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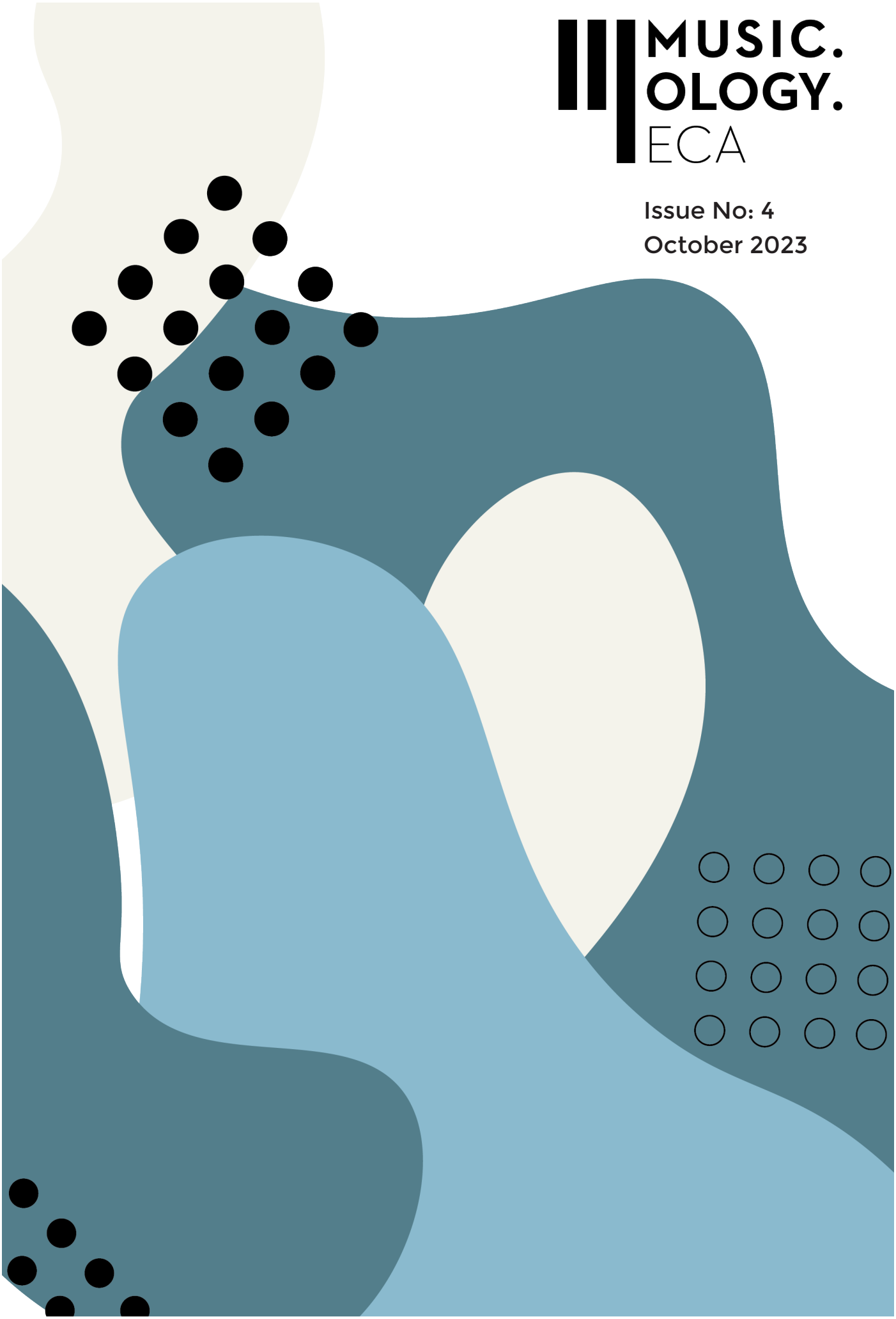

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This journal could not be done without the help of many parties who provided their time, their advice, and their expertise to ensure that this journal can go ahead. We would like to thank them here for their work and vocalise our appreciation for them.

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Finally, thank you to all the readers of MUSIC.OLOGY.ECA. Your support of this journal allows for greater visibility of musicologists in the early stages of their career and is deeply appreciated by the authors and editors of this journal.

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From the Editors

As the 2023–2024 academic year commences, we are delighted to present the latest issue of MUSIC.OLOGY.ECA. Established in 2019 by Rebecca Waxman and Abi McQuater, this journal has been a vital platform for postgraduate students in music research. Last year, under the stewardship of editors Natasha Anderson, Claire Gray, Sio Pan Leong, and Menchie Leung, the journal evolved into a peer-reviewed forum, offering students firsthand experience in the world of academic publishing. We commend them for their significant contributions to this transformation.

In our fourth issue, we delve into the diverse dimensions of musicology, exemplified by three rigorously peer-reviewed contributions that push the boundaries of scholarly exploration. From Sharon Yang's illuminating examination of the challenges of orientalism, to Tian-Yan Feng's insigntful analysis of the characteristics of Stravinsky's compositions, to Katja Taits' comprehensive investigation of music therapy, this edition spans across centuries and academic disciplines.

It has been an honor to curate this year's issue of MUSIC.OLOGY.ECA. While this year saw fewer submissions, we cherish each contribution for the unique perspective it brings to the world of musical research. This only fuels our determination to broaden our reach and engage even more passionately with the vibrant community of young musicology scholars. We extend a warm invitation to students from every academic background to share their insights, provided there is a connection to the world of music. Whether you're immersed in the intricacies of classical compositions, dissecting the beats of contemporary pop, or exploring the cultural echoes of music across history – your voice is welcome here.

We deeply appreciate your continued support and readership. With each page turned, you join us in celebrating the inexhaustible wellspring of musical scholarship. Together, let us embark on a journey of discovery and inspiration through the pages of MUSIC.OLOGY.ECA.

Your co-editors,
Liam Clark, Claudia Jelic, and
Annemarie Lehmbruck

The Key Debates of Musical Exoticism and Orientalism in Historical Musicology

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Abstract

This paper delves into the enduring interplay of musical exoticism and Orientalism in historical musicology, inspired by Edward Said's seminal work, *Orientalism*. It scrutinizes how Western perspectives of Oriental regions have been shaped by Eurocentric and colonial lenses. Building on Said's theory, it examines contributions from scholars like Sindhumathi Revuluri, Ralph P. Locke, and Ping-hui Liao, Dorinne K. Kondo, and Mari Yoshihara. The study emphasizes the ongoing relevance of Orientalism in academia, particularly in musical studies. Through Giacomo Puccini's opera, *Madame Butterfly*, the paper highlights debates on character identities, gendered geography, and audience perceptions, shedding light on the complex interplay of national pride and Orientalist fantasies.

Keywords: Orientalism, Musical Exoticism, Transculturalism

Recommended Music to acompany this article

Giacomo Puccini	Madame Butterfly
Giacomo Puccini	Turandot
Verdi	Aida

The Key Debates of Musical Exoticism and Orientalism in Historical Musicology.

Edward W. Said's seminal work, *Orientalism*, first published in 1978, examines how the Western world has historically studied, interacted and represented oriental regions through a Eurocentric and colonial lens. Oriental regions generally encompass the Middle East, Asia, and North Africa. The concept of Orientalism is not only about geographical boundaries, but centres on stereotypes and biases about the Orient constructed by Western scholars and institutions through the past centuries. The word 'Oriental' refers specifically to the East and its purported geographical, political, and cultural inferiority in comparison to the West. Significantly, Said's critiques have emboldened introspection in almost every academic discipline. Many exotic stereotypes in classic works and methodological falsities from past eras have been reconsidered based on his theory.

Derived from Said's theory of Orientalism, this paper reviews the key academic debates of musical exoticism and Orientalism within the last thirty years. Sindhumathi Revuluri's musical reflection on Orientalism, Ralph P. Locke's analytical methodology, and a case study of Giacomo Puccini's opera *Madame Butterfly* by Ping-hui Liao, Dorinne K. Kondo, and Mari Yoshihara from each of their respective and diverse focuses, all extend the theory of Orientalism into the domain of historical musicology.

Said thoroughly investigates the history of Orientalism; he examines its 'self- metamorphosis' process from a pure 'enthusiasm of everything Asiatic [referring to Raymond Schwab]' to

European invasions, occupations, and colonialism: '...Orientalism has accomplished its selfmetamorphosis from a scholarly discourse to an imperial institution.'[1] Because the mystery of the East stimulated the imagination and daydreams of Europeans, Said defines the invented portrayals of the Orient as 'imaginative geography': '...[this] universal practice of designating in one's mind a familiar space which is 'ours' and an unfamiliar space beyond 'ours' which is 'theirs' is a way of making geographical distinctions that can be entirely arbitrary.'[2] The latent and manifest Orientalism interplay within the general concept and the political scope of Orientalism is pivotal in Said's study. He juxtaposes 'two great themes' embedded in the idea of Western supremacy and Oriental inferiority: 'knowledge and power.'[3] Said then illustrates and exemplifies these themes through the lectures of Arthur James Balfour and the writings of Evelyn Baring, first Earl of Cromer, specifically with respect to the British's apparent indoctrination regarding issues in Egypt. Balfour's political viewpoint was that the West (Great Britain) had authority over Egypt, not because of military and economic power, but because of 'British knowledge of Egypt.'[4] The Westerner stands in a superior position (a higher dimension) and is able to analyze and determine the development or retrogression of Egypt (or the Orientals); therefore, Westerners are more knowledgeable about the people of the Orient than they do themselves. The knowledge and the power synergize and correspondingly build a mutual relationship: the power supports foreign governors in order to gain more regional information (knowledge), and the knowledge helps them to grasp even more power. There are two major distinctions between the West and the East that Balfour and Baring suggest: 1) Oriental countries laboured under 'absolute government' during their great centuries, but Western countries enjoyed 'self-government';[5] and 2) Orientals think 'accuracy is abhorrent' whereas Westerners are 'devoid of ambiguity.'[6] Said then elaborates on many more stereotypes of Middle Eastern and Eastern peoples, such as the following: '"devoid of energy and initiative", much given to "fulsome flattery", intrigue, cunning, and unkindness to animals; Orientals cannot walk on either a road or a pavement... Orientals are inveterate liars, they are "lethargic and suspicious", and in everything oppose the clarity, directness, and nobility of the

[1] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 2003), 95.

