121]

For the breathtaking quantity of organological information it brings together, for the originality of Schaeffner's analyses of anthropology and history, and for its role as forerunner to musicological currents that still concern us today, *Origine des instruments de musique*—though many decades have passed since its publication—is without a doubt one of the fundamental works of musicology, and it is crucial that it be (re)discovered today.

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113 pp. 309–10.
114 pp. 285–304.
115 p. 306.
116 pp. 306–10.
117 p. 309.
118 p. 310.
119 pp. 310–15.
120 p. 313.
121 p. 320.

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Preface to the original edition

In his Preface to the first edition (1936) of his monumental work, André Schaeffner begins by excluding any attempt at constructing a system. He evaluates modern musicology as being still in its infancy while providing an exhaustive review of the work of pioneering ethnomusicologists. He concludes that any comprehensive study of musical instruments still lacks sufficient grounds—meaning enough samples of musical instruments from around the world—to achieve comparative analysis and conclude on their origin. This was the premise upon which he had launched his work to collect the best witnesses and examine the greatest quantity of musical instruments possible. Schaeffner insists on the dangers of falling prey to a "kind of syncretism that conflated musics European and non-European, modern and primitive" (the word "primitive," as apparent throughout the book, is not a marker of imperfection or even simplicity, but of the human impulse to make music). This syncretism would allow one to draw "perilous cultural connections between specific musical instruments and other specific material objects or social phenomena—connections like those in which the civilization cycle (Kulturkreise) method indulges (p. xlii)."

> So great a number of books makes us neglect the books of the world; or if we still read in it, each sticks to his own page. … Whoever has seen only one people does not know other men; he knows only the people with whom he has lived. There are many persons who are informed still less by travel than by books, because they are ignorant of the art of thinking; because when they read, their minds are at least guided by the author; and because when they travel, they do not know how to see anything on their own. … It is very much an accident if one sees with exactitude what one does not care to look at.
>
> *Rousseau, Emile*, trans. Allan Bloom, "On Travel"

> When you say you want all peoples to unite, you really mean that you want all peoples to unite to learn the tricks of your people. If the Bedouin Arab does not know how to read, some English missionary or schoolmaster must be sent to teach him to read, but no one ever says, 'This schoolmaster

> does not know how to ride on a camel; let us pay a Bedouin to teach him.' You say your civilization will include all talents. Will it? Do you really mean to say that at the moment when the Esquimaux has learnt to vote for a County Council, you will have learnt to spear a walrus?
>
> G. K. Chesterton, *The Napoleon of Notting Hill*

This book makes use of certain abridgements that disallow any attempt at constructing a system. This is not the author's modesty, but the modesty of a discipline still in its infancy. There have been important advances—those of Henry Balfour, Professor Curt Sachs and the late E. M. von Hornbostel foremost among them—and a certain number of observations due (it must be said) much more to ethnology than to musicology. Despite these, organology or the comprehensive study of musical instruments as it exists today offers such insufficient grounds for comparison that we cannot approach the question of any sort of origin with confidence. Our studies have not become comprehensive with time. It is unwise even to presume that the limits of primitive cultures' vision with respect to musical instruments can be traced today: ethnological expeditions are continually bringing to light unknown instruments, even from the few places in the world to which such expeditions venture. There can be no doubt that we remain ignorant of organological facts of the first importance; perhaps chance will reveal them to us someday. An Indigenous person, somewhere in a place we consider remote, may have kept alive the secret of an instrument we have never heard; children playing in scrubland may have some peculiar way of producing sound in their seasonal games; but for such knowledge to be added to our current store, an informant must arrive at the very moment that these wonders are revealed. In such a superficially observed world, the desire to conclude anything at all about the areas of distribution of this or that instrument or means of playing may seem premature.[122] We cannot currently identify all the instruments represented on archaeological monuments, and our ears remain obdurately closed to a whole folklore evolving under them; we do not even know how jazz was born, a mere twenty years ago. And who is working toward this knowledge? Musicologists who fear nothing so much as the *living* and are ever seeking yet more "distinguished" music to analyze (in this respect, they are the faithful successors to ancient Greek and Arabic music theorists); critics and aestheticians who never stoop to consider technical matters; physicists and instrument-makers who cannot see eye to eye on the ideal positioning of F holes or soundhole roses, nor even agree about varnishes on instrument soundtables; and ethnologists themselves, who—for want of conclusive observational evidence—dither and argue about the real use of all the open and closed pipes of the panpipe. Little wonder, then, that organology and comparative musicology (*vergleichende Musikwissenschaft*)

