Encountering the other, redefining the self:  
Hindostannie airs, Haydn's folksong settings, and the 'common practice' style

I

The work of Gerry Farrell and Ian Woodfield has put the 'Hindostannie air' (to adopt one of its many spellings) firmly on the musicological map, so my outline of it can be brief. It had its origins in the special political circumstances of the kingdom of Oudh, on the borders of Nepal and now part of Uttar Pradesh, which favoured cultural and social interaction between British and Indians: in the words of Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General of India, 'every accumulation of knowledge, and especially such as is obtained by social communication with people over whom we exercise a dominion founded on the right of conquest, is useful to the state'.¹ In the case of music such interaction focussed round Indian dancing groups which were invited into Anglo-Indian (one should really say British-Indian) homes, and which included such charismatic singers as Khanam, in Captain Thomas Williamson's words 'a haughty, ugly, filthy black woman [who] could solely by the grace of her motions, and the novelty of some Casmerian airs, hold in complete subjection, and render absolutely tributary, many scores of fine young British officers!'²

But what specifically gave rise to the Hindostannie air was a desire on the part of some—largely female—colonials to transcribe these songs for Western instruments. Special transcription sessions took place in Anglo-Indian homes, with the use of a harpsichord or pianoforte as transcription aid; Margaret Fowke, the daughter of the diamond merchant and amateur violinist Joseph Fowke,³ made her own transcriptions, but usually a professional Western musician was employed for the purpose. (Margaret Fowke's friend Sophia Plowden employed a musician called John Braganza.) Once transcribed, the music was developed into a performable form through the addition of an accompaniment, and such performances became a feature of Anglo-Indian society. Hastings himself sang them, but the best known performer was Plowden, who had her manuscript collection of Hindostannie airs handsomely bound, together with illustrations of Indian instruments by local artists, in which form they became a souvenir of the colonial experience.⁴ Plowden's collection was never published, but others were, the most important being William Hamilton Bird's *Oriental Miscellany* (published in Calcutta in 1789),⁵ on which subsequent collections—mainly published in London—largely drew.

My focus in this chapter is on the nature of the cross-cultural encounter of which the Hindostannie air is the trace, and its relationship to the 'common practice style' (hereafter CPS) of European music at the turn of the nineteenth century. Farrell describes the Hindostannie air as 'an illustration of the way in which music functioned as a bridge between cultures', yet his emphasis is on what he calls the 'one-way process' through which any distinctively Indian features were 'drawn into, and finally submerged by', the CPS. Not only does Western notation 'discipline' Indian music, he says, but in the transmission of the airs through successive publications 'melodic identity is sacrificed to harmonic sophistication',

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⁴ Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MS 380.
with the Indian element becoming no more than a series of 'surface features'. This formulation highlights the organicism inherent in the conception of the CPS: one might say that the process traced by Farrell is one in which the foreign element migrates upwards within the musical fabric, leaving the underlying, structural identity of the CPS unaffected. It makes sense then to see the set of 'surface features' that, by the end of the nineteenth century, had congealed into a musical lexicon of alterity (modality, pentatonic/gapped scales, parallel fourths/fifths, augmented seconds, and so on) as perfectly adapted to add decorative colour without impacting on the thoroughly Western structure beneath. Understood this way, non-Western musical styles are not so much translated into as appropriated by the CPS: the Hindostannie air becomes an early exercise in orientalist representation.

The classic statement of the idea of musical representation is in Mozart's letter to his father about Osmin's first aria in Die Entführung aus dem Serail ('music, even in the most horrifying situation, must never offend the ear, but must actually please, and consequently remain music'). But its application to the Hindostannie air of course reflects the model of cross-cultural encounter adumbrated by Edward Said, according to which the representation of the other must be understood in terms of the logic of the self: 'Orientalism', Said says, 'deals not with a correspondence between Orientalism and the Orient, but with the internal consistency of Orientalism', and again, it is 'a closed system, in which objects are what they are because they are what they are, for once, for all time, for ontological reasons that no empirical material can either dislodge or alter'. As is well known, Said's Orientalism initiated a major debate among writers on post-colonialism, many of whom criticized his model for its rigidity and insensitivity to historical change, but in musicology the Saidian model has more often than not been accepted without demur, and widely read texts such as Derek Scott's From the Erotic to the Demonic have presented it more or less as an orthodoxy.

The suspicion of cross-cultural understanding that characterizes what I shall term the received Saidian model (RSM) emerges with particular clarity from Said's later book Musical Elaborations, in which he writes that music is just one of the means by which the West fortified itself 'against change and a supposed contamination brought forward threateningly by the very existence of the Other. In addition, such defensiveness permits a comforting retreat into an essentialized, basically unchanging Self'. (It is no wonder that A.L. Macfie comments that by 'essentializing the West, as a hermetically sealed and stereotypical culture, [Said] makes the promotion of cross-cultural awareness ... theoretically impossible'. But such suspicion reflects more general doubts about the relationship between self and other. Within the broad Hegelian tradition where the terminology of 'self' and 'other' originates, Gadamer claims of both interpersonal and cross-cultural relationships that 'hermeneutics

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13 Macfie, Orientalism: 136.
bridges the distance between minds and reveals the foreignness of the other mind', and even—in Jeff Warren's words—that 'understanding the Other is understanding the self'. But he is opposed by Levinas, for whom hermeneutics 'allows the approach of the Other but then appropriates the Other to the same': for Levinas, then, Gadamer's 'fusion of horizons' cannot but be an imposition of the self in disguise, corresponding to Saidian appropriation. If one starting point for this chapter is the wish to put forward an alternative to the pessimistic view of cross-cultural interaction embodied in the RSM, another arises from the interpretation of cross-cultural interaction in terms of the lexicon of alterity to which I referred. It is fundamental to the RSM that 'Orientalist styles have related to previous Orientalist styles rather than to Eastern ethnic practices', but of course this begs the question of where such styles came from: as Scott goes on to say, the purpose of orientalist music 'is not to imitate but to represent', yet it would surely be perverse to maintain that the lexicon of alterity had no source in imitation. In this way the RSM stands in need of supplementation by a model of cross-cultural interaction that has the empirical grounding which the RSM undercuts.