[2] Ibid., 54.

[3] Ibid., 32.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., 38.

[6] Ibid.

Anglo-Saxon race'.[7] Building upon this skewed knowledge of the Orient, the West is then able to self-righteously govern these other countries and lead them to civilization. Thanks to the civilized identity given to the East by the Western world, countries in the Eastern sphere consequently became dependencies. This is a political strategy of entrenching colonialism and legitimizing foreign occupations. Said argues that 'the Orientalist reality is both antihuman and persistent.'[8] Orientalism has resulted in ethnic degradation, political scheming, and other consequences. Said urges scholars to acknowledge and, more importantly, to eradicate the process of 'self-metamorphosis' in Orientalism in future studies. By doing so, it is the only way to prevent the perpetuation of false history.

The musicologist Sindhumathi Revuluri observes that Edward Said consistently uses active verbs when exploring and tracing Orientalism. This underscores that Orientalism within academia is not a relic of the past; but rather an ongoing phenomenon. She points out that an objective, unbiased review of Orientalism in music is unattainable if avoiding the subjectivity of primary or secondary sources from the past (perhaps incorrectly recorded), still less so considering that imaginative ethnography has become inextricable from European culture. Particularly in music studies, Orientalism almost equates with exoticism in the sense of otherness. Although 'exoticism' and 'otherness' are not interchangeable words, they both commonly refer to a 'fascination with denigration' beyond the boundaries of the West, that which is 'ours.'[9] Revuluri highlights the fact that academic recognition of musical ethnography existed before the concept of self-reflection in anthropology, and before the discipline of ethnomusicology in the late 19th Century and early 20th Century. She gives as an example what Julien Tiersot wrote in his *Notes on Musical Ethnography*: '[that] these arts [non-European music] are inferior to our own must be admitted, or rather affirmed... Europe, having always been the cradle of human civilization, will naturally be home to a musical practice far superior to what people of other parts of the world could ever attain'.[10] We should find 'inferior' and 'superior' to be familiar terms from Said's *Orientalism*, and these two words clearly expose the hierarchical status of non-European music

[7] Ibid., 38

[8] Ibid., 44.

[9] Sindhumathi Revuluri, "'Orientalism' and Musical Knowledge: Lessons from Edward Said," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 141, no. 1 (2016): 208.

[10] Ibid., 207.

and European music. A century has passed since Julien Tiersot penned the above passage. However, the present question pertains to how musicologists today approach the study and interpretation of Orientalism and exoticism within European musical compositions. Revuluri focuses her attention on the authenticity of the Eastern elements in music, and her verdict is similar to Said's, that 'Europe invented the Orient.'[11] Numerous examples, including but not limited to *Turandot* and *Madame Butterfly* (as elaborated in subsequent paragraphs), illustrate the prevalent exotic symbolism in different Western musical contexts. These exotic elements are inspired by the Westerner's imagination of unfamiliar or false records of otherness, but not by tracing the actual cultures of such places. Revuluri acutely asks, '...who has the right to imagine? ...these so-called objective records do not provide a corrective to imagined exoticism.'[12] The Asiatic world exists as an 'antithesis' to that of the Europeans;[13] correspondingly, the notion of musical exoticism is applied to reflect the supremacy of European classical music. To consider the theory in reverse, Orientalism has now been deeply integrated into European culture, and has 'helped to shape Europe.'[14] In the same sense, musicology would not be the same without exoticism and Orientalism. Moving back to the question of the many difficulties that musicologists today are facing—building objectivity and rationality upon subjectivity—illuminates Orientalism as an ongoing condition rather than something that can easily be put aside. The past influences the present; therefore it is not exclusively past. Said's advice is not easy to achieve, and not only in the discipline of musicology. However, if scholars have the awareness to exercise frequent self- reflection, the latent Orientalism in musicology can at least be recognized in academic studies. Revuluri concludes her journal article with the following question: 'Is it possible that there are traces of Orientalism, however latent, left in our work today? And if so, how might we confront this aspect of the history and present of musicology?'[15]

Let us put aside Revuluri's question for now, and look into musical exoticism and Orientalism in more detail. Ralph P. Locke defines musical exoticism as '...an ideology, a diverse collection of attitudes and prejudices, an intellectual tenden-

[11] Ibid., 208.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid., 209.

[14] Ibid., 208.

[15] Ibid., 209.

cy'.[16] He discusses the variations in how scholars conceptualize and define musical exoticism. For example, Bellman's perspective on musical exoticism focuses on direct borrowing from other cultures. In contrast, Betzwieser's perspective considers any musical material perceived as exotic, whether or not it has been directly borrowed.[17] Locke then defines musical exoticism into two paradigms: 'All Music in Full Context' and 'Exotic Style Only.' The 'Exotic-Style Only' paradigm means the music itself is borrowed from an unfamiliar (non-Western) territory and naturally manifests its exoticism. Transculturation can be overlapped within this paradigm, because it traces the musical materials from non-Western ethnography. For example, in Puccini's *Turandot*, the composer adopts the Chinese melody of 'Mo-Li-Hua', a folk song from the Jiangnan region, to further underscore the exotic characterization of the opera. However, Locke argues, not all musical works apply authentic materials from non-Western cultures like Puccini did in *Turandot*. Many are composed with unconventional musical features, such as '"primitive" harmonies, unusual modes (various Hungarian-Gypsy scales, distinctive pentatonic options, and so on), and accepted-as-characteristic tunes, rhythms, and instrumental sonorities...' to create the sense of otherness.[18] Said's theory of imaginative geography can be perfectly applied here: the unfamiliar land beyond 'our' (the Western) border is the so-called 'land of barbarians.'[19] Likewise, regardless of authenticity, as long as something appears as unusual in classical European music, it intuitively comes to be thought of as exotic. The idea of barbarism in musical exoticism is eloquently expressed by Mary Hunter, who, in Locke's view, 'pointed out that the violent and irrational aspects of [Mozart's] alla turca style... symbolize the violent and unpredictable behavior of the region's inhabitants.'[20] The "All the Music in Full Context' paradigm does not focus on the exotic in Western music, but rather covers everything else within this context. It is more commonly seen in Musicodramatic (operatic) works, because the plot, the characters, the libretto, the choreography, and other theatrical elements can consistently display the exotic effects. Locke lists multiple operatic works that contain paradigmatic plots referencing Orientalism: Meyerbeer's *L'Africaine*, Verdi's *Aida*, Saint-Saëans's *Samson et Dalila*, Delibes's *Lakmé*, and Puccini's *Turandot* and *Madame Butterfly*.

[16] Ralph P. Locke, "A Broader View of Musical Exoticism," *The Journal of Musicology* 24, no. 4 (2007): 479.

[17] Ibid., 481.

[18] Ibid., 182.

[19] Said, *Orientalism*, 54.

[20] Locke, "A Broader View of Musical Exoticism," 491.

From this list, Locke concentrates his analysis on the Orientalist features and the two types of paradigms in Madame Butterfly and *Turandot*. Puccini undoubtedly uses pentatonic modes and Japanese tunes in various excerpts; however, the 'Exotic-Style only' paradigm is insufficient to explain the proper musical depiction of Cio-Cio- San when the composer is not using any exotic elements. The non-musical effects are the key indicators that show audiences Cio-Cio-San's stereotypical Asian female's 'delicacy, credulity, and submissiveness';[21] meanwhile, the music remains within the Western harmonic system. In *Turandot*, as Peter Schatt has analyzed in his own study, Liù is 'trapped in her pentatonicism' within the aria 'Signore, ascot';[22] however in Act III, her 'growing independence and courage' are expressed with diatonic harmony.[23] In this case, the negative circumstance is shown with Chinese pentatonicism, whereas the positive side of the character obviously is not expressed with similar exoticism. There is certainly much that may be argued with respect to musical superiority and inferiority regarding Orientalism in operatic works. Madame Butterfly and *Turandot* are operatic examples that encompass both paradigms, and in a 1993 article in *Revista de Musicología*, Locke specifically analyzes the Orientalist traits in these paradigmatic plots.

It is absolutely interesting and enlightening that Locke summarizes the plots of Orientalist operas under one paradigmatic model and its variant. In his summary, there is always '[a] young, tolerant, brave, possibly naïve, white European tenor-hero' who is an incontrovertible and righteous European figure; there are 'alluring dancing girls, and a deeply affectionate, sensitive lyric soprano' who stands for the mystery of the Orient; and there is '[an] intransigent tribal chieftain (bass or bass-baritone) and [his] blindly obedient chorus of male savages' who are meant to represent the rigidity and uncivilized culture of the East. Each figure respectively reflects Said's theories of Orientalism. The innocent 'European tenor-hero' symbolizes the Westerner's superior position in human civilization, and the 'European tenor-hero' entering an unfamiliar territory stands for the European countries conquering the barbarian lands and bringing a civilized identity (colonization). The attractive and exotic female figures (who can also be femmes fatales) always

[21] Ibid., 488.