122 In his book on Chinese thought, Marcel Granet speaks of "the dangers of proof by absence." *La pensée chinoise* (Paris: La Renaissance du livre, 1934), 116.

have progressed with difficulty. A single example should suffice: as we will show, the musical bow is one of the most important instruments, for many reasons—its birth, attendant mythology, dissemination and legacy that ends only with our violin. One of the first unequivocal representations of the musical bow occurs in John Huighen van Linschoten's 1596 *Itinerario*, after which three centuries passed before Henry Balfour published the first comprehensive study of the musical bow—which had been forgotten by organographers in the meantime. What claims can reasonably be made, then, about the origins of the organ, the nose flute or instrument components as essential as bridge or pegs?

We cannot, therefore, contribute much more to the discussion. Our sole wish is to prepare the way; specifically, a way that has been altogether absent in France, from which it will be possible to branch out into existing specialized studies, as well as into future ones. In technological matters of this young field, popularization is not so common that it should be disdained. We see no reason to repeat constantly that the complexity of each detail requires further analysis; if such an analysis is known to us, we will certainly refer to it. For our modest aims, we must merely strive to avoid two dangers: falling prey to a kind of syncretism that conflates European and non-European music, modern and primitive music; and drawing perilous cultural connections between specific musical instruments and other specific material objects or social phenomena—connections like those in which the civilization cycle (*Kulturkreise*) method indulges.[123]

The space allotted in this book to primitive instruments may appear disproportionate; but their dissemination in space and time is by far the most extensive. These early instruments provide many links in the organological chain that are missing from the study in isolation of ancient and medieval music. In the same way, the more properly ethnological questions that occupy a significant part of the book allow us to reflect on the set of social realities in which our own music is itself caught.[124]

123 According to this German ethnological school, "each civilisation is defined by one dominant feature, and it is almost exclusively the geographical extent and occasionally chronology of this feature that is studied. They talk of *Bogenkultur*, *Zweiklassenkultur*, *freiveterrechtliche Kultur*, about the culture of the bow, of a two-class culture (societies divided into two matrimonial halves), of civilisations with male descent without exogamy. And they end up with absurdities, even verbal ones, such as that of the 'totemic axe'." Marcel Mauss, "Civilisations, their elements and forms," in *Techniques, Technology and Civilisation*, ed. and trans. Nathan Schlanger (New York: Durkheim Press/Berghahn Books, 2006), 64.

124 At the beginning of his classification of machines, Jacques Lafitte makes the following remark, which we borrow for our own use here: "In machines, the scholar must not make, between the objects of his investigations, any difference founded on their greater or lesser utility. For him, all present an equal interest, and the primitive axe, like the most complex computer, must equally be objects of his determinations. Furthermore, all machines being equally deserving of his attention, it is in the observation of the simplest and most primitive that the scholar will find the most profitable instruction and the most precious material for the determination of the essential characteristics, the differences and causes of differences,

Are we able to define the term *musical instrument*?

We might just as well ask if there will ever be a definition of *music* that is sufficiently precise, valid in all instances, and that applies with equal elegance to all epochs and all uses of the art. After all, does not the question of instruments bring us to the limits of music itself? We have a sounding object: how shall we determine if the sound it creates is musical? In recognition of what kind of trait will music elevate an object to the rank of other instruments? Does music make even these other instruments its own, working to minimize the natural incongruities in their playing techniques and regularize their performance? Or has the ever-growing use of instruments dissuaded music from imagining a horizon beyond their inherent imperfections? Has this made music the result of instruments' aleatory capacities?

