PART TWO

A

Process I:
Resistance in the Colonial and Missionary Encounter

Missionary hymnody provides one of the most powerful records of resistance to the colonial experience. This claim may, at first glance, astonish, not least because it contradicts many historiographies of the colonial experience, which identify missionaries as the agents of the political and economic concerns that power the engines of colonialism (cf. Comaroff and Comaroff 1991). It follows, then, that missionary hymnody itself subjugates; it disciplines and controls;

it is a text inscribing the act of colonialism itself. As a documentation of world religion, missionary hymnody would accordingly insinuate Christianity in the religious practices of a colonized people, thereby erasing their own.

This usual historiography of missionary hymnody—I hesitate to use "common," for missionary hymnody has been virtually neglected by scholars—this usual historiography makes several sweeping assumptions about world music and world religion, which I believe need to be rethought and redressed. First of all, in this historiography both religion and music assume the forms of systems, which compete for adherents and must supplant other religions and musics or be supplanted totally in any given society. Christianity, therefore, "takes over" indigenous religions, and the repertories of Jesuit ritual or Methodist hymnody become the sole occupants of the cultural space relegated to religious expression. The hymnbook, then, symbolizes the religious system: a bounded repertory of systemically prescribed practices (cf. Rhodes 1960).

Hymnody, however, is not just an object or bounded repertory. Quite the contrary, it serves as the basis for musical practices that express individual and community differences. In the moment of performance, hymns pass from the ownership of a colonial religious institution into the local religious practices (Draper 1982). Ownership has passed from the colonizer to the colonized, who transform music into a means of responding to domination. It is precisely for these reasons that missionary hymnody becomes one of the most important sites for resistance in the contested domains of colonialism. Hymns afford what James Scott has called "hidden transcripts," an "art of" and an "art for" resistance (Scott 1990). These hidden transcripts of resistance, according to Scott, function because the dominant and the dominated perceive their meanings in radically different ways. Music has a particularly powerful capacity to embody radically different meanings because of its complex forms of signification. In her study of the musics created by the Jesuits to convert indigenous Araucanian peoples of the southern Andes (present-day Chile) during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Beth Keating Aracena has demonstrated that the Araucanians took

the rather contained and bounded texts of a few lines provided by the Jesuits and transformed them through performance into hours of ritual. The Jesuit missionaries understood "music" as the text of conversion, whereas the Araucanians borrowed new musical materials, introducing and translating them into their own religious practices (Aracena forthcoming).

The colonial encounter in South Africa provides even more dramatic cases in which the music of missionaries became hidden transcripts for resistance. "Nkosi sikelel'i Afrika," the anthem of the African National Congress, and, before that, the anthem of most black political parties, was composed by Enoch Sontonga as a missionary hymn at the end of the nineteenth century (Rhodes 1962, 16–17). It is found in the hymnbooks of many Protestant churches in South Africa, where it seems innocuously to reproduce the themes common to the Christian experience, albeit in an African context.

> God Bless Africa!
> Let thy name be praised;
> Let our prayers be heard!
> God bless us; thou only art to be respected.
> Come Spirit! Come Spirit! Come, Holy Spirit!
> God bless us, thou only art to be respected.

One does not have to undertake exegesis too imaginatively to recognize the themes of authority that shoot through this verse of "Nkosi sikelel'i Afrika." The hymn moves resistance to the highest level, and it conflates the symbols of the coming of the Holy Spirit with that of the return of the land to black South Africans. The hidden transcripts of black resistance, moreover, overlapped with the liturgy and worship of the church service and were constantly instantiated in the structures of black political organizations (see Blacking 1981). That the structures of the hymns themselves came powerfully to provide paths and models of resistance against apartheid is, in fact, strikingly evident when we listen to the musics of black South Africans today. John Blacking has further observed that distinctions between stanzaic hymns and the singing of Psalms in black South African churches provided specifically musical

processes for distinguishing the layers of Christian meaning in the political activities of many churches. Psalmody provided a template of fundamental texts, which, nonetheless, opened new textual spaces through performance that allowed for the embellishment of sacred meaning, specifically the translation of religious symbols into political meanings (Blacking 1995, 205–6). The ritual and social organization of the black South African church, therefore, became a site for political agency that the multivocal musical repertories of the church had the power to mobilize.