[22] Ralph P. Locke, "Reflections on Orientalism in Opera (and Musical Theatre)," *Revista de Musicología* 16, no. 6 (1993): 3126.

[23] Ibid.

trigger the fantasy of seductive mystery, and illustrate the imaginative geography in Said's theory. Lastly, recall Balfour's speech about the Oriental countries: '...all their great centuries—and they have been very great—have been passed under despotisms, under absolute government'.[24] The 'chieftain' and his 'blindly obedient savages' are stereotypes of rigidity and collectivism in a dictatorship. Locke identifies two essential themes in these Orientalist operatic works: 1) 'its irrelevance to the East, and the East's to it' and 2) 'its power to reflect and even shape... the attitude and behavior of Westerners toward the non-Western world'.[25] Judging from his analysis of Orientalism in music, irrespective of musical or non-musical elements, Said's theory utterly fits into these compositional practices.

To extend and deepen the study of Orientalism in music, I will focus on one specific opera—in this case, Giacomo Puccini's Madame Butterfly—and review the key debates regarding the character Cio-Cio-San's identity, gendered geography, and audience perceptions. Because of Puccini's enthusiasm for musical exoticism, he put effort into seeking authentic Japanese materials and to employ them in the story of Madame Butterfly. Puccini consulted the Japanese actress Sada Jacco for local linguistic features, he listened to Japanese music on a gramophone, and he read books about Japanese traditions and practices unrelated to music. Puccini not only attempted to accomplish in Madame Butterfly what is described by Locke's paradigms 'Exotic-Style Only' and 'All the Music in Full Context', but also endeavoured to advance toward a 'harmonic science' of incorporation and inclusion through which the Orient would be 'constituted and then introduced into Europe.'"[26] In this sense, the character portrayal of Cio-Cio-San is a tremendous success. Cio-Cio-San stimulates and satisfies the fantasy white males entertain about Oriental females; and beyond an exotic fantasy, she also symbolizes European interest in and acquisition of the colonized lands. According to the analogue mentioned by Liao, 'Butterfly reflects an uncurious "other-phobia" ...a female body to be possessed and then deserted,'[27] and '...as Said has told us, the 'Orient's colonial accumulation and acquisition by Europe'.[28] Indeed, Cio-Cio-San is the victim of an irresponsible American white male's impulsive desire, and she must sacrifice, must suf-

[24] Said, *Orientalism*, 33.

[25] Locke, "Reflections on Orientalism in Opera (and Musical Theatre)," 3134.

[26] Ping-hui Liao, "'Of Writing Words for Music Which Is Already Made': 'Madama Butterfly, Turandot', and Orientalism," *Cultural Critique*, no. 16 (1990): 38.

[27] Ibid., 39.

[28] Ibid., 28.

fer, and must die in her own ritualistic way. Her demise again represents the hegemony and power of the West. The Western perception of Asian females weighs down Cio-Cio-San with certain attributes; her 'self', in anthropological terms, is defined as the Western preconceived image of Japanese womanhood: 'A "self" is closed, fixed, an essence defined by attributes.'[29] Therefore, Cio-Cio-San's efforts to change her identity are meant to be rejected by the Americans. Although she gives up her own people and religion and depends solely on her 'husband', the plot, the Western audiences, and the 'self-metamorphosed' Orientalism together will thwart her effort to change the Japanese female identity. In the discourse of a defined 'self' and expected 'identity', Madame Butterfly conveys gendered Orientalism, and as Kondo points out: 'gender is projected onto geography'.[30] Kondo summarizes Puccini's opera as 'West wins over East, Man over Woman, White Man over Asian Woman.'[31] Explicit gendered Orientalism played a significant role in gaining acclaim from American and European audiences. This is evident in the extreme gender inequality and West-East divide portrayed in Madame Butterfly's plot. In *American Quarterly*, Mari Yoshihara explores theatre-goers' performance experiences and their perceptions of Madame Butterfly in early 20th Century America and in Japan.

[29] Dorinne K. Kondo, "'M. Butterfly': Orientalism, Gender, and a Critique of Essentialist Identity," *Cultural Critique*, no. 16 (1990): 11.

[30] Ibid., 7.

[31] Ibid., 10.

Yoshihara firstly introduces the historical and political context of Madame Butterfly's premiere in both America and Japan. In the early 20th Century, America—the newest developed Western power—saw an increase in its interest and influence the East. In the meantime, Japan's expansion and military victories in Asia readied it to ally with Western imperial power. In the trendy years of Madame Butterfly, Japan had just opened the door to the Western world. The whole nation was undergoing a conflict with respect to patriarchy, nationalism, and eagerness for Western recognition. Before Japanese vocalists had access to the international stage, Cio-Cio-San was played by white divas in America. These divas in real life were rather modern, independent, and quite dissimilar to the submissive Japanese character they portrayed on stage. The modern American woman and the Japanese feminine stereotype, both on and off stage, created a sharp contrast. It wasn't until Miura Tamaki, a renowned Japa-

nese vocalist, achieved international acclaim for her portrayal of Cio-Cio-San that Western audiences were exposed to an Asian diva. This marked a departure from the tradition of predominantly white divas in this role. However, despite her success and fame, Orientalist biases still persisted among Western audiences, shaping their perceptions of her. According to Yoshihara's study, Americans blithely assessed Miura's performance: '... she pattered about on those funny little feet of hers and gave some pretty imitations of an Occidental prima donna; but she remained invincibly Nipponese [Japanese].'[32] Yoshihara further comments that '...America's Orientalist fantasies about Japanese femininity that gave birth to the character of Cio-Cio-San were thus projected onto the body of Miura.'[33] Miura had a clear understanding of what the American audience wanted to see, yet at the same time she also had an awareness of the Orientalist fantasy in the opera. Miura described the first act as '...almost thoroughly absurd to the Japanese, and one can see this as an unfiltered expression of the fantasies of the foreigners who have no understanding of Japan.'[34] The Japanese nation had various and contradictory attitudes toward Miura; on the one had, they acknowledged Miura as a representative of national pride; on the other hand, they were skeptical about her presentation as a vocalist. In the multipartite controversy engendered by Miura, the problem of Western superiority and Oriental inferiority had finally exposed its essential complexity. In this case, the Japanese nation flattered Western hegemony and perceived the Orientalist opera as a national image on the international stage. As Yoshihara concludes in her article, 'in the cross-Pacific context of growing U.S. hegemony in Asia-Pacific and Japan's quest for modernity and assertion of parity with the Western powers, the two nations' projects converged in the performance of *Butterfly*'.[35] Orientalism is bidirectional, in that Asian peoples, in order to attain their own purposes, allowed, or even encouraged, Westerners to imagine and embrace this supposed inferiority of the East.

After reviewing the discussions and examples of musical exoticism and Orientalism. I would like to return to Sindhumathi Revuluri's question: 'is it possible that there are traces of Orientalism, however latent, left in our work today? And if so,

[32] Mari Yoshihara, "The Flight of the Japanese Butterfly: Orientalism, Nationalism, and Performances of Japanese Womanhood," *American Quarterly* 56, no. 4 (2004): 981.

[33] Ibid., 982.

[34] Ibid., 983.

[35] Ibid., 998.

how might we confront this aspect of the history and present of musicology?'[36] My answer is that latent Orientalism may still persist in contemporary musicology, affecting how we study and represent non-Western music. However, to confront this issue, we should engage in critical self-reflection to identify and address potential biases, reevaluate terminology with Orientalist connotations, and promote interdisciplinary collaboration with scholars from diverse fields including but not limiting postcolonial studies, ethnographic studies, and anthropology, which can provide valuable insights into the Orientalist underpinnings within musicology. By taking these approaches, musicology can progress towards a more culturally sensitive and equitable discipline that embraces diversity and encourages respectful and accurate representations of music from different cultures. Lastly, we should always remember Said's advice: '...we must virtually see the humanistic values that Orientalism, by its scope, experiences, and structures, has all but eliminated'.[37]

[36] Revuluri, '"Orientalism' and Musical Knowledge," 209.

[37] Said, Orientalism, 110.

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Order and Continuity in Igor Stravinsky's Music: An Analysis of 'Marche du Soldat' from *L'Histoire du Soldat*.

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Abstract

The works of Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971) have been criticised for the tendency of their compositional technique towards 'repetition,' 'stasis,' 'non-progression,' 'block juxtaposition,' and even 'discontinuity' by musicologists and analysts including Taruskin (1996), Whittall (1997), Cross (1998), and Boulez (1968). However, more and more contemporary theorists argue that his music is not only characterised by repetition or consistency, but also that many structural phenomena and musical parameters have distinct development within the internal structure. Moreover, they point out that characteristics of both discontinuity and continuity are found at different structural levels within his compositions (Cone; Horlacher 2018; Wang 2004; Kramer 1986, 1988).

Taking the above scholarship into consideration, this essay analyses several musical elements to explore features of order, regularity, continuity, and consistency in the first movement of Stravinsky's *L'Histoire du Soldat*, "Marche du Soldat". Closer analysis reveals that this movement exhibits many tendencies of order and consistency within individual parameters, but this order is broken when considering all parameters together, as each has its own pace and structural pattern. The analytical results presented in this essay align with the emphasis by contemporary musicologists and scholars on Stravinsky's tendency towards consistency and order in his compositions, affirming that his music does indeed possess these features, but they require a different perspective to observe.