What relationship, then, are we to draw between music and the sounding or noise-making objects used at music's behest? How much does music owe these objects: is music the sum of all the sounds and all the noises they could possibly emit? Or on the contrary, have we restricted the number and variety of instruments, leaving only those that seem to correspond most closely to what we call music? Is music built on the incongruous jumble of sound-producing techniques—can music recognize itself equally in every one of them? Or does this recognition only occur with a few instruments that are said to be more "musical," whose features have dictated what is acceptable in all other instruments? In short, is music the creation of its instruments, or has music only fashioned those instruments after its own image?

When speaking of musical instruments, Alain includes only those he considers "the most perfect"[125] (according to him, the violin, the organ and the piano, of which at least two thirds of humanity know nothing), he arbitrarily detaches one single branch of music—always the same one, issuing from the churches and chambers of Western Europe—from the musical life of the world; this branch is thus held up as superior to the universal mixture of music (no longer as a luxury commodity) with the gestures of ordinary people for private or public ends. This attitude holds fast to the old, *noble* image of music. But the importance of this image is dwarfed as soon as we consider the multifaceted position that musical art occupies in the acts and thoughts of humans.—Elsewhere, in an overview of the Negro music of Africa,[126] the

which are observed in machines. Because those which are very simple, which differ but little from the unrefined bodies of nature, which, in the most primitive forms, only present almost indiscernible differences with them, are indeed of the kind to show him, with no distraction, precisely what it is that makes them machines." Jacques Lafitte, *Reflections on the Science of Machines*, trans. Lynda Grant (London, ON: Computer Science Department, University of Western Ontario, 1969), 41.

125 Alain, *Système des beaux-arts* (Paris: Gallimard, 1926), bk. 4, ch. 5, 115.

126 Stéphen Chauvet, *Musique nègre* (Paris: Société d'éditions géographiques, maritimes et coloniales, 1929).

author divides instruments into "rhythm instruments" (drums, horns, whistles, rattles) and "musical instruments proper." This distinction between music and rhythm is even less convincing when applied to archaic arts, as it is here. But what seems even more senseless is the opposition between "music proper" and some other music—allegedly improper music. What could this possibly be? And what meaning can we attribute to the word *musical* if that meaning does not include the pure sounds of horns and whistles, or the rhythmic noise of drums? "Perfect" music, music "proper"—these expressions eschew all that persists of music's mixed origins, of its "base" and utilitarian functions, and of its darkest aspects, in the art we consider ours. Such attitudes ignore the degree to which these very origins, the apparently aberrant functions of music, the primeval frenzies of sound and rhythm, are part and parcel of what we think of as the specific domain of music. There can be no doubt that even the most elemental uses of the accessories and implements of rhythm, dance, theater, religion and magic have the power to move us by evoking music in our ears, and can thereby penetrate learned styles of music. Suppose we simply listen to a gramophone disc and hear the noise of heels and castanets, the finger-snapping of Spanish dancers or singers, open-handed slaps to the front of a guitar and the bustle of invisible spectators (or actors), suddenly nearby. This alone should make us understand how great is the host of humble details that elicits our response: these details are among the tangible, specifically *musical* causes of the listener's emotion. The special power of any primitive music—and in a way Spanish music has remained primitive—is to coax the most out of the smallest things; to weave *things* themselves into the very fabric of music.[127]

