CHAPTER 1

PHENOMENOLOGICAL APPROACHES IN THE HISTORY OF ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

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FOUNDED at the turn of the twentieth century, phenomenology is a tradition of Continental European philosophy that has had a profound impact on the humanities and social sciences. The movement has a deep historical relationship with the discipline of ethnomusicology; not only did the nineteenth-century German philosopher, musicologist, and psychologist Carl Stumpf serve as the habilitation supervisor for the founder of phenomenology, Edmund Husserl (Fisette and Martinelli 2015), but Stumpf and others in his milieu were also among the parents of comparative musicology, the precursor to today's field of ethnomusicology (Stone 2008, 169–170). Despite these related origins, it was only in the last two decades of the twentieth century that ideas from phenomenology were engaged by ethnomusicologists in a substantive way. The body of work that has emerged in this area is diverse. Ethnomusicologists have drawn on differing branches of the phenomenological tradition, interpreted ideas from that tradition in varying ways, and used them to investigate a wide range of topics—from the nature of the performance event to problems of meaning and being in music, and from issues of embodiment, flow states, trance, time, and politics to basic questions about research methods and the goals of the ethnomusicological project. While phenomenological ethnomusicology has developed significant insights into questions of concern to music scholars, and those in the humanities and humanistic social sciences more broadly, this literature is not as tightly synthesized as that of other intellectual orientations within ethnomusicology, in which a common body of founding works is universally cited and a highly coordinated scholarly dialogue tracks an unambiguous

intellectual trajectory. Despite the diversity within this body of work and the occasionally loose weave of its discursive threads, we argue that a systematic analysis of this scholarship reveals significant advances on a variety of fundamental topics in ethnomusicology, music studies, and the study of expressive culture in general—advances that only become evident from looking at the literature as a whole. Weaving those threads together and illuminating those advances is the aim of this chapter. The potential range of scholarship here is vast. To make this body of work more manageable, our focus is on phenomenological ethnomusicology written in English by scholars based in North America and the United Kingdom, with some attention to German-language scholarship and English-language sources from other parts of the world.[1]

It is, of course, beyond the scope of the present work to provide an introduction to the phenomenological tradition in philosophy.[2] But to understand phenomenological ethnomusicology, one must have at least a general idea of the character and project of the philosophical tradition, and providing that context is the first topic this chapter addresses.

Although phenomenology has many branches and its major thinkers disagree on a variety of important issues, a concern for lived experience is at the heart of much of this tradition. In Husserl's thought, for example, phenomenology begins with a return to lived experience. As a first approximation—one that phenomenologists ultimately reject—one might think of lived experience as the contents of consciousness: the feelings felt, thoughts thought, objects seen, memories recalled, and so forth. Such a conception might suggest that phenomenology is the study of the realm of the subjective and the individual, and in the field of psychology, as well as in more casual usage in the humanities and social sciences, the term is often used in just that way. But such a perspective runs counter to the phenomenological project, and a careful examination of the nature of experience is the starting place for any work that is based in phenomenology.

In Husserl's view ([1913] 1962), centuries of philosophical discourse about the relationship between appearance and reality have made it difficult for us to see lived experience for what it is. To correct for these distortions, we must place an epoché (set of brackets) around the question of whether any given experience is subjective or objective and make rigorous descriptions of the phenomena before us, unprejudiced by prior metaphysical presumptions. When we do this, Husserl argues, we make surprising discoveries. For example, taken strictly as experience, perceptual phenomena retain their objective quality. As a result of this insight, we, like so many scholars in the past, start our discussion by considering the experience of our immediate physical setting—for us, the authors of this text, a computer keyboard sitting on a desk. (Since what we describe is true for each of us individually, we set the following phenomenological description in the first-person singular.) At this moment, I see only the top surface of this object, while its back and sides are hidden from me. But if I attend to the experience itself in an unprejudiced manner, I discover that I am aware that the keyboard has a back and sides, facets of the thing that may become focal in future viewings. Taken strictly as experience, the keyboard retains its objective character as a mind-independent reality, and doing a phenomenological description of my computer keyboard would mean exploring the modes through which

the keyboard, strictly as experience, reveals itself to me as an objective reality. Based on this kind of descriptive work, Husserl insists that consciousness cannot be understood independently of things and phenomena but is always *about* something, directed *at* something, and he refers to this unavoidable directedness as the "intentionality" of consciousness. Expanding on this approach, we see that, from a Husserlian perspective, the phenomenological brackets are never to be removed. All experience is taken as experience per se: Husserlian phenomenology seeks to answer basic questions of philosophy and to provide a grounding for the sciences, social sciences, and humanities by basing all inquiry on rigorous descriptions of lived experience.