Keywords: Igor Stravinsky, L'Histoire du Soldat, order, consistency, temporality

Recommended Music to acompany this article

Stravinsky *L'Histoire du Soldat*

Order and Continuity in Igor Stravinsky's Music: An Analysis of 'Marche du Soldat' from *L'Histoire du Soldat*.

Introduction

Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971) is widely regarded as one of the most influential representatives of musical modernism from the last two centuries. The compositional technique of his orchestral and chamber works is frequently discussed in terms of its 'stasis,' 'non-progression,' 'block juxtaposition,' and even 'discontinuity,' which reflect his position as a modernist icon. Richard Taruskin points out that these characteristics are the core concept in Stravinsky's compositions.[1] Aligning with this perspective, other scholars, such as Arnold Whittall,[2] and Jonathan Cross,[3] also consider traits such as fragmentation, discontinuity, and repetition as the central elements in Stravinsky's compositional process. Even the composer's critics concur with such diagnoses, albeit viewing the result in a more negative light. In his essay '*Stravinsky Remains*',[4] Pierre Boulez criticises Stravinsky's music for its rigidity, repetition, and refusal to develop the process of music, which display a negative assessment on his compositional techniques. All these critiques reflect the 'absence of goal-orientedness,' 'immobility,' and 'mindless repetition,' that can be found in Stravinsky's works.[5]

However, some scholars disagree with these points. Edward T. Cone in '*Stravinsky: The Progress of a Method*' draws attention to the progression of momentum in Stravinsky's music, exhibiting three stages to illustrate the progression: stratification,

[1] Richard Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions: A biography of the works through Mavra*. Volume 2. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 1675.

[2] Arnold Whittall, "Modernist Aesthetics, Modernist Music: Some Analytical Perspectives," in *Music Theory in Concept and Practice*, eds. James M. Baker, David W. Beach and Jonathan W. Bernard (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1997).

[3] Jonathan Cross, *The Stravinsky Legacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

[4] Pierre Boulez, "Stravinsky Remains," in *Notes of an Apprenticeship*. Trans. by Herbert Weinstock, (New York: Knopf, 1968), 72-145.

[5] Joseph N. Straus, "Stravinsky's Aesthetics of Disability," in *Broken Beauty: Musical Modernism and the Representation of Disability* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 80.

interlock, and synthesis.[6] Cone examines various compositions by Stravinsky, including Symphony of Wind Instruments, Symphony of Psalms, Serenade in A, and Symphony in Three Movements, explaining the impact of tonality and pitch on the composer's continuity and non-stasis. Another theorist, Jonathan D. Kramer, claims that the Symphony of Wind Instruments demonstrates different types of temporal structure on various levels, arguing that continuities can be found in the background.[7] Moreover, Gretchen G. Horlacher proposes the perspective of ordered succession on a large scale to support her analysis on this topic, which has a degree of similarity to Kramer's analytical results.[8] More and more research is emphasizing the tendency toward continuity, momentum, and forward motion in Stravinsky's music, or characteristics of both discontinuity and continuity at different structural levels within his compositions. Observing the state of academia in the 21st century, scholars' evaluations and analyses of Stravinsky's works have changed in significant ways. More specifically, while previous scholars generally criticised the discontinuity and excessive repetition that resulted in musical stasis in his music process, contemporary musicologists and theorists seek and emphasise the opposite aesthetic perspective of his music within pitch, metre, rhythm, and smallest units—the momentum and consistency that propel the music forward.

Taking the above scholarship into consideration, this essay analyses several musical elements to explore order, regularity, continuity, and consistency in the first movement from *L'Histoire du Soldat*, 'Marche du Soldat'.[9] Previous analytical research (e.g. Cone or Kramer) mainly focuses on pitch and harmony to examine how these structural phenomena generate forward momentum at different structural levels (whether in the foreground, middleground, or background). Building on that scholarship, this essay discusses metre, motive, form, and harmony to uncover orders and continuities within the music. The following part analyses each parameter in the first movement of *L'Histoire du Soldat*, then compares the analytical results to previous critiques, displaying the different musical style in Stravinsky's composition.

[6] Edward T. Cone, "Stravinsky: The Progress of a Method," in *Perspectives on Schoenberg and Stravinsky* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 156-164.

[7] Gretchen G. Horlacher, *Building Blocks: Repetition and Continuity in the Music of Stravinsky*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 56; Also see Jonathan D. Kramer, *The Time of Music: New Meanings, New Temporalities, New Listening Strategies* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1988), 211.

[8] Ibid., 54-61.

Analysis of Various Parameters

First of all, the use of metre in Stravinsky's works draws much attention from audiences. In 'Marche du Soldat,' the metre shifts considerably between 2/4, 3/4, and 3/8. Some sections maintain one metre for a while before suddenly changing to another, whereas other sections frequently change metre over a short period of time. Despite the frequent changes, Stravinsky's repeated and steady ostinato in a 2/4 feeling remains consistent in most cases. Figure 1 (a) displays Stravinsky's actual notation, while figure 1 (b) demonstrates a different barring which maintains a constant 2/4 metre.[10] The same technique of altering the time signature can be applied to almost the entire piece, including bars 20 to 28, bars 29 to 34, and bars 36 to 82.[11]

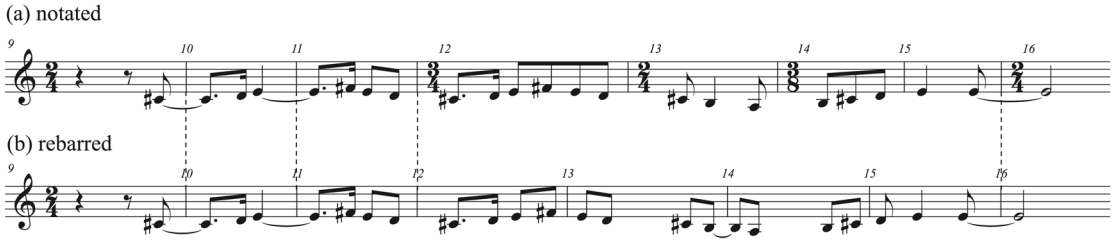

Figure 1: "Marche du Soldat," real notation and rebarred notation, bars 9-16

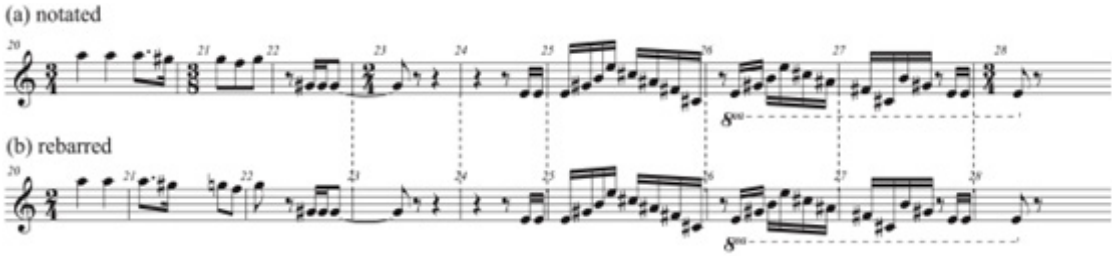

Figure 2: "Marche du Soldat," real notation and rebarred notation, bars 20-28

[9] Instead of the orchestral version, the chamber version (for violin, clarinet, and piano) arranged by the composer was utilised as an analytical example in this essay.

[10] According to Pieter C. van den Toorn, Leonard Meyer was the first to utilise analytical rebarring of Stravinsky's music, exploring the two parts to reveal the hidden periodicity under the listening irregularity; See Pieter C. van den Toorn, *Stravinsky and the Russian Period: Sound and Legacy of a Musical Idiom*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 97, n. 15; also see Leonard B. Meyer, *Emotion and Meaning in Music*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), 120, ex. 34.

[11] Due to content constraints, I have extracted some examples to illustrate the concept of metre in figures 2 to 4.

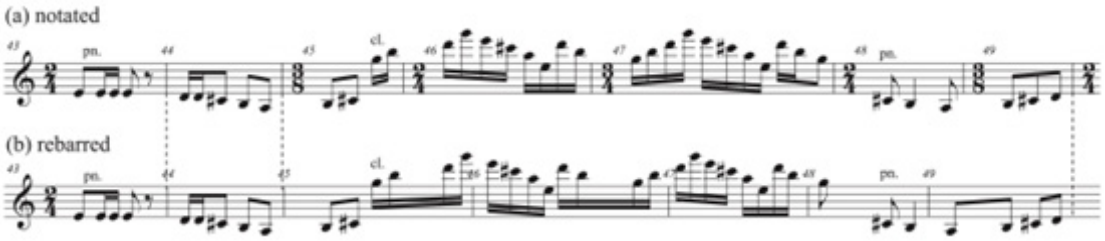

Figure 3: "Marche du Soldat," real notation and rebarred notation, bars 43-49

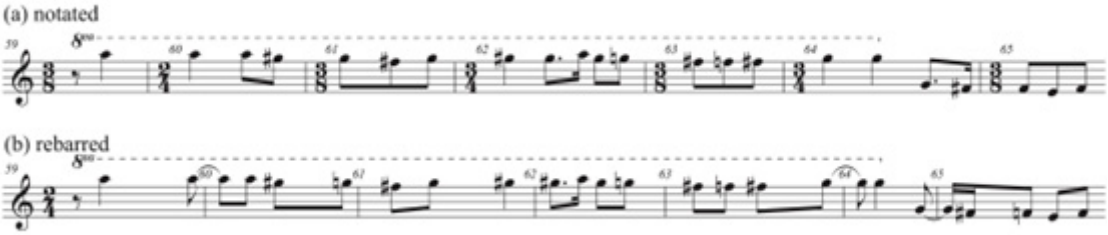

Figure 4: "Marche du Soldat," real notation and rebarred notation, bars 59-65

Although the preceding examples depict various changes in time signature, the steady, consistent feeling of 2/4 metre runs through the notated irregularity like a soldier's steps. In this movement, it is worth noting that there are four interruptions to the stable 2/4 rhythmic pattern during the process of music. Closer inspection reveals that these discontinuities and inconsistencies, which appear in bars 18-19, 28, 35, and 82, all share the same trait of introducing a new element or contrasting with previous motives. For example, the stable 2/4 is broken in bars 18-19 by following a new theme (motive b) at the same time. Another example can be found in bar 28, where the prominent line in the clarinet plays a long note that does not belong to any previous motive. The same case appears in bar 35. The last example in bar 82 displays a dynamic contrast at the end when the stable ostinato of 2/4 is broken. All these examples show that when the stable metrical pattern is broken, these places (bars 18-19, 28, 35, and 82) also allow the audience to perceive new material after the break while still establishing a fixed pattern and providing order.