There is of course a chronological issue here. Said explicitly defines orientalism as having begun in the late eighteenth century—or at any rate he sometimes does so—but as many critics (in particular John MacKenzie) have observed, the RSM is often applied without historical discrimination. An admittedly early study by Richard Leppert of Anglo-Indian domestic life begins historically enough by citing the appointment in 1786 of Cornwallis, in succession to Hastings, and his exclusion of Indians from all senior governmental posts, which—in Leppert's words—'struck a fatal blow ... to racial understanding and cooperation'. But then Leppert seems to forget about his chronology. His principal exhibit is a painting by the then Lucknow-based painter Zoffany (who also painted Khanam) of an Anglo-Indian family grouped round that prime symbol of Western domestic culture at the end of the eighteenth century, a harpsichord: as Leppert observes, there is nothing in the painting to disclose the Indian location. Leppert's argument leads to far-reaching conclusions regarding music's complicity in the colonial ideology that grounded orientalism: 'music's role', he writes, 'is limited to that of affirming a political and economic policy with epic implications for both England and India, politics of imperialistic aggrandizement and suppression of human rights'. There is just one problem: the painting dates from 1784, two years before the crucial event in the development of the racial estrangement that supposedly informs it.

Leppert's chronology would place the Hindostannie Air precisely on the cusp: a manuscript annotation to the Plowden book states that the songs were collected in 1786, though Woodfield dates it on the basis of Plowden's diaries to 1787-8. The Hindostannie air is also contemporaneous with a quite different exercise in orientalist representation, the Viennese codification of the 'Turkish' style (of which Osmin's aria is again a classic example). But

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15 Scott, From the Erotic to the Demonic: 155, 174.
16 At other times he appears to trace it back to ancient Greece; Aijaz Ahmad explains this contradiction in terms of the tension in Said's thinking between humanist and postmodernist approaches (Macfie, Orientalism: 124).
19 Leppert, 'Music, Domestic Life, and Cultural Chauvinism': 102.
20 Woodfield, Music of the Raj: 152.
whereas the point of 'Turkish' style—and the basis of its representational function—was its instant, cartoon-like identifiability, it is hard to detect any musical signs of the orient in a Hindostannie air like 'Oh why are my accents so broken and weak' (Ex. 1), Air V from *A Second Set of Hindoo Airs with English Words Adapted to them by Mrs. Opie, and Harmonized, for One, Two, Three, and Four Voices, (or for a Single Voice.) with an Accompaniment for the Pianoforte or Harp*, by Mr. Biggs, published in or around 1805. This represents an assimilation of Indian music within the English glee tradition—and, of course, within the metropolitan economy—so complete that the only real traces of its provenance are the significantly prominent designation 'Rekhtah' (a genre of Indian love songs seen from the woman's point of view, from which many Hindostannie airs were taken); the title 'Soonre mashookan! be wufa!' (Listen, beloved, unfaithful!); and the ascription to Chanam (Khanam). Raymond Head comments that Biggs's settings 'have little to do with India and its music', and certainly Ex. 1 has little to do with the lexicon of alterity to which I referred. But that is just the point. It is the lack of orientalist stereotyping which ensures that, however feebly, Hindostannie airs embody the trace of an empirical engagement with an alien culture. I shall come back to Ex. 1 in due course.

Matthew Head writes that eighteenth-century orientalism was 'not evidence of an innocent openness to non-European culture, but ... unabashed appropriation of the Other'. By contrast, my aim in this chapter is to interpret the Hindostannie air as precisely evidence of an innocent openness to non-European culture, and as such an example of what has been called a 'contact zone', that is to say an 'area where coloniser and colonised intersect, not in a diffusionist or separate way, but "in terms of copresence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices"'; given the role of prominent role of women on both sides of the encounter, one might also see it exemplifying what has been called an 'alternative female discourse' on the Orient. Such a view may seem unduly sentimental or utopian in view of the social if not racial barriers that characterised British India even in the 1780s. But then it has often been observed that music has an ability to cut across conventional social categories, and this must have been all the more so under circumstances where the skills and knowledge of Indian musicians formed the focus of the interaction. For all these reasons, the Hindostannie air provides an ideal opportunity to develop a model of the cross-cultural encounter to complement the RSM's focus on representation through appropriation. I shall attempt this by building on Gadamer's idea that 'understanding the Other is understanding the self', and focussing not on the self's representation of the other but rather on the other's impact on the self.

II

The obvious starting point for such a study would seem to be correlation of the stylistic features of Hindostannie air with those of its Indian source. Both Farrell and Woodfield document the use of repeated notes or alternating octaves in the left hand of the accompaniment to denote drones, attempts to transcribe vocal roulades, and the impact of modalities foreign to the CPS; in the Plowden book there is an example of the latter in an unconventional key signature combining F# and Bb. But, as Farrell remarks, 'any search for traces of the original Indian sources in the extant arrangements is fraught with difficulties,' and this is for two reasons. The first is the obvious difficulty of knowing what the original music actually was, except in broad generic terms—especially given the artificial conditions

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21 London: R. Birchall (pp. 13-14). The first volume is entitled *Twelve Hindoo Airs*.
22 Ibid: 158.
23 Head, 'Corelli in Calcutta': 552.
26 Fitzwilliam MS 380: 116 (opening reproduced in Woodfield, *Music of the Raj*: 168, Fig. 4).
of the transcription session. The second is the equally obvious problem that Western notational categories are poorly adapted to capture many of the distinctive qualities of Indian music. As both Farrell and Woodfield comment, this is particularly evident as regards rhythm, with which the arrangers (or composers) of Hindostannie airs consciously struggled: Bird writes in the introduction to his Oriental Miscellany that 'it has cost him great pains to bring them into any form as to TIME, which the music of Hindustan is extremely deficient in', while Charles Edward Horn observed in his 1813 collection that 'it would be impossible, without extreme labour, and perservance, to reduce them into time'.