127 "Who could notate the strange melodies of the Iowa, formed by the cries of men and children, beating on a tensioned skin, and a single note drawn from a dubious whistle? Nothing could be more savage and less harmonious; then all of a sudden, the drummer becomes animated, his irregular, rolling blows come faster and louder, the whistle's pitch sharpens and soars, and you understand this ferocious *song* of war." Champfleury, *Le réalisme* (Paris: Michel Lévy, 1857), 187.—"At the same instant, the sound that always made her heart stand still woke on the invisible air. It was the sound of drums, of tom-toms rapidly beaten. The same sound she had heard in the distance, in the tropical dusk of Ceylon, from the temple at sunset. The sound she had heard from the edge of the forests in the north, when the Red Indians were dancing by the fire. The sound that wakes dark, ancient echoes in the heart of every man, the thud of the primeval world. Two drums were violently throbbing against one another. Then gradually they were slowing down, in a peculiar uneven rhythm, till at last there was only left one slow, continual, monotonous note, like a great drop of darkness falling heavily, continually, dripping in the bright morning." D. H. Lawrence, *The Plumed Serpent* (London: Heinemann, 1948), 355–56.—"Suddenly, the man with the guitar gave a signal, and they began. At first, we could only discern the rhythm of the guitar, handled so violently that a string broke, in a tempo not very rapid but played with such regularity, with such mechanical, unvarying confidence, that it seemed frenetic. Then we became aware that the violin was not remaining idle, and as we listened to its frail, acid song, the guitar's tumult seemed almost to fade away; or rather the two flowed together in a single current of

This book also provides a glimpse of the diversity of music's imagination in the domain of instrument structure. Music is an art so inherently linked to our actions that it expresses itself despite everything, with perpetually confounding fantasy and temerity in its use of concrete materials. For the music of "conservatories," which too often stays confined to the page, cannot prevent this same art of music from serving—still, in many places on earth—to ward off evil spirits, protect initiation sanctuaries, and drown out the cries of ill-omened animals; as long as this is true, the diversity of musical instruments will be the result of the union of music and life. It seems that our own sense of music expands if we accept its essential material nature. Our understanding of music cannot come from music's *works* alone; the concept of music grows richer if we include its *instruments*, in their natural state.

From the outset, I wish to state how much this book owes to the documentation in Professor Curt Sachs' monumental work *Geist und Werden der Musikinstrumente*, published in 1929, as well as to the presence, friendship and ideas of its author during his years of exile in Paris. I have endeavored to add to this documentation the results of more recent work when the same points are discussed, but I cannot claim to provide here the breadth of Professor Sachs' bibliography, to which I direct readers as a reference. Professor Sachs' book will henceforth be referred to using the letters *GWM*. I must also express how deeply the very writing of this book is indebted to the endlessly stimulating thought of that master of French sociology, Marcel Mauss. I wish to express my gratitude to Paul Rivet and Georges-Henri Rivière, who were together such a powerful enlivening force behind the Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro; to David David-Weill, whose generosity made it possible to found the department of musical ethnology at that museum; and to Marcel Griaule, with whom I traveled twice to Africa. Finally, I must not forget my overwhelming gratitude to my colleagues at the Trocadéro.

The idea for this book came to me after my initial reflections on instrument classification, in January 1930. But it was during an ethnological expedition to Sub-Saharan Africa, from French Sudan to Cameroon (1931–32) that its

sound, of such intensity that it pierced our hearts. At present, we no longer knew how long the song had been going on, we were transported as by a charm, with the numbness that seizes you while listening to the purring of a motor or the regular motion of a locomotive. … I watched the two men: their eyes were fixed on the middle distance, in the shadows, and neither of them looked at their fingers or their instruments; they appeared to be propelled by the expression of an unstoppable force, and we had the impression that we could no more stop their playing than convince a missile to deviate from its course. … Sometimes a native from the circle would brusquely raise his or her voice and sing three or four lines in a high, incantatory tone, with no one showing any sign of hearing. Indeed, no one showed signs of hearing anything, or paying anything any heed, we were all petrified, letting go of our thoughts as they were carried off by the wind, according to the whim of the two musicians. … When they stopped, as abruptly as they had started, I looked at my watch: the whole thing had lasted only a quarter of an hour." Jacques Soustelle, *Mexique, terre indienne* (Paris: Grasset, 1936), 66–67.