The consistent rhythmic pattern outlines another order of the work: form. At first glance, it is difficult to define sections of this movement since it is not only distinguished by numerous fragments emerging in higher voices, but also strongly

influenced by the alternating interjections of the narrator during the music. However, two types of low voices reveal clear musical parameters of this movement: the pattern of the ostinato figure (I-V^{9}) in G major and the constant pedal tone in D (see figures 5 and 6). Taking these musical parameters as a basis for dividing the structure of the work, the first movement can be divided into four sections (see table 1). As shown in table 1, the lower voice provides a clear alternating pattern from A to B, forming a recognisable order of form under the complex prominent line.

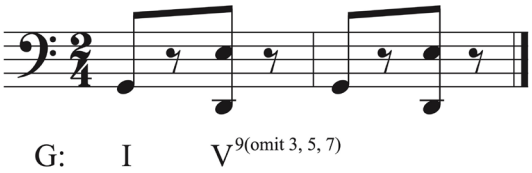

Figure 5: The pattern of ostinato in lower voice

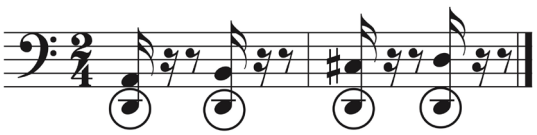

Figure 6: Pedal tone in D in lower voice

Measures	Section	Lower voice
01-28	A	Ostinato (I-V^{9})
29-39	B	Pedal tone
40-78	A	Ostinato (I-V^{9})
79-end	B	Pedal tone

Table 1: The form of composition by dividing through the lower voice

While the lower voice outlines the structure, this essay also explores how Stravinsky establishes stable continuity through motives and the arrangement of themes. There are three sorts of motives in this movement: motives a, b, and c (see figures 7-9). Motive a is a diatonic figure, with a short unit that descends and then ascends, creating a curve shape. Motive b differs from motive a as it consists of outlined triads with large intervals in the melodic contour. Motive c is closely related to motive a, much like the stable rhythmic pattern that corresponds to the soldering step. The difference is that motive c is made up of many repetitive notes that change in half steps. Motive c in bars 61-64, for example, is centred around F and G and moves chromatically. These three types of motives exhibit different

characteristics during the music, providing a brilliant sonority when audiences listen to this piece. While initially it seems that many fragmented motives are intertwined in an irregular way, careful analysis reveals that these themes are organized to create a regular pattern.