Thus far, I have concentrated on the ways musical texts provided the hidden transcripts for resistance to domination; it is no less essential to consider the ways in which musical contexts serve as sites of resistance. Such contexts assume various forms. The performative nature of ritual, for example, frequently turns it into a site for resistance, publicly performed, yet hidden because of the ways conflicting meanings are juxtaposed. The confrontation of religious practices in the Andes provides an outstanding example of the ways in which ritual practice has historically provided a context for political and social resistance. Within Peruvian ritual, taking place, for example, on saints' days, musicians and dancers enact the ways in which Indians and mestizos have confronted the dominant, urban economy of Peru, the ways in which folklore is invented as a way of resisting modernity, and the ways in which religion itself becomes, to borrow Zoila Mendoza-Walker's concept, a way of "shaping society" (1993). Ritual, therefore, combines the political and the sacred through music and dance, not simply juxtaposing them, but rather fusing them into a form of local and ongoing resistance.[11] The history and politics of Peru, troubled and unsettled for centuries, necessitated this ongoing resistance, and ritual, as a context for hidden transcripts, became the performative site for its maintenance.

Resistance to the situation of dominance refuses to disintegrate because ritual creates a cultural space for it, and Peruvian mestizos

[11] The premodern basis for musical practices that negotiate "between worlds" is the subject of Giese 1994.

perform that space through dance and music. This contextualization of resistance exists also in North America, where it derives from the contested space between Native Americans and the governmental and economic forces that dominate their society (Cornelius and O'Grady 1987). This is the space that the peyote songs and the Ghost Dance movement of the late nineteenth century articulated. Native North Americans, too, have transformed the texts of Protestant hymns, making them the locus for indigenous languages, despite the repeated attempts of church and political authorities to eliminate, say, the Oneida language from all churches in Oneida communities in the Upper Midwest (O'Grady 1991). Ann Morrison's examination of the history of Wabanaki musical practices, moreover, suggests that Catholic liturgies also resisted white domination, even as they became a ritual context that maintained Wabanaki identities in the face of Protestant missionizing (Morrison forthcoming). Again we ask the questions, why hymns and why music? Why, in fact, do Native Americans seem so voraciously to borrow from white musics in general, only to indigenize hymn repertories and country-western songs alike? This music, reconfigured as the texts and contexts of resistance, represents a different history, not that of the white genres themselves, but rather the meaning they express as the contested past that Native Americans understand as their own (cf. Seeger 1991). This music provides a means of remaking history, of writing and righting it as Native American history.

Process II: Historicization and Revival: Recalibrating the Past

It is at this point that I move rather uneasily into the realm of history and to my second process, historicization. I make the move uneasily because, quite frankly, "history" so hegemonically insinuates itself into the contested domains that result from the contact of the West—and of Western religion—with the rest of the world (cf. Wolf 1982). My uneasiness perforce arises also when I figure music into this

contact as itself a process of making history. This history is inscribed, in certain ways, by notational practices, which therefore permit the reproduction of Christian hymns at the expense of oral traditions in missionized cultures. I move into the realm of history, nevertheless, because histories come into conflict in the contested areas interrogated in this article. It is as a response to that contestation, however, that historicization emerges as a process articulated by sacred music.

Historicization is a process of internalizing the structures with which one religion connects itself to the past by another culture or religion. It is historicization that occurs when, for example, indigenous Latin American societies introduce historical events and figures into myth (cf. Hill 1988). The Aymara of contemporary Peru maintain myths in which Christ, usually as a conqueror, plays a role as the central figure (Dillon and Abercrombie 1988). This conquering Christ differs from a Catholic Christ, seeming in many ways like other figures in Aymara mythology. The significance of the myth of conquest, however, is obvious, not least because of the violent disjuncture in Aymara history that it represents. If, indeed, this disjuncture had disastrous consequences for the Aymara, the recounting of it, even as a new form of narration and historiography, has passed into their hands. Through the myth of the conquering Christ, the Aymara have repossessed their own past (Dillon and Abercrombie 1988).

Essential to the historicization that the myth of the conquering Christ illustrates is the conscious attempt to give alternative representation to colonial conquest and the persistence of colonial political and economic structures. Michael Taussig, in particular, has argued that confrontations between colonizers and Native South American peoples have produced vastly different ways of representing history (Taussig 1980 and 1987; cf. Lentz 1994). In one well-known essay, for example, he formulates a notion of historicization with the concept, "history as sorcery" (1984). These indigenous narratives are largely invisible to Western historians, who lack ways of reading them, much less interpreting them.