If it is not possible to directly trace the impact of the Indian sources on Hindostannie airs, then the only alternative is to do so indirectly, through a focus on their internal features. I can explain what I mean by drawing a parallel with the analysis of multimedia. The organizational hierarchies of images, text, and music are so different that the close alignment of one with another will necessarily disrupt one or more of the constituent hierarchies: hence the tendency for vocal music to be less comprehensively hierarchized, less structurally integrated in purely musical terms, than instrumental music. This means that charting the disruption of musical hierarchies (for which purpose traditional music-analytical tools are well adapted) becomes a diagnostic for cross-media interaction: the impact of other media is detected, but indirectly. In the same way, taking a cue from Horn's 'reduction' and Farrell's 'surface features', we can use analytical means to chart the disruption of the musical hierarchies definitive of the CPS and in this way detect the impact of the Indian source. Actually we have already seen an example of this: the anomalous key signature in the Plowden book, whose disruptive relationship to standard CPS 'theory' becomes particularly obvious when, elsewhere in the book, a standard CPS key signature (D minor) appears with an anomalous additional F-natural, presumably signifying 'and not F#'. But we can pursue this idea at a more detailed level.

Exx. 2-3 transcribe the earliest notations of 'Soonre mashookan! be wufa!', from Sophia Plowden's book (1787-8) and Bird's Oriental Miscellany (1789), as compared to the smooth naturalization of Bigg's version, a rough, tentative quality is evident in both, although even here the only directly identifiable Indian features are the drones and roulades—the latter evident in the 'ad lib' of Ex. 2, bars 9-10, and the corresponding 'Cadenza' of Ex. 3, bars 17-18. (In Biggs's version the roulades have disappeared altogether.) In his introduction Bird claimed nineteen years' residence in India, where he was acquainted with Plowden, whose diary records that on 8 March 1788 Bird 'accompanied me in the Hindostanny Songs', and the following day 'gave me two of my Hindostanny Songs set by himself'; Bird's ascription of 'Soonre mashookan' to 'Chanan' supplies a further link, for Khanan was one of Plowden's principal collaborators. Though transcribed for keyboard, Exx. 2 and 3 may in short have a common source in the singer if not the occasion of transcription.

Once allowance has been made for the different time signatures (2/2 and 2/4) and the absence of repeat marks in Plowden's—or rather Braganza's—notation, the form and phrase structure of the two versions are identical. The melodic contour is also similar, but its rhythmic treatment is very different: Braganza's opening phrase has a cantabile quality, with a striking syncopation at the end of bars 1 and 3, while Bird applies a distinctively clipped, bar-long rhythmic motive that persists through almost the whole song. (The only hint of such a

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28 Charles Edward Horn, Indian Melodies Arranged for the Voice and Piano Forte as Songs, Duettos & Glees (London: J. Power, [1813]): 1. The nature of the Rekhtah and other 'light' genres on which the Hindostannie airs were based, with typical rhythmic patterns of 2 X 3 or 2 X (Farrell, Indian Music: 41), is such that the rhythmic 'reduction' may not have been quite as drastic as a familiarity with North Indian classical music might suggest.


31 pp. 76 (transposed from F major) and 9-11 respectively.

rhythmic motive in Braganza's version is the syncopations of bars 5 and 7.) Even more obvious are the differences in the accompaniment. Braganza adds a single bass line, figured bass style, together with frequent thirds below the melody in the right hand; as a result the music is framed by means of generally incomplete tonic and dominant triads, with subdominant coloration for the syncopated chord of bars 1 and 3, but there is no strongly developed harmonic progression. By contrast, Bird's accompaniment is texturally freer; thirds alternate with sixths in the right hand, and an inner counterpoint sometimes emerges in the left hand. From bar 9 he uses a horn-call counterpoint to suggest tonic and dominant harmony, but he harmonizes the initial phrase with a fully fledged if unconvincing I-II-V-I progression (unconvincing because the functional harmonization is not followed through). This progression becomes the basis on which Bird constructs the three variations which follow in his *Oriental Miscellany*, composed in what might be called sub-J.C. Bach style (the variations on the other hand evidence no consistent harmonic conception of bars 9-16), and in this way one might conclude that the manner of Bird's setting was in some degree dictated by the intended context of publication.

Bird's variations, together with his concluding Sonata (in which small fragments of the previous airs yield without resistance to the sub-J.C. Bach style) might be read as transparently obvious appropriations of Indian music to Western norms. Yet, in the air, Bird's determined attempts to accommodate his materials to the CPS serve only to disrupt the coherence of the latter. Speaking of what I shall term the 'first-generation' Hindostannie airs in general, Woodfield identifies the problem: 'the organic link between melody and harmony, essential in the late eighteenth-century classical idiom in which the realizations were done, is striking. Thus, whether chord I or chord V is used at any given moment in the harmonization of an Indian tune seems completely arbitrary.' In Exx. 2 and 3, then, one might say that harmony is used less to delineate phrase structure than for purposes of texture or sonority; there is also an absence of coordination between melody and phrase structure, symptoms of which are lack of melodic direction (every phrase cadences on 3) and, in Bird's more elaborated version, the lack of motion across major downbeats (bars 8-9 and 18-19). A further symptom is the way in which such surface features as Bird's trills, dynamic markings, and final melodic suspension (bar 26) are not integrated with the musical fabric but float, so to speak, on the surface of the music, creating the effect of unmotivated and therefore sentimental expression.