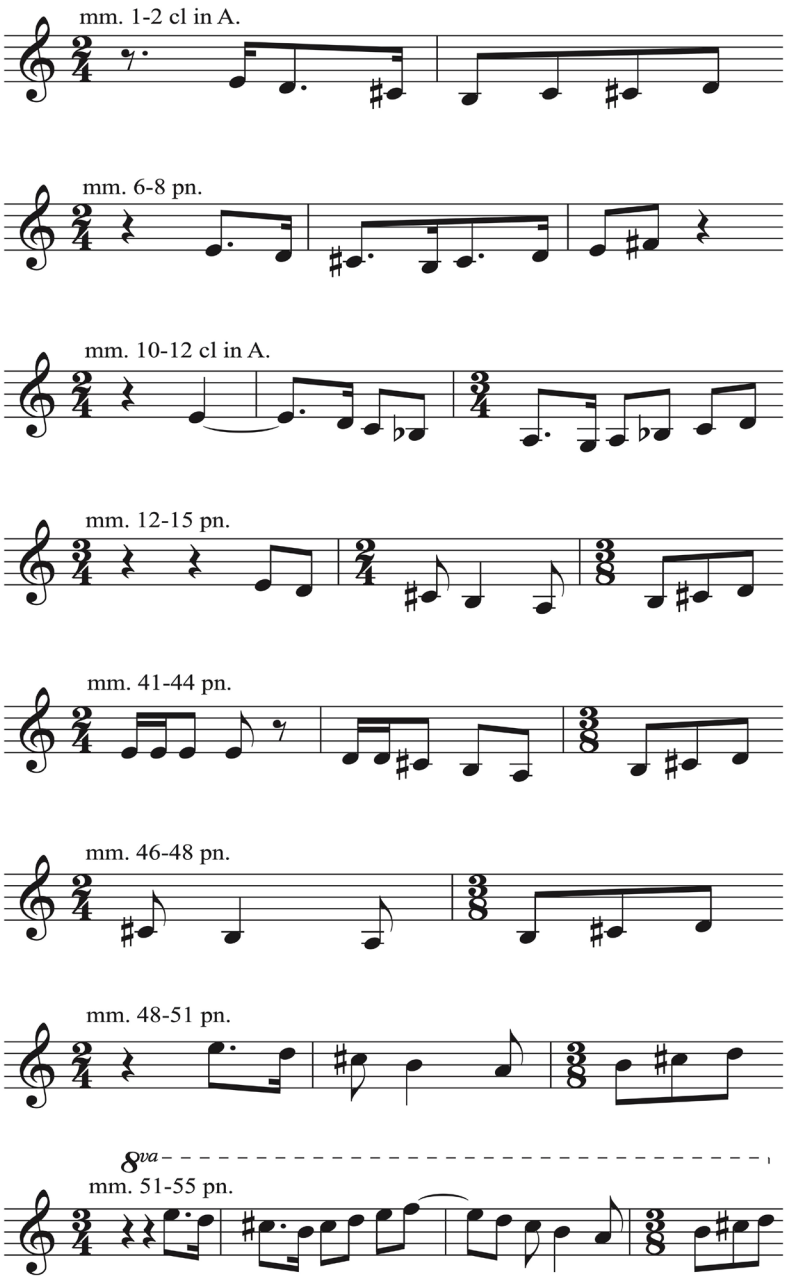

Figure 7: Motive a

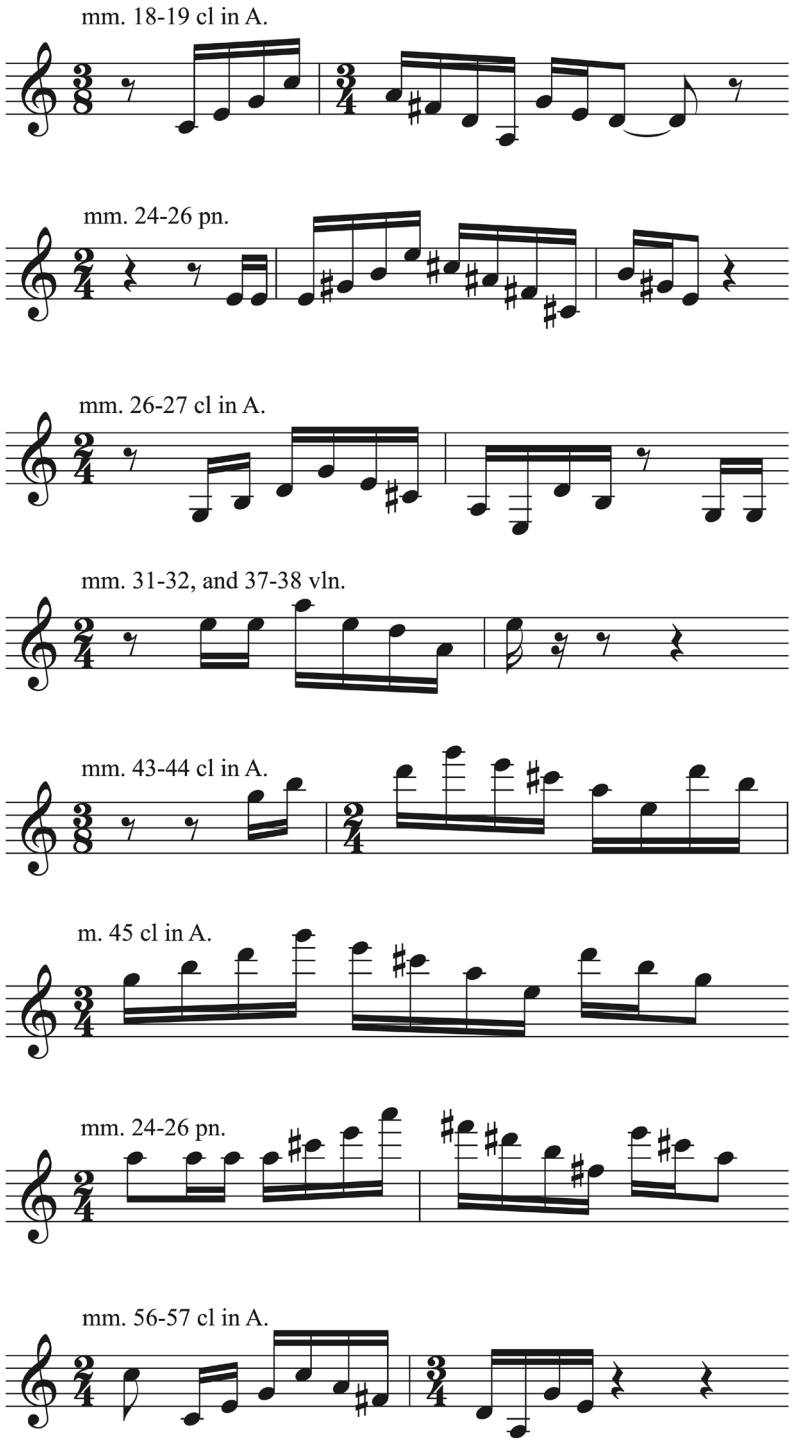

Figure 7: Motive b

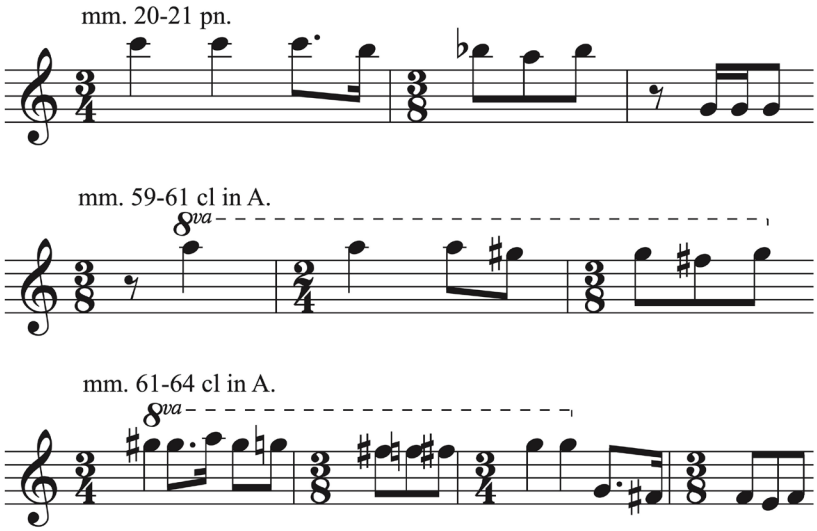

Figure 9: Motive c

Table 2, below, shows that the form of composition depends on the motive and prominent line. First, the composer introduces motive a from bars 1-17, then introduces the other two new themes, motives b and c, from bars 18-24. As mentioned before, many fragmented lines and numerous motivic transformations interlock together, causing the sensation of irregularity and instability. However, by closely looking at the framework, an order becomes apparent. Stravinsky builds a fixed order of the appearance of motives b and a after revealing primary theme at the opening. For example, when motive b appears it is always followed by other motives, especially motive a, producing a distinct order of appearance of prominent lines. Motive a follows motive b four times from bars 24 to 54 . Therefore motive b does not repeat itself or form a continuous group consisting entirely of motive b. After a regular pattern of 'motive b → a (or c),' the end of the piece returns to a variation of motive a, illustrating a stable sequence within the form of the work. As a result, instead of each block having no connection to the motivic pattern, the lower line and the prominent melody together create a logical section.

Bars	1-17	18-19	20-24	24-28	29-30	31-32	32-36
Motive	a	b → c		b → a'		b → a' (inv.)	
Bars	37-40	41-43	43-45	46-54	55-58	59-78	79-84
Motive	b → a		b → a		b → c		a'

Table 2: The prominent voice shapes the stable sequence of form

In harmonic idiom, much of this movement is bitonal. The lower progression and the higher melodic contour present contradicting tonalities, creating a strong sensation of conflict and tension. With the exception of the clear triads in bars 4-5 (I-V^9 in G major), 18 to 19 (I-II-I in A Lydian), and 84 (C major, the only triad in the end of the piece), the harmonic content is primarily a bitonal mix. In this analysis, I consider that the subtle changes in the shifting of tonality will bring a certain degree of force and momentum to the entire piece. The changes in sonority and harmonic colour bring more stimulation to the listener.

Bars	1-3	4-5	6-17
Harmony	Chromatic	G Major	G Lydian
			G
Bars	20-28	29-43	44-58
Harmony	A (with chromaticism)	D major with chromatic	E Lydian with chromatic
	G	D pedal tone	G
Bars	79-83	84	
Harmony	G minor	C Major	

Table 3: The harmonic structure of the composition

As shown in table 3, the bitonal mix does not combine the same scale system (e.g. G major in the higher voice and C major in the lower voice, which are both diatonic systems), but rather combines different scale systems such as diatonic vs chromatic or diatonic vs church mode, resulting in a certain degree

of harmonic tension until the end. This phenomenon contradicts with the criticism that Stravinsky's music often remains harmonically static.

Results and Reflection

After analysing many parameters within this composition, it is time to collect all the materials, which imply many characteristics of order and consistencies, and complete this map. Stravinsky employs many tactics in the first movement of this piece, such as fragmented, irregular, or seemingly inconsistent material organisation. These tactics reflect numerous criticisms related to discontinuity, stasis, non-progression, and lack of goal-orientation. Returning to the analysis of metre, the composer changes the time signature throughout the piece, creating a sense of rhythmic irregularity. However, beneath this complex surface lies a stable 2/4 feeling in the bass line, a steady ostinato, and a consistent pattern from beginning to end. Furthermore, while the inconsistency of the rhythmic pattern is visible in a partial section, Stravinsky devised a formula to form an order amidst uncertainty.

Regarding the bass line and motivic line, these two elements also show a conspicuous order after detailed analysis. The two types of bass lines, the ostinato of I-V^9 in G major and the pedal tone in D, not only divide the composition into four sections but also create a sequence of the melodic themes' appearances, framing an ordered structure. Moreover, harmonically this movement is extremely active and full of tension. A large part of the tonal mix includes diatonic, chromatic, and modal scales, which produce a constant harmonic polarity between the prominent line and accompaniment. Taking the movement 'Marche du Soldat' from *L'Histoire du Soldat* as an example, we can conclude that Stravinsky's music has a significant tendency toward continuity, order, consistency, and force. This contradicts with many problematic assessments by previous analytical studies (of course, many theorists have defended him against these negative criticisms).

If several musical parameters show continuity, order, and consistency in this work, why might Stravinsky receive those assessments? The significant key is how we examine the piece. In other words, whether we look at each parameter individually or comprehensively observe the overall materials at the same time. In most instances, audiences listen to the piece with all parameters being performed simultaneously rather than taking notice of each aspect individually. This may be because while each parameter independently establishes a sense of order (as the results of this analytical essay shows), when they are all joined this order breaks, since they each have their own pace and pattern of structure. Therefore, to discern the whole picture of this work, the audience might deconstruct different layers thematically, harmonically, or rhythmically, discovering the varied traits in a specific hierarchy.

Deconstructing these parameters separately provides a clear map to the features of Stravinsky's compositional technique, but it also reminds the analyst that listening selectively or seeing the entire picture has a specific purpose. Although this essay responds to previous criticisms through careful analysis of specific musical elements, this approach may not accurately present a comprehensive appearance of the musical architecture. That is, we cannot browse the overall framework itself at the same time. On the other hand, by deconstructing the details of this architecture we can understand the order shaped by each musical element and clarify why so many scholars contribute different opinions to support Stravinsky.[12] Cross briefly states that the 'true dynamism' of his work comes from the manipulation of its rhythmic cells. While this only partially explains the source of the work's driving force, he correctly points out that Stravinsky's compositional technique and Germanocentric approach to composition are significantly different.[13] Building upon what I mentioned earlier, contemporary scholars continue to utilise their analysis to uncover and emphasise the different faces of Stravinsky's composition: the consistency, continuity, and momentum. Their analysis leads us to understand another side of the viewpoint, and the analytical results in this essay also indicate a similar consequence in emphasising that Stravinsky's music does indeed possess those features (the

[12] For another example, see Jonathan D. Kramer, "Discontinuity and Proportion in the Music of Stravinsky," in *Confronting Stravinsky*, ed. Jann Passler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 174-94; Kramer analysed many works and calculated the proportion of moment and submoment time in Stravinsky's music, showing the 'balance' and 'consistency' in his composition. In addition, other scholars such as Wang Yuh-Wen have also pointed out that Stravinsky's music is not simply fragmented, and lacking continuity as claimed by Taruskin and others. Through her analysis, she has identified that the momentum or force in the music comes from its rhythmic and structural elements at the level of beats and smallest units. See Wang Yuh-Wen, "Musical Modernism, Stasis, and The Rite of Spring," in Humanitas Taiwanica 61, (2004): 53-102.

[13] Cross, *The Stravinsky Legacy*, 103-104.

order, consistency, and so on), but they require a different perspective to be observed.

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Music Therapy: an Embodiment of an 'Interdisciplinary Problem'? Historical Issues in the Researching of Musical Therapeutics.

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Abstract

This paper delves into the historical development of music therapy in the UK during the 20th century, shedding light on the challenges faced by historians in its study. Music therapy, a profession at the intersection of music, psychotherapy, and healthcare, presents unique difficulties for researchers. Varied therapeutic approaches, divergent definitions, and the absence of standardized evaluation methods complicate assessments of its efficacy. This interdisciplinary nature also engenders disagreements within the history of medicine discipline, exemplifying the struggle to define key terminologies. The study underscores the necessity for a comprehensive history of music therapy, emphasizing the importance of collaborative research and interdisciplinary engagement to bolster its legitimacy within the healthcare landscape.