Similarly, many religious musics, particularly those of non-

Western religions, remain inaudible because they are presumed to be without history. The music of Islam is but one of many examples of a religious music whose historical contact with Europe has yet to be fully understood as exerting a fundamental impact on what we now think of as Western art music. In Europe itself—and during the past several centuries in the United States as well—the musics of religious minorities existed outside of history, despite the historical reality that the music of, to take one obvious example, Romas and Sintis constantly reconfigured local and regional religious musical practices throughout Europe. Roma and Sinti music is a striking case of historicization, for it internalized the structures of religious folk repertories and popular musics alike, performing European history as the quintessential Other.

Historicization also provides many religious musics with an ability to adapt to modernity, or at least to accommodate it. The explosion of the cassette industry in South Asia, for example, has produced a concomitant explosion in what are usually called devotional musics (Manuel 1993, 105–30). These explosions themselves, however, parallel the ways in which Indian music and musicians have responded to the structures of colonization and modernization. Peter Manuel has even suggested that the cassette has effected an overall increase in religious observance and religious practices. Private and family devotion has increased, even if some forms of small-group devotional singing have decreased. Entirely new genres, such as pop *bhajan*s, have emerged and have come to have enormous appeal in Hindu areas. The explosion of religious music would only be possible with a medium of mass dissemination such as the cassette, which internalized the modes of production that the global music economy, especially through the companies EMI and His Master's Voice, successfully transplanted to India in the early part of the century. These processes of historicization are limited neither to Muslim nor to Hindu areas of the subcontinent. *Qawwālī*, a shrine-centered devotional music at the beginning of the century, has enormous appeal in North India and Pakistan, as well as in much of the world, as the several examples of *qawwālī* recordings discussed in the introductory section demonstrated.

Both *bhajan*s and *qawwālī* exemplify genres of religious music that have been reconfigured for modern and different histories. Other subprocesses of historicization, which have internalized other aspects of local and world history, have come to characterize other genres and repertories. Qur'anic recitation, to take an example central to Muslim religious practices, has undergone processes of historicization, again responding to various forms of colonial conflict and to modernization. Because of the dominance of the record and cassette industry in Cairo, individual devotional practices in many places outside the Middle East are characterized by Cairene styles of recitation. This has been the case in Paris for several decades, leading to a creation of what might be called pan-Arab religious practices, which by extension have effected a broad-ranging consolidation in the Arab community of Paris, which, because of French colonial history in North Africa and the Middle East, is the largest ethnic group in the city. A different process of historicization in Qur'anic recitation practices has taken place in Israel and Palestine. This transformation is evident in a style of recitation associated specifically with the Al-Aqsa Mosque, examples of which students in my classes at the University of Chicago have increasingly used to illustrate their papers since the beginning of the *intifada* in 1987. Accused of lacking a true history, Palestinians have used recordings of Palestinian recitation to make that history, connecting that history, not by accident, to the same site that has served to anchor the long history of Jewish music, namely the Temple Mount and the music of the Temple.

At issue here is not whether there was or was not a music history of Palestinian recitation, but rather how one constructs that history, once there is a demonstrated need to claim it. Historicization provides a means of connecting the past with the present. In extreme moments, those of rapid change and dramatic contestation, historicization becomes intensified, undergirding revival. The present is precisely an extreme moment of this type in the New Europe, as the new nations and regions of the continent struggle to grapple with the historical transformations of the twentieth century. Revival—musical revival—is everywhere. At one level, musical revival aims

to stake out new regions. At another, it seeks to recontextualize national histories. At still another, revival attempts to recapture the religions that the twentieth century virtually eradicated in many parts of Europe. This is the case in Bosnia-Herzegovina, for example, where Muslim popular-song genres, notably the *qāṣidah*, have undergone revival. The resurgence of Jewish music in Central Europe demonstrates a particularly extreme case of this form of revival. Klezmer ensembles and Yiddish song concerts are everywhere to be heard. Some revivalists are local and their endeavors modest, if also persistent. Others enjoy national prominence, as in the case of the most popular German singer-songwriter, Wolf Biermann, who has increasingly sung from Yiddish repertories in recent years. For the most part, the musics performed by the revivalists were not musics ever performed in Central Europe; Yiddish folk song was a secular music of Eastern Europe, as was klezmer music. But this illustrates the point exactly. Revival and historicization cannot actually create a Jewish European culture at the end of the twentieth century. As dynamic processes and responses to the racial and ethnic conflicts of the New Europe, they can represent the history of a continent whose past is inseparable from its response to Jews and Judaism. Through the revival of Jewish music, that past has won a significant presence in the New Europe.