That formulation may be reminiscent of Farrell's account of appropriation, but in these first-generation Hindostannie airs the effect is one of structural fracture—and as such quite different from that of Bird's Sonata, where the competent if characterless continuity of the music easily accommodates the Indian fragments. Farrell observes that because Braganza was 'a less accomplished musician than Bird ... his arrangements are perhaps closer to the originals, as Bird's are clouded by more elaborate harmonization'. But there is a sense in which Bird's attempt to force a close accommodation with the CPS is more revealing as a trace of this late eighteenth-century cross-cultural encounter. The impact of the other is traced precisely in the deformation of the self that gives rise to what Woodfield calls the 'bizarre' quality of the first-generation Hindostannie airs.

Stanley Boorman has written that all notations embody what their authors intend as essential together with other elements that were not considered essential but were necessary in order to

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33 The thirds below the melody in bars 5-8 and 11-14 have a tentative appearance and might be mistaken for staccato signs, were it not that they are avoided where they would conflict with the harmony (downbeats of bars 5, 7, and 11, although on this reading the D at the beginning of bar 13 must be an error).


bring the music to a notatable, or performable, form.\textsuperscript{37} Seen this way, Exxs. 2 and 3 embody, first, those elements of the Indian original that were commensurable with the CPS and so could be translated from one cultural system to another, and, second, such additional elements drawn from the CPS as were necessary to convert the commensurable elements into a usable form. What are these commensurable elements? For Woodfield, melody is crucial: 'Sakia', he says (referring to another Hindostannie air), 'as sung by Sophia Plowden at her musical soirées in Calcutta, must, however distantly, have been recognizable as the melody sung by Khanam during her frequent visits to the English community in Lucknow'.\textsuperscript{38} That is no doubt right as far as it goes, though it might be more accurate to speak of an intersection set consisting of certain melodic turns of phrase, more or less generalized contours, certain successions or transitions, some kind of textural nexus, and a degree of formal shaping. But however one expresses it, this provides a basis for addressing the most mystifying feature of the Hindostannie air.

There is no suggestion that, when they heard Mozart's orientalisms, the Viennese thought they were hearing real Turkish music. But the documentation of the Hindostannie air is full of assertions of authenticity. When Margaret Fowke sent some Hindostannie airs to her father she wrote 'You may be assured they are exact', and when she sent them to Sophia Plowden, the latter replied 'how you could note them down so correctly I cannot conceive'. Fowke also sent a book of Hindostannie airs to Warren Hastings, who replied, 'I have had the Pleasure to hear them all played by a very able performer, and can attest that they are genuine Transcripts of the original music, of which I have a perfect Remembrance'; what makes this assertion of authenticity the more striking is Hastings's statement in the same letter that 'I have always protested against every Interpolation of European Taste in the Recital of the Music of Hindostan'. Even more striking, if harder to interpret, is the account in a letter from Plowden to her sister of a masquerade held in Calcutta as early as 1783. Several of Plowden's acquaintances from Lucknow (Mr Taylor, Mr Turvey [?], and 'young Playdell') accompanied her on Indian instruments; Mr Shaw acted as her 	extit{hookah burdar} (hubble-bubble bearer), and 'as the singing and dancing Ladies who are in any high stile always smoke and chew Beetle [betel] and Pawn [pan] with this we were also amply provided'. Everyone wore local dress; Plowden's dress, which had been made in Lucknow, gave her 'a complete Indostani appearance'. And Plowden adds: 'The songs I sang were very pretty ones, and the Groupe were so admirably dress'd that many people insisted on our being really Indostanis. I rec'd an infinite number of fine compliments on my appearance, and after wearing my Mask for about 2 hours was glad to take it off and speak in my own language'.\textsuperscript{39}

Plowden's emphasis on visual appearance leads Woodfield to comment that 'provided that the show was convincing and the characters realistic, faithfulness to the music of the Indian original was probably of minimal significance', yet the resonance with other claims of musical authenticity—coupled to the fact that Plowden was the leading performer of Hindostannie airs—suggests that the audience's insistence 'on our being really Indostanis' was something more than politeness and extended to the music. What then are we to make of this carnivalesque act of racial and musical cross-dressing? It would be easy enough to interpret it as a Saidian staging of the Orient, a exoticising representation of Indian music as the West's other, and as such directed (as Scott puts it) to the production of 'desire ... whether as Lacanian lack, Foucauldian incitement, or Deleuzian production'.\textsuperscript{40} But it might also be seen as the Anglo-Indians themselves saw it, an act of imitation, and at the same time as a carnivalesque inversion that licensed for a few hours another form of desire inseparable from


\textsuperscript{38} Woodfield, \textit{Music of the Raj}: 177.


\textsuperscript{40} Scott, \textit{From the Erotic to the Demonic}: 176.
the colonial encounter: the desire to identify with the colonised, to 'go native'. Perhaps it would not be going too far to detect here some anticipation of what Dennis Porter, referring to T.E. Lawrence, has called 'a form of cultural transvestism that enhanced the ambiguities of an identity already subject to self-doubt'.

Yet this still leaves unaddressed the question of how such—to our ears—palpably implausible music could possibly have sounded so convincingly Indian to Plowden and her guests. Here I come back to my description of the Hindostannie air as embodying those musical elements that could be translated from one cultural system to another, together with other (incommensurable) elements drawn from the CPS. We might think of this in terms of metaphor theory: if—to make it specific—the input spaces are Khanam's and Plowden's performances of 'Sakia' or 'Soonre mashookan', then the set of commensurable elements enables an act of cross-domain mapping giving rise to a blended space in which the qualities of the two input spaces are combined. For the masquerade audience and other Anglo-Indians who had heard Khanam, hearing Plowden's performance must in this way have evoked memories of the Indian original but also transformed them: they experienced the qualities of Indian music as contrafactually grafted onto the CPS, or to put it another way, the other was experienced in the creative transformation of the self. Paradoxically this transformed experience may have created, for these listeners, a more veridical sense of identification with the other than the ordinary, more distanced Anglo-Indian experience of Indian music. In that case the effect would not just have been of Plowden and her musicians 'being really Indostanis': it would have been that they were in some sense more Indian than the Indians.