Keywords: Music Therapy, Interdisciplinary, History of Medicine

Music Therapy: an Embodiment of an 'Interdisciplinary Problem'? Historical Issues in the Researching of Musical Therapeutics.

It is apt to begin with the obvious question: what is 'music therapy'? According to the World Federation of Music Therapy (WFMT), it is 'the professional use of music and its elements as an intervention in medical, educational, and everyday environments' to improve quality of patient's lives.[1] In short, music therapy utilises the positive effect music can have on people, and this effectiveness relies on the relationship formed between the client and the therapist. The music element aims to boost communication between these two individuals and create positive change or response. Thus, music therapy is simple enough to understand. However, its professional history within the UK is, to a large extent, not engaged with by historians of medicine. This can be attributed to music therapy being an interdisciplinary medical profession; those writing about its history need an understanding of music, psychotherapy, and social understanding of the specific healthcare context they are studying it in. For example, the UK music therapy profession within the NHS will vary in definition and favoured techniques in comparison to music therapy in the USA. Thus, social context of music therapy is essential to understand when engaging with narratives of its professional development in medical contexts.

This essay discusses development of music therapy in the UK during the 20th century and explains why it has been difficult for historians to study this area of medicine. The hope here is to encourage historians of medicine to better develop understanding of the exact problems interdisciplinary professions present, and suggest briefly how we might fix these issues in future research

[1] Petra Kern, 'Announcing WFMT'S New Definition of Music Therapy', *World Federation of Music Therapy*, May 1, 2011, https://www.wfmt.info/post/announcing-wfmts-new-definition-of-music-therapy.

endeavours.

Music therapy embodies an interdisciplinary problem which can be placed in the context of wider issues in history of medicine studies. These issues arise particularly in histories of arts therapies which combine cultural, political, and social conditions to provide effective treatments.[2] Although these factors arguably affect histories of all medical practices, studying psychiatry specifically relies on understanding client-therapist relationships. Due to this, professional development is challenging to measure as there is no single formula or set of results that can show definite progress of techniques used within the practice. Favoured techniques within UK medicine to prove effectiveness of treatments are Evidence Based Practice (EBP) and Random Control Trials (RCTs). These techniques do not allow psychotherapies, such as music therapy, to express their successes sufficiently.[3] The five main music therapy approaches currently used in the UK and other European countries include Behavioural Music Therapy, Benenzon Music Therapy, the Bonny Method of Guided Imagery and Music, Analytic Music Therapy and Nordoff-Robbins Music Therapy, demonstrating the diverse range of treatment methods available.[4] Alongside this issue it is also true that the history of medicine discipline itself is not a harmonious field, although a popular area of study. Disagreements over key terminologies are reflected in the constant categorisation of the discipline into subfields. 'Social' is an example of a key point of disagreement among historians of medicine, having begun to trend in debates during the 1970s.[5] Roger Cooter recalled social history of medicine regarding itself as radical due to medicine having previously played to the power of 'the establishment'.[6] Social history claimed to include people, as well as medicine, in its understanding of medicine. However, Cooter asked what the term social meant within medicinal context, and argued social history of medicine was simply a knit study between social power and medical practice.[7] Thus, Cooter argued that history of medicine was constantly developing. Vague terms such as social were not useful as they did not hold tangible meaning.

However, other historians held different views. Jonathan Toms

[2] Alexia Quin and Shannon Perkins Carr, *What Is Music Therapy: How Does It Work and What Evidence Do We Have?*, (London: Music as Therapy International, 2020), 2.

[3] Kenneth Aigen, 'A Critique of Evidence-Based Practice in Music Therapy', *Music Therapy Perspectives* 33 no. 1 (2015), 14.

[4] Rachel Darnley-Smith and Helen Patey, *Music Therapy* (London: Sage Publications, 2003), 24.

[5] Roger Cooter, '"Framing" the End of the Social History of Medicine', in *Locating Medical Histories, the Stories and Their Meanings*, ed. Frank Huisman and John Harley Warner (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2004), 442.

[6] Ibid., 442–443.

[7] Ibid., 447.

responded to Cooter explaining that dismissal of the 'social' studies of the discipline would be a travesty. He accused Cooter of lumping together early examples of research in the field and claiming this had oppressed minority groups.[8] Toms stated that although he agreed there was a problem of oppressing the oppressed in the overall history of medicine, these past mistakes were a bad reason to dismiss the use of the term 'social', as it was still a useful term when considering specific practices of medicine, such as those heavily involving social interaction. Toms emphasised that focus merely on state power served to deny or replace other understandings of power, therefore being just as oppressive Cooter had argued social histories to be.[9] Thus, social history of medicine invited varying opinions among historians. With these ideas in mind, we can appreciate why specific topics within the history of medicine, such as music therapy, are difficult to approach.

[8] Johnathan Toms, 'Second Opinions: Response So What? A Reply to Roger Cooter's 'After Death/After-"Life": The Social History of Medicine in Post-Postmodernity', *Social History of Medicine* 22 no. 3 (2009), 610.

[9] Ibid., 613.

A complete history of the music therapy profession within the UK does not currently exist; we can affirm how important this research would be by observing the following case studies. These interviews with two leading music therapists in the UK were completed between 2000-2001 and were part of a series called 'Historical Perspectives' in the British Journal of Music Therapy. They explore what the state of the profession was like at the beginning of its establishment within the NHS and its development since then. The interviews chosen for this study are Mary Simmon's interview of Auriel Warwick and Helen Loth's interview of Tony Wigram. These interviews particularly discussed the importance of research and collating evidence within music therapy. Reasons for choosing these sources stem from the general idea that to understand the complexity of music therapy in the UK, it would be valuable to gain perspectives from those who helped develop the practice within the NHS.

Auriel Warwick, at time of interview in 2001, was a full-time music therapist working in education, having worked in several special schools.[10] Warwick established that the music therapy profession was officially recognised in the UK by the NHS in 1972, but that this did not guarantee jobs. She explained 'it wasn't easy, and we really did have to knock down doors', asking

[10] Mary Simmons, 'Auriel Warwick', *British Journal of Music Therapy* 15 no. 2 (2001): 44.

if people wanted a music therapist.[11] She also explained the defining of the profession had always been a problem as there was nothing to stop an authority or school employing somebody who claimed they could do music therapy but who had not completed a recognised form of training.[12] This takes us back to our earlier questions of how we can truly define music therapy if there are practicing therapists who are not officially qualified. By strictly defining UK music therapists as those having completed the UK training courses, historians can begin to create a clearer definition of music therapy.

Warwick talked of splits within the British music therapy profession; the two most popular music therapy methods clashed against each other. Juliette Alvin was the original pioneer of the music therapy profession in the UK, setting up the first teaching programme at the Guildhall School of Music and Drama in 1968.[13] She also formed the Society for Music Therapy and Remedial Music in 1958, renamed the British Society for Music Therapy in 1967.[14] Clive Robbins and Paul Nordoff launched their method in a book entitled 'Music Therapy for Handicapped Children and Music Therapy in Special Education' in 1971, pioneering the Nordoff-Robbins clinical music therapy. Juliette Alvin felt the Nordoff-Robbins method was flawed.[15] Warwick commented that, when she attended the first WFMT conference in 1982, she realised most subsections of the profession were remarkably similar and stated 'harking on about differences is just plain silly. We have to …learn to accept the differences' as she thought 'differences in philosophy… keeps things lively'.[16] These splits in the profession again call into question what counts as music therapy. Warwick also explained that evidence-based practice was important for development of music therapy. OFSTED inspections were beginning to force music therapists in schools to explain why their approach benefitted the children they were treating. Warwick believed this would specify what the profession had to offer.[17] General reports would allow much more expression of the therapist on behalf of explaining method and approach, which in turn would allow more reflective ideas on what was happening within the sessions. These reports would undoubtedly provide useful source material for future historians who wish to use them to understand development of music ther-

[11]Ibid., 45.

[12] Ibid., 48.

[13] Darnley-Smith and Patey, *Music Therapy*, 17.

[14] Ibid., 16.

[15] Simmons, 'Auriel Warwick', 49.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid., 50.

apy within specific settings such as schools.

Tony Wigram shared similar views to Warwick. Wigram, a highly influential figure within the British music therapy profession, was instrumental to many of the key political developments which made the profession the well organised occupation it is in the UK today. He was, at time of interview in 2000, professor and head of PhD studies in Music Therapy at Aalborg University, Denmark. Additionally, he was head music therapist at Harper House Children's service, as well as research advisor to Horizon NHS trust.[18] He started his interview by explaining that he established APMT (The Association of Professional Music Therapists) with Helen Odell-Miller, aiming to define a career structure and demand paid work for music therapists. Its recognition within the NHS meant music therapy came to be seen as its own practice, rather than just 'icing on the cake'.[19] When applying for this recognition within the NHS, Wigram went to the desk of every royal college, the general medical council, the British medical association, the royal college of nursing and the British psychological society.[20] One or two of these were pleased the profession regarded itself 'as complementary to current medical practice and not as an alternative'.[21] Thus, it is useful to think about narratives concerning music therapy history in Britain in the context of pre- and post-professionalisation. The social and political context of both provides a clearer overall understanding of its place in the UK medical scene. Wigram finished his interview by stressing the importance of research to keep supporting the practice. He argued that if researchers did not 'produce enough evidence' funding would stop, and respect for the profession would drop. Thus, Wigram believed evidence was key to keeping music therapy afloat in the NHS.