Process III: Pilgrimage

Revival is by no means an isolated religious and musical phenomenon but, in fact, occurs throughout the world at the end of the twentieth century. I should even go so far as to say that revival is a phenomenon of world religion itself. It is religious revival, moreover, that serves as a bridge to the third response I wish to examine in this article: pilgrimage. Pilgrimage, too, is a phenomenon of world religions that is enjoying a remarkable resurgence. Pilgrimage sites throughout the world are in many cases overrun with pilgrims, and the importance of undertaking pilgrimages exerts itself at the most individual and local levels. I turn to pilgrimage at this point

for several reasons. First of all, as a revival of religious practice, it demonstrates some very distinctive characteristics. Pilgrimage challenges authority, which is to say, it is a bottom-up movement in which individual belief takes priority over institutionalized structures. Second, pilgrimage does not exist without music. Pilgrims musically perform their spiritual journeys into existence; the sense of communitas that they evoke exists only through their acts of performance. Third, through performance, pilgrimage represents and takes place within the contested spaces that I have claimed as the sites for interaction between world musics and world religions. Finally, these local, performative conditions notwithstanding, pilgrimage is a form of religious-musical practice found in many, perhaps most, religions throughout the world.

Figure 1 represents a Marian song I recorded at a pilgrimage in

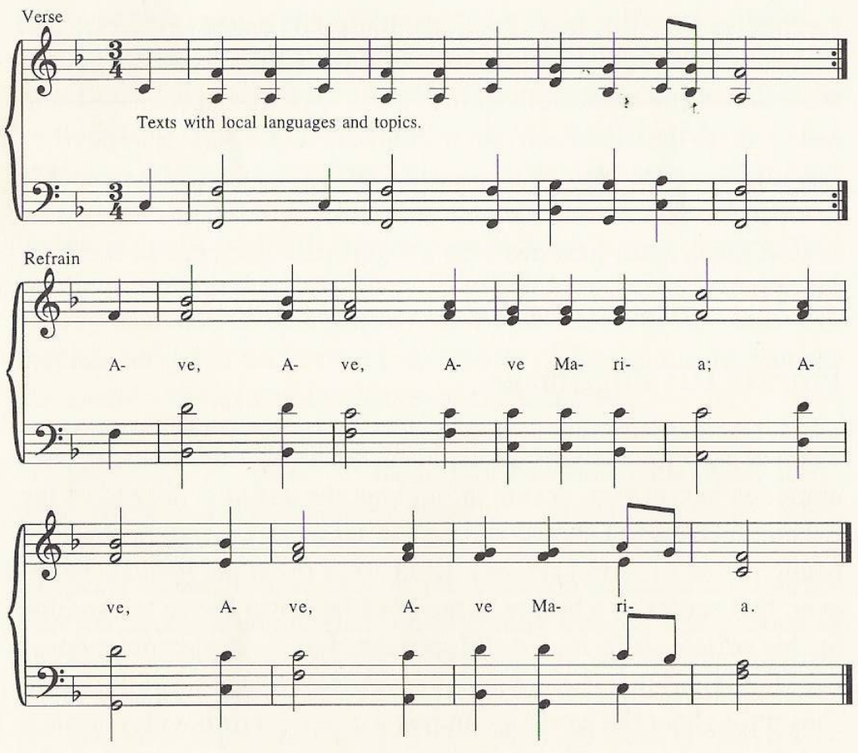

Figure 1: Pilgrimage Song Recorded near Mariazell, Austria

which I participated during September 1993. Though the melody of this Marian song is known in Catholic regions throughout the world, its contexts and performances were localized in September 1993 and transformed into a response to specific, but international, political concerns shared by the pilgrims.

This song was performed in numerous variants during the course of a pilgrimage in the eastern part of Styria, in Austria, as the pilgrims made their way along the Way of the Cross toward the basilica in Mariazell, the central pilgrimage site for much of Central and Eastern Europe. The pilgrims heard the Marian song performed in German, Latin, and Slovak versions and by a Slovak brass band from the village of Dolná Krupa.[12] The other participants on the pilgrimage came also from Eastern Europe, particularly from Slovenia, Croatia, Moravia, the Czech Republic, and Hungary, as well as from Austria and Germany.