Seen this way, however, the Hindostannie air must have functioned rather like a holiday snapshot, meaning little to those who hadn't been there. In other words, Hindostannie airs could not communicate the experience of Indian music to those who had never heard it, who had no memories to be evoked and transformed. Published in London and interpreted by people with no first-hand experience of the original, Hindostannie airs could only be read for what they literally were. Margaret Fowke herself observed that 'notes cannot express Style':

Given this, and the manner in which the veridical effect of the Hindostannie air had been achieved at the expense of CPS coherence, it is hardly surprising that the first-generation notations now appeared incredible as records of Indian musical practices. Charles Edward Horn (who pursued his career as a singer and composer in London, New York, and Boston) provides the best illustration: after referring to the difficulties of reducing 'Native Hindostaùnee Melodies' to time, Horn—who presumably took his from Bird's *Oriental Miscellany*—continues,

> Many of them have been communicated to me to me in a form so irregular, and confused, (interspersed, indeed, with passages utterly foreign to the key,) that I have suspected them to have been committed to paper by some unskilful hand, so as to have deviated from the native Melody: for it is observable, that the human ear, in its least cultivated state, though addicted to wildness, and seldom in correct tune, is yet peculiarly offended by any dissonance, or inconsistency in the frame, and symmetry of the Air.

The history of the Hindostannie air back in Britain is accordingly one of reassertion of the CPS, less and less deformed by the empirical impact of the other.

III

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Horn did not set 'Soonre mashookan'. But it was of course set by Edward Smith Biggs (a London-based music teacher who also arranged Sicilian and Welsh airs\(^{45}\)), and in addition by the Captain Williamson whose account of Khanam I have already quoted. Coincidentally or otherwise, Williamson's version,\(^{46}\) though in Eb major (transposed to G major in Ex. 4), has some resemblance to that in the Plowden book, not only in its time values (notated as \(\frac{4}{4}\) rather than \(\frac{2}{2}\)) but also some of its melodic shaping. By contrast, a cursory glance at the motivic rhythms, final cadence, and form of Biggs's version shows how closely it is based on Bird's. Yet there are critical differences between the notations from India and from London, to which I shall briefly turn.

The most obvious difference in Biggs's version is of course Mrs Opie's words, which lack any Indian dimension, let alone the the female viewpoint characteristic of the Rekhtah. Instead they tell a domesticated story of passion for a certain Delia from her lover's point of view: his 'accents so broken and weak' are 'signs of passion, and Love's despotic reign', which conveniently rhymes with 'my tender pain'. (It would be hermeneutically appealing to link the 'accents so broken and weak' with the deformation that I have identified in the first-generation Hindostannie airs, but I see nothing in Biggs's setting to support this.) Bird's rather directionless cadences now coincide with the words 'love', 'pain', and 'love' again, and are in this way anchored semantically. Biggs regularizes Bird's erratic textures through the orderly succession of parallel tenths and sixths; he also builds on Bird's desultory attempt at functional harmonization, not like Bird in the opening phrase (though he adds a passing second inversion dominant seventh on the last quaver of bar 3) but rather by relocating Bird's I-Ii-V-I to bars 9-11—where it is arguably no more effective than in Bird's version. Williamson also incorporates the same progression, and in the corresponding place (bars 4-6), but more successfully, partly because it is coupled to a strongly functional bassline, but also because he halves the rate of progression, so getting away from the rushed and hence clogged effect in both Bird's and Biggs's versions.

But the most telling instance of domestication is provided by the treatment of Bird's 'Cadenza' and Braganza's corresponding 'ad lib'—notations that perhaps signify rather than imitate an extemporized interpolation by the Indian musicians. (The fact that exactly the same interpolation, though without the 'ad lib', is seen in another of Braganza's notations lends weight to this interpretation.\(^{47}\)) Biggs retains Bird's and Braganza's three semiquaver upbeats, but treats them as measured, adding a triplet marking. Williamson by contrast regularizes this passage in a much more drastic manner: he completely replaces the interpolation with a new four-bar phrase rhythmically modelled on bars 5-8. This creates a new, balanced form, which may be summarized A4-B4-C4-A2-B2, in place of what must have seemed to Williamson the rather straggling and (because of the interpolation) irregular form of the original. It also deals once and for all with the lack of melodic shaping in all the other versions, since the new section C introduces a climactic register in the second octave, and therefore a descent to the close. And unlike Bird's rather arbitrary dynamic markings, Williamson's are coordinated with the new form. In short, Williamson removes the 'inconsistency in the frame, and symmetry of the Air' of which Horn complained, and in this way successfully accommodates 'Soonah ray Mashookan', as he calls it, to the norms of the CPS.

Farrell comments that 'any faint hints of the originals which were traceable in the collections by Bird, Plowden and others have all but disappeared in Biggs's arrangements', and the same might be said of Williamson's. But if their domesticated versions represented the appropriation of the Hindostannie air to the tradition of middle-class amateur music-making, two further notations provide a footnote to the story of 'Soonre mashookan' by illustrating appropriation to a rather different British context. These appear in the first volume of *Specimens of Various*


\(^{47}\) Fitzwilliam MS 380, p. 42, bb. 9-10 (again in F major).
Styles of Music, Referred to in a Course of Lectures Read at Oxford and London, and Adapted to Keyed Instruments by Wm. Crotch, Mus. D. Professor of Music in the University of Oxford, which was first published in 1808; as Crotch explains in his preface, one (now renamed 'The Snake Song') is taken from the Plowden book, to which Crotch must have had private access, and the other from Bird's Oriental Miscellany. In each case Crotch subjects the melody to only minor changes, presumably reflecting the scientific purpose of his publication, but in that case he evidently did not regard the accompaniments as part of the original, for he adapted them freely. In some cases it is hard to understand his intention (why, for instance, does he change Bird's IV chord at his 'Cadenza' to match Braganza's corresponding V7?), but in other cases his criteria are clearer.