Having established social historiographical methodology as a useful approach to history of music therapy, and the reasons leading UK music therapists to believe all further research to be important, we can now consider why now might be the time to tackle this further research, and why it has been difficult to do so up until now. Muriel Reigersberg's arguments encapsulate what we have already established. Recent increase in music being linked with health and wellbeing research is due to acknowl-

[18] Helen Loth, 'Tony Wigram', *British Journal of Music Therapy* 14 no. 1 (2000), 5.

[19] Ibid., 6.

[20] Ibid., 10.

[21] Ibid.

edgement by professionals that music therapy cannot not be fully understood by either biomedical or social science scholars alone.[22] Franz Roehmann agreed with this idea, explaining that the last decade for musicians and music educators held two key developments: the growing recognition of importance of interdisciplinary inquiry and the increased interaction between musicians and researchers within biomedical science backgrounds.[23] However, economic downturns threaten this kind of collaborative research activity due to funding sources always firstly decreasing in areas seen as lacking 'cold hard facts'.[24] The demand from health services such as the NHS is always factual evidence. However, more research is needed in order to establish the evidence necessary to attract more funding.[25] Due to favoured medical research in the UK being increasingly tied to EBP, professions unable to use this rigid framework struggle to find consistent funding and so a vicious cycle is created: there is not enough funding to support research into practices like music therapy, and yet more research supporting the practice is needed in order to secure any increase in funding.[26] The rise of collaborative research has proved positive, resulting in the production of more research supporting music therapy practice. We can argue that a concise and clear history of the profession, written within a history of medicine context, would provide additional support to increasing these research efforts. By providing a solid foundation on which those interested in UK music therapy can observe its development, historians could create a source of supportive evidence that exists outside of an EBP framework. Alicia Gibbons and Alice Ann-Darrow warned that music therapy research has never been well synthesized due to it being both a public service profession and an interdisciplinary academic area.[27] They believe this has left it without a clear identity recognisable to either history of music or medicine. Martin Lawes added that 20th century history of medicine saw intersubjectivity becoming important for music therapy as a well as verbal therapies due to the postmodernism shift 'where context is important', meaning that writing a history of the profession from both a musical and medical perspective is essential, and so more difficult.[28] These views further affirm the importance of social context when considering history of music therapy, as well as of collaborative research.

[22] Muriel Swiighuisen Reigersberg, 'Collaborative Music, Health, and Wellbeing Research Globally: Some Perspectives on Challenges Faced and How to Engage with Them', *Journal of Folklore Research* 54 no. 1–2 (August 2017): 134.

[23] Franz Roehmann, 'Making the Connection: Music and Medicine', *Music Educators Journal* 77 no. 5 (January 1991): 21–22.

[24] Reigersberg, 'Collaborative Music, Health, and Wellbeing Research Globally', 134.

[25] Ibid., 135.

[26] Ibid., 134.

[27] Alice Ann-Darrow and Alicia Gibbons, 'Music Therapy Past, Present and Future', *American Music Teacher* 35 no. 1 (October 1985): 18.

[28] Martin Lawes, 'Trends of differentiation and integration in UK music therapy and the spectrum of music-centeredness', *British Journal of Music Therapy* 35 no. 1 (2021): 68.

Various other solutions have been suggested regarding the interdisciplinary problem music therapy embodies. Alexia Quinn and Shannon Perkins Carr reaffirm that further medical research is a key part in developing respect for the profession and gaining clearer statutory recognition, essential to its survival as a healthcare discipline.[29] Kenneth Aigen takes a slightly different approach, arguing EBP is a flawed system for proving effectiveness of medicine, especially in professions such as music therapy.[30] He claimed the way forward for interdisciplinary research within medicine was to counter this hegemony and find flaws within the method, pointing them out.[31] The reason there is lacking EBP in UK music therapy is due to 'legitimate' research only being funded after the profession became officially recognised by the NHS in 1972. Clearly, music therapy requires many different types of further research to grow as a profession. Historians of medicine engaging more in its history is one potential element of what hopefully will become a wider effort to better understand and engage with interdisciplinary medical practices.

This essay has explored how music therapy embodies an interdisciplinary problem within the history of medicine, why leading UK music therapists believe research will encourage further professional development of music therapy, why it has been difficult to conduct historical research of the profession so far, and how further engagement from historians of medicine could benefit the profession. We can argue, to a large extent, that music therapy is missing a place within the history of medicine due to the collaborative nature of research needed to tackle such a history. However, by using social history methods and by encouraging in collaborative interdisciplinary research, we can conclude that an historian with basic understanding of music and medicine would be able to construct a history of the profession using their own socio-political understandings. This would benefit the UK music therapy profession by creating a foundational narrative of its development which would, arguably, further engage technical and historical research within the practice. Additionally, it would encourage historians of medicine to develop better understanding of interdisciplinary medical professions.

[29] Quin and Carr, *What Is Music Therapy*, 1.

[30] Kenneth Aigen, 'A Critique of Evidence-Based Practice in Music Therapy', *Music Therapy Perspectives* 33 no. 1 (2015): 13.

[31] Ibid., 23.

We need more engagement with histories of arts therapies, such as music therapy, in order to increase their accessibility to researchers. Further research, historical or not, has been widely acknowledged as the best way to attract funding from UK healthcare systems. Although arts therapies do not suit EBP frameworks and are harder to understand than traditional medicines, these psychotherapies should not be disregarded as illegitimate medical practices because of these reasons. The way UK healthcare systems, such as the NHS, are set up does not encourage engagement with these practices. This is why encouraging further research, whether this be historiographical or medical, in order to better legitimise these therapies, is crucial.

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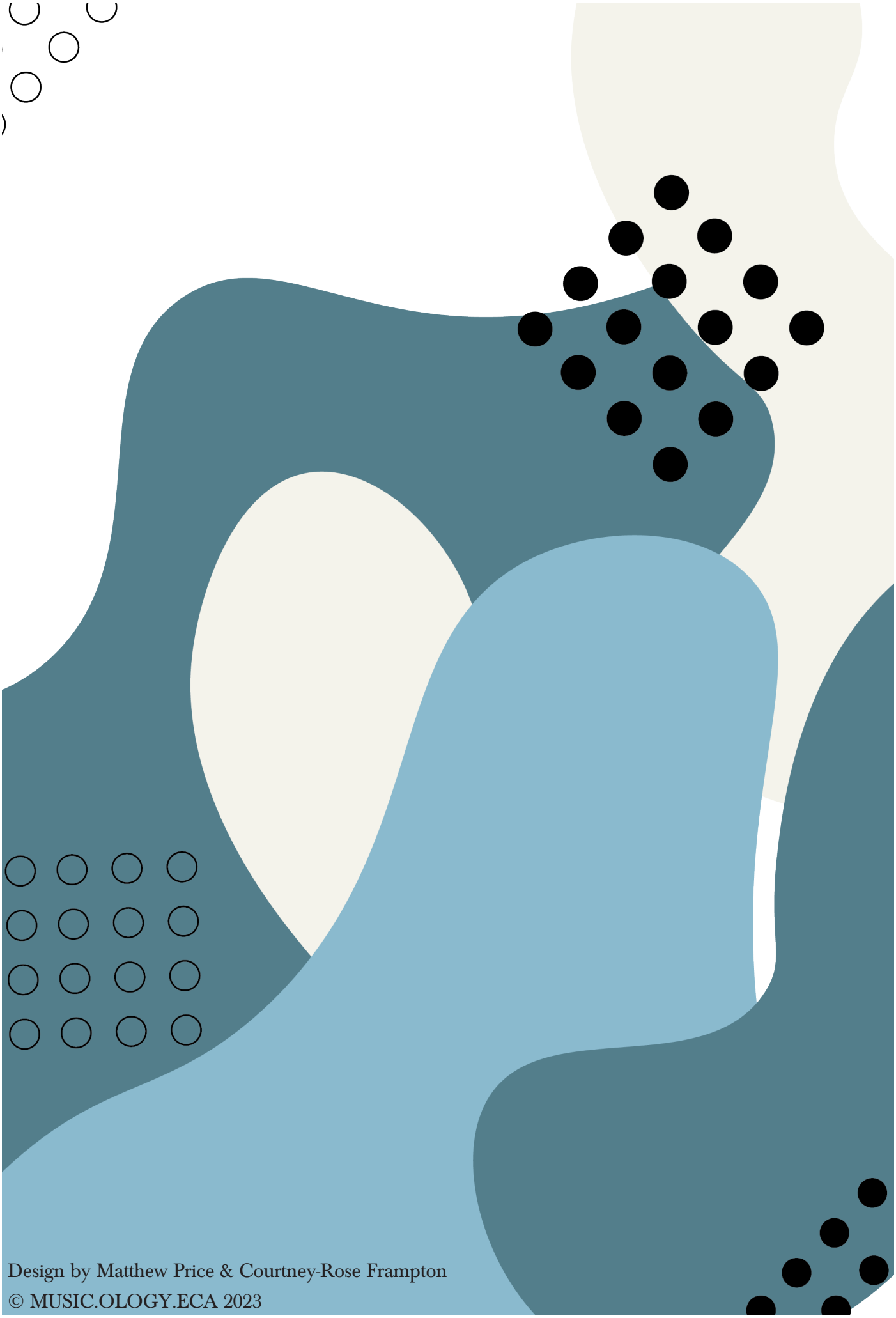

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