Distinguishing this pilgrimage were not so much the ethnic, regional, and linguistic differences—these are not uncommon in Mariazell, or other pilgrimage sites—as the way in which the pilgrims deliberately subverted authority through the performance (cf. Eade and Sallnow 1991). Taking place on the three days prior to the "Week of the Foreigners," this pilgrimage moved in the opposite direction along the Way of the Cross, reversing, that is, the order of the Stations of the Cross. In so doing, they not only recalibrated the larger pattern of the pilgrimage—as well as the liturgy of songs that represents that pattern—but they supplanted some of the fundamental symbols of Christianity with a narrative of the immediate concerns in their own lives as residents of the New Europe.

This was a pilgrimage protesting the racism and intolerance that had spread across Europe. Far more than the empty statements of politicians and the promises for increased security, this pilgrimage transformed the protest against racism to the domain of the everyday. It did so by reversing the direction of the pilgrimage, which

[12] Known in some versions as "The Lourdes Song" or "The Great Lourdes Song," this Marian song has variant texts that localize and universalize pilgrimage.

moved not from the everyday world to the sacred site, but from the sacred site to the everyday world. It did so by deliberately juxtaposing musical repertories and by deliberately mixing the sacred and the secular, that is, the sacred and the everyday: the Slovak brass band was just one of several "village ensembles" that participated in the pilgrimage. The sense of community evoked by these juxtapositions was itself secular, intentionally symbolized by the mixing and remixing of musical repertories drawn from diverse religious and folk musical practices. The pilgrimage had reframed the questions central to the state-sponsored "Week of the Foreigners" by expressing them through the musical and religious practices central to their own lives.

Pilgrimage possesses the power radically to remap religious and secular territories alike.[13] The songs of pilgrimage often refer directly to the character of these territories, representing their meaning for religious communities in distinctive ways. The vocal repertories of the Bengali mendicant sect known as Bauls—a response themselves to the spread of Vaiṣnava Hinduism in Bengal—includes songs that refer directly to the stations along the constant journeys the Bauls make (see Capwell 1986). Baul songs narrate a very different history and nationalism for the territories now bounded by West Bengal in India and by Bangladesh, a religious history whose saints and religious communities belie the alternative secular history of this region, which lies at one of the most complex interfaces between Hinduism and Islam. The perpetual pilgrimages of the Bauls come to represent the constant negotiation—and the persistent strife—that trouble this region, even by conflating the musical practices derived from the different forms

[13] Pilgrimage sites are often located in border or otherwise contested areas. Mariazell, as the primary pilgrimage site for Slavic-speaking peoples and Hungarians, is in eastern Austria. Lourdes lies relatively close to Spain, as well as to Basque country. Andean pilgrimage sites are located in regions occupied by mestizos, but also near the boundary regions between nations, for example Peru and Bolivia. Jerusalem provides the classical example of a pilgrimage site whose position has been highly contested throughout history.

of pilgrimage that Indian Hindus and Muslims practice. The songs of Bengali pilgrimage, then, represent an alternative Bengal, one performed historically through everyday musical and religious practices.

Conclusion: Reclaiming Worlds with Music and Religion

Pilgrimage, like the other responses I have examined in this article, depends on the scaffolding of meanings and the actions that motivate religious belief. Music, through its capacity to reorder time and signify meaning in especially complex ways, has become one of the primary agents of this scaffolding. Music also remixes these scaffolded meanings at different sites of production. Pilgrimage, I have tried to show, combines the sacred with the everyday, thus endowing religious practice with the power to reconfigure the sacred as the everyday itself. During the course of this essay, I have also moved, sometimes gradually, sometimes disjunctly, from the plane of global cultural and market economies to the individual and local sites in which music-making constitutes religious practice. Clearly, the initial problematizing of Sufi music took place on the global plane; in the previous section the unpacking of a single pilgrimage in eastern Austria was local. I have concerned myself, then, far less with the globalist "-scapes," the ineluctable transnationalism imposed by many cultural-studies scholars on global culture (e.g., Appadurai 1990), than I have concerned myself with the local events themselves in which religious practice remixes religious musics, reconfiguring them as responses to change. The contestation within world musics and world religions at the end of the twentieth century does not take place on these global "-scapes," even though it necessarily responds to global conditions. It is a contestation between everyday religious practices, performed through song and bodily practices that themselves constitute the cultures of contested sites—pilgrimages, fairs, markets—sites where exchange and musical performance are not simply the products of transnational forces.