In the first place, Crotch regularizes Bird's version in much the way that Biggs did. Rather than turning the upbeat at the 'Cadenza' into triplets, like Biggs, Crotch adds a semiquaver rest; he also standardizes the textures (this time with parallel thirds and sixths). In so doing, he creates the sense of a single eight-bar phrase and so addresses the fragmentary, repetitive quality of Bird's original. On the other hand, he abandons Bird's attempt to create a harmonically meaningful bass line—Crotch has literally nothing except Gs in the left hand of bars 1-8—and this drastic simplification might be seen as the first step in the development of an exoticizing representation: the preface to Crotch's book makes great play of the 'wildness' of national airs in general, thereby transforming their characteristic deformation of the CPS into a signifier of alterity. The combination of regularization (appropriation to the CPS) and exoticization is of course what defines the RSM, so it is perhaps no accident that these tendencies towards Saidian representation emanate from the academic context in which Said locates the development of orientalism.

Elsewhere, however, Crotch's aim appears to have been to add compositional refinement, perhaps according to the same ethnocentric rationale that Horn articulated. Bars 4-6 of the version Crotch based on the Plowden book (Ex. 5) link the phrases smoothly on the repeat, eliminating the dissonant G in the melody at the beginning of bar 4 to heighten the sense of direction; he adds an expressive left-hand counterpoint at bar 5 and introduces a 4-3 suspension on the dominant at the beginning of bar 6, prefiguring the 4-3 suspension (on the tonic) at the third beat. In this way Crotch realizes a potential for expressivity that was surely not present as such in the Indian source, but arose from the relationship between Braganza's notation and Crotch's strong CPS interpretation. And the same might be said of the corresponding passage from the version based on Bird (Ex. 6). At bar 6 (the only bar in the entire notation, other than the 'Cadenza', to have anything other than Gs in the left hand), Crotch retains Bird's G in the melody but adds C in an inner part: the result is a fleeting anticipation of a jazz eleventh chord. This apparent preparation for the future shape of music, as Schoenberg might have described it, is of course of no historical significance: it is a purely contingent outcome of the encounter between Bird's half assimilated notation and Crotch's consummate fluency in the CPS. (Ex-child prodigy and first Principal of the Royal Academy of Music as well as Heather Professor at Oxford, Crotch was by far the most accomplished musician to figure in the story of the Hindostannie air.)

Two points may be drawn from this brief discussion of the second-generation Hindostannie air, based as it was on Western staff notations rather than the aural experience of Indian music. The first is that, even if it is a 'one-way process' (from India to London), appropriation is always appropriation to something: the comparison between Biggs's and Crotch's interpretations of Bird's notation illustrates the different ideological, social, and also musical environments to which the Hindostannie air might be appropriated. (To put it another way,
the Hindostannie air was appropriated to the CPS, but Biggs's CPS was not the same as Crotch's CPS.) Even here, however, 'appropriation' does not necessarily carry the full connotations of the RSM. If Williamson had no personal experience of Indian music, one might assume that his regularizing replacement of Braganza's 'ad lib' reflected a simple failure to understand what this interpolation was meant to be: given his personal familiarity with Khanan's singing, his urge to accommodate Indian music to CPS norms becomes the more striking, underlining the distance between Lucknow and London, or maybe one should say between India experienced and India remembered. But what is lacking from Williamson's version, as from Biggs's, is any trace of the overt or identifiable exoticism that defines Saidian representation (and the first indications of which I traced in Crotch). Rather than seeing Biggs's 'Oh why are my accents so broken and weak' as an exercise in orientalism, it would make at least as much sense to interpret it as asserting that the values of the English glee are universal beneath the distinctive national clothing of different musical traditions—a message that would be more consistent with Enlightenment thought than with the colonial ideology for which the British empire was at this precise time the world laboratory.

And that brings me to my second point, which is the breadth of interpretation inherent in such texts as Hindostannie airs. I can make this point by comparing 'Oh why are my accents so broken and weak' (ca 1805) with the exactly contemporaneous Royal Stables which William Porden designed for what became the Brighton Pavilion (Fig. 1): if Biggs assimilates 'Soonre mashookan' to the English glee, reducing its identifiably Indian elements to the title and ascription to Khanam, then Porden's stables similarly assimilate Indian design elements to a Western architectural plan, reducing them to applied decoration in much the same manner as the Gothick facades that were sometimes applied to existing buildings. But one could equally well see the Royal Stables as the opposite: as evidence of an Indian impact on British architecture that was significant and might have become transformative. When planning started for the Brighton Pavilion itself, Porden (who had sketched a building in the Chinese taste) was replaced by Humphrey Repton, who reverted to the Indian style of the stables. But for Repton this was no mere whim: as Raymond Head puts it, 'the new style, the Indian, was to become a new national style suitable for palaces and houses and expressing the assimilation of India into the orbit of the country's concerns'. After the Prince of Wales (and future George IV) ran out of money, Repton's designs were shelved, and he wrote in his Memoir, 'so ended my Royal Hopes! from which I had proudly prognosticated a new species of architecture more applicable to this country than either Grecian or Gothic'.

In the event Porden's and Repton's Indian experiments had a direct influence on Nash, who designed the Pavilion as it was finally built (following the Prince's appointment as Regent in 1811, which put him back in funds). Even a casual examination of Head's The Indian Style or MacKenzie's Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts, however, shows the much broader impact which Indian design had throughout the nineteenth century on architecture and the decorative arts in Britain. It would be hard to attribute that kind of impact to the Hindostannie air, which contributed to the developing genre of orientalizing light music without transmitting significant stylistic features to it. But I shall conclude by outlining a comparison with another, contemporaneous musical encounter that has stronger links to the conventional mainstream of music history.

IV

Both Farrell and Woodfield comment on the affinity between the Hindostannie air and the Scotch air, in terms of style and of patterns of dissemination; Farrell refers to the 'strange conflation of India and Scotland', while Woodfield observes that 'the essential difference between the "Hindostannie" air and the "Scotch" air is not the more distant location of the

53 Ibid.
54 Head, The Indian Style: 51.
former but the remoteness of its musical culture from anything hitherto experienced by Europeans'.

The parallel between the second-generation Hindostannie air and Haydn's Scottish folksong settings is closer than this might suggest, however, not simply because Scotland was quite remote enough from Vienna or Esterházy, but because Haydn, like Biggs and Crotch, was working from notations rather than from personal experience.

Perhaps the most obvious stylistic affinity lies in the use of pedals. As with the Hindostannie airs, the majority of Haydn's pedals last a few bars, but they are sometimes more extensive. Ex. 7 shows the final bars of 'The bonny brucket lassie', No. 59 of the settings which Haydn made for William Napier from 1791, but virtually the whole song is set to a tonic pedal: the only exceptions are at the end of the first line, which is set to V, and of the third, which is set to IV. There is an obvious comparison in the version of 'Soonre mashookan' which Crotch based on Bird. But there is also an obvious difference. The right hand of Crotch's setting is harmonically simple, basically outlining tonic and dominant harmony, but it is also clear: this is in other words a coherent CPS structure superimposed on a perhaps orientalizing pedal. 'The bonny brucket lassie', by contrast, verges at times on the pandiatonic; the metrical dislocation of the final plagal cadence, coupled with the pedal, means that it is hardly discernible as a cadence at all (especially if, as often, the violin is omitted).

Plagal cadences are inherently anomalous within the CPS: that is why they function so readily as signifiers of Scottish alterity. But Haydn seems to go out of his way to interpret them unconventionally. In a chapter on Haydn's exoticisms, Matthew Head cites the final cadence of 'O'er Bogie', No. 16 of the Napier settings, which consists of a series of root-position triads (I-IV-VI in B flat major, shown in Ex. 8); as Head says, 'the song ends on the submediant chord, indicating Haydn's willingness to adapt the resources of modern harmony to the requirements of Scots melodic tradition'. And if this seems calculated to dislocate CPS norms, an even more extreme example is provided by a Scotch air that has turned into a nursery song, 'O'er the hills and far away' (Napier 149). Whereas the main part of the melody is in a more or less unambiguous A major, Ex. 9 shows how it ends on ^4-^2-^2. Haydn has no choice but to close in B minor, though he rescues a little decorum in terms of CPS norms by harmonizing the beginning of the song in F# minor rather than A major. But instead of attempting to naturalize the transition from A major to B minor, Haydn's chromatically rising bassline seems designed to do the opposite: the shift from A to A# wrenches the key upwards, without the least suggestion of support from its harmonic neighbours.

Given the elite musical context of Haydn criticism, it would be tempting to impute an ironic intention to such settings. Returning to the context in which I introduced the idea of representation, one might interpret them in terms of the 'deficiency', 'incoherence', or 'irrationality' which Mary Hunter sees in Mozart's depiction of the Turks in Die Entführung aus dem Serail: 'the representation of the Other in terms defined completely by the presumed norm of the familiar', she writes, 'is a colonialist and patriarchal strategy'. But here we come back to the problem I raised in relation to Biggs and Porden: the breadth of interpretation inherent in cross-cultural musical texts. According to Vijay Mishra and Bob Hodge, the term appropriation encompasses 'a large and diverse set of strategies involving both accommodation and compromise, whose political meaning is highly dependent on specific historical circumstances'. One might say that appropriation denotes the mechanism but not

59 Vijay Mishra and Bob Hodge, 'What is Post(-)colonialism?', in Colonial Discourse and Post-
its meaning: both orientalizing representation of the kind Hunter describes and what Macfie describes as the attempt to engage with Eastern ideas in ways which are creative, open-textured, and reciprocal entail the interpretation of the other in terms of the conceptual apparatus of the self. The difference lies not in the mechanism of cross-cultural engagement—there is no alternative—but in the values which motivate it. Specifically, the issue is whether the deformation to which I have referred (Hunter's deficiency, incoherence, or irrationality) is posited as a characteristic of the other, or internalized as a transformation of the self.

And the point is that motivation cannot be determined solely through the analysis of texts or other material artefacts: as we saw in relation to Biggs and Porden, the same features can support diametrically opposed interpretations. That is why Mishra and Hodge say that meaning depends on specific historical circumstances. Or to express it in terms of methodology, the text must be disambiguated by reference to the circumstances of its production and use—but once this is done, it can throw otherwise unobtainable light on its context. That is why I placed such emphasis on Sophie Plowden's masquerade, involving as I suggested the performance not only of Plowden's airs but also of a carnivalesque, transformed identity; the masquerade helps us interpret the Hindostannie air, but equally the Hindostannie air helps us make sense of the masquerade. Woodfield makes the same distinction between the text and the values that motivate it when he writes of this same event that 'mimicry can be used to belittle, to express contempt, but it can also express a sense of the value and even the importance of what is being parodied. At the height of the fashion for the "Hindostannie" air, a certain sense of respect does seem to inform such activities as this masquerade'. And in a similar way, to bring the argument back to its starting point, Head writes of the folksong settings that 'Haydn was respectful to the originals, in the sense of wishing to preserve in his setting as much of the melody's original character as possible'. I would only add that this, coupled to an imaginative openness to the melodies' implications for the CPS, led him to embrace in his settings what one might refer to as voluntary deformations of his own style.

But then, were these deformations voluntary? At first sight not: as I said, the tonally open endings of 'O'er bogie' and 'O'er the hills and far away' were built into the melodies and in that sense forced upon Haydn. We can however throw some light on this by comparing the Napier setting of 'O'er bogie' with the one which Haydn made some years later for George Thomson (No. 190). The Thomson settings are generally more elaborate, in particular incorporating instrumental preludes and postludes, and Haydn takes advantage of this to regularize the tonal structure of 'O'er bogie': while the main part of the song is now in A major, with the ending in F# minor, the instrumental prelude begins in the latter key. (In the same way, the Thomson version of 'O'er the hills and far away' adds an instrumental postlude providing tonic closure.) But, as shown in Ex. 10, Haydn also provides as regular and CPS-compliant a harmonization of the end of the song proper as could possibly be asked for. In so doing he demonstrates that the wilfully CPS-busting cadence in Ex. 8 was not forced on him: it was, as I put it, a voluntary deformation—a transformation—of his own style. It was a creative opportunity that emerged from the encounter between Haydn's established compositional identity and the Scotch notations, an opportunity which Haydn (a musician on a different plane from anybody involved with the Hindostannie air, even Crotch) embraced with evident relish.


60 Macfie, Orientalism: 154, summarizing J.J. Clarke.
61 Woodfield, Music of the Raj: 177.
62 Head, 'Haydn's Exoticisms': 87.
63 Thomson No. 210 ('O'er the hills and far away'). Most modern nursery song versions alter the end of the melody to 3-1-1-1.
Ralph Locke has written that 'Western composers take the opportunity to use foreign (or invented) styles as a means of expanding and refreshing their own musical language'. What I want to emphasize is the formative role played in this process by the empirical impact of the other, whether directly or mediated by notation—an impact which the RSM slights (as echoed by Locke's 'invented'). For Head, 'Haydn's exoticisms are often instances of Self-definition through imaginative affiliations across national, ethnic and class boundaries', and MacKenzie makes the argument a quite general one: 'time and again', he writes, 'composers discovered their most distinctive voice through the handling of exotica'. 'That is of course—to go back to the beginning of this chapter—just another way of saying, with Gadamer, that understanding the Other is understanding the self'. But if the kind of empirical engagement with the other which I have attempted to illustrate brings about the transformation of self, then it turns out that there was, after all, something wrong with my reference to Haydn's voluntary deformations of his own style. The point is obvious, even trivial: if the encounter with the other redefines the self, then to the extent that he made them his own, the deformations were Haydn's own style. What we mean by Haydn's 'own style, then, is a dynamic amalgam of references to a variety of others which, in its totality, discloses the self. And so Head's chapter on Haydn's exoticisms concludes, 'his music discloses the particularity of Viennese "Classicism" through his humorous denaturalisation of conventions coupled with a complex negotiation of regional and national styles'.

But how does this particularity square with the idea of the so called CPS? I observed earlier that Biggs's CPS was not the same as Crotch's CPS—and neither, of course, was the same as Haydn's CPS. The logic of this argument is that there can be no such thing as the monolithic construct invoked by the frequently used yet rarely considered term 'common practice style'. Yet that monolithic construct forms the basis of the RSM: it is by means of assimilation within the norms of the CPS that—to repeat Said's words—music has fortified the West 'against change and a supposed contamination brought forward threateningly by the very existence of the Other'. In other words, Said's concept of orientalizing representation, predicated as it is on 'an essentialized, basically unchanging Self', is at the same time predicated on the integrity, the fixity, the closure, of a dehistoricized—which is to say fictitious—CPS. The RSM's pessimistic conclusions about the possibility of meaningful cross-cultural interaction are in this way built into its own premises. Indeed one might claim of the RSM what it claims of orientalism, that it is 'a closed system, in which objects are what they are because they are what they are, for once, for all time, for ontological reasons that no empirical material can either dislodge or alter'.

Woodfield's judgement that the Hindostannie air, at its heyday in the 1780s, conveyed 'a certain sense of respect' for Indian culture is telling, given that, according to Ronald Hyam, respect is precisely what was eroded in British India between 1790 and 1840. At the same time, this relatively positive characterization of the cross-cultural encounter which gave rise to the Hindostannie air is usually coupled with a characterization of it as an 'untypical' or 'unusual' episode in the history of the British empire: it is reduced in this way to the exception that proves the rule, thereby perpetuating the suspicion of meaningful cross-cultural interaction that characterizes the RSM. Yet the totalizing tendencies of the RSM, or at least of its application, have not gone unrecognized: Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh speak of the need to resist 'the tendency to read domination and subsumption into any and all musical appropriation', while Farrell observes pointedly that 'overarching theories about the

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66 Head, 'Haydn's Exoticisms': 92.
68 Woodfield, Music of the Raj: 190, 207.
cultural meaning of colonialism ... do not always apply to the details of human intercourse that takes place around music-making'.

It is in this spirit that I have attempted to set alongside the RSM—the model of Saidian representation—a more open model based on the more naive (that is, less suspicious) ideas of imitation and identification, and in this way to rehabilitate cross-cultural listening. This is not only logically necessary (because otherwise where did the orientalist lexicon come from?), but also a recognition of the significance of music as a means of transcending linguistic, cultural, and (in the context of British India) racial barriers. According to Regula Qureshi, 'problematic as cross-cultural musical encounters may be, they ... offer to those who are mutually "other" a domain of valued experience that they can share'. The Hindostannie air is a trace of such shared experience.

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Example 1: Biggs, 'Oh why are my accents so broken and weak'. Permission British Library (G.387.a.)
every new sensation, betrays my tender pain

Tis Love prompts the anguish which forces the tear; when praise of a

Another from Delia I hear; and dare not his merit disprove, yes

fond, jealous fears, sighs, blushes and tears yes I love.
Example 2: Fitwilliam MS 380 (Sophia Plowden's book), p. 76 (transposed)

Example 3: Bird, 'Soonre mashookan! be wufa!'
Example 4: Williamson, 'Soonah ray Mashookan' (transposed)

Example 5: Crotch, 'The Snake Song', bars 4-6 (transposed)

Example 6: Crotch, 'Rekhtah Another Edition', bars 7-12
Example 7: Haydn, 'The bonny brucket lassie', bars 13-16

Example 8: Haydn, 'O'er bogie', bars 7-8 (Napier version)

Example 9: Haydn, 'O'er the hills and far away', bars 21-4 (Napier version)
Example 10: Haydn, 'O'er Bogie', bars 11-12 (Thomson version)

Figure 1: The Royal Stables, Brighton. Photograph by kind permission of Duncan McNeill