Seeing the subject as constitutive of the world, even in its objectivity, Husserl's project is known as "transcendental phenomenology," and it differs significantly from the existential phenomenologies of Martin Heidegger ([1927] 1996), Jean-Paul Sartre ([1943] 1948), Maurice Merleau-Ponty ([1945] 1962), and Simone de Beauvoir ([1947] 1975), who see the subject as thrust into a world beyond their making, both constituting and constituted by the world. The work of Heidegger, who was Husserl's student, differs even more sharply from Husserl's than that of Merleau-Ponty and Sartre, as Heidegger sees questions of experience as merely an entry point into more fundamental questions of being and the distinctive forms that human being-in-the-world takes. Heidegger also influenced Hans Georg Gadamer ([1960] 2004) and Paul Ricoeur ([1986] 1991, 2007), whose work brought new phenomenological approaches to hermeneutics (the centuries-old Western tradition of textual interpretation) to gain fresh perspectives on questions of meaning and culture, as well as metaphysics and ontology, ethics, and other traditional topics in philosophy. Despite the sharp differences among these thinkers, all of this work opposes a representationalist view, which sees lived experience as a mere subjective epiphenomenon of a deeper reality that is, in principle, inaccessible to the subject.[3]

The relationship between the phenomenological project and the motivations and presumptions that have animated ethnomusicology is complex. Seeking to avoid ethnocentric approaches to music cultures, many ethnomusicologists have seen their job as understanding the musical experiences of the people with whom they work, and evocative ethnographies of music and social life have been a staple of the field since at least the 1970s. Providing a rigorous philosophical grounding for the notion of experience, phenomenology would therefore seem to be well suited to the ethnomusicological project. But when some ethnomusicologists in anglophone North America first encountered phenomenologies of music by philosopher Roman Ingarden ([1933] 1989) or musicologist F. Joseph Smith (1979), storm clouds appeared in what initially seemed like a sunny relationship. Ingarden, for example, is certainly interested in the experience of music, but he spends a substantial amount of effort arguing that musical works should be understood as "intentional objects," and his phenomenological return to experience seems to depict musical meaning as inherent in the sound itself. Reifying compositions, projecting ideas from the Western conservatory about the autonomy of art into "the music itself," and giving short shrift to both performance and situated context, Ingarden's phenomenology seems to run counter to intuitions that are at the heart of so much ethnomusicological work.[4] There is no question that, from a contemporary ethnomusicological

perspective, these are significant problems with Ingarden's analysis; however, there are also substantial insights here, and a deeper reading of his work will allow us to put the relationship between phenomenology and ethnomusicology on a proper footing.

Though Ingarden seeks a radical return to experience, he clearly universalizes what are only culturally specific intuitions, and his treatment of musical works as things akin to ideal objects runs counter to ethnomusicology's emphasis on music as a fundamentally social phenomenon. But if we read Ingarden's phenomenology as a musical autoethnography of listening in the Western conservatory tradition and listen more closely to his phenomenological descriptions, a very different situation emerges. At first blush, Ingarden seems to locate musical form and musical meaning in the sound itself, but a more careful attention to his method reveals that, for Ingarden, form and meaning depend not on the sound itself but on the person's engagement with that sound—the process by which the person confronts musical sound and constitutes it in their experience. While Ingarden fails to appreciate the profound ways in which our constitutive practices are shaped by cultural context, his work conceptualizes these practices and their embrace of music as his study object. This vision of study object—as both the music and the constitutive practices that bring it into experience—is at the heart of any richly phenomenological approach to our field. Without this kind of grounding, the scholar interested in understanding local perspectives on music may see musical form and musical meaning as constructs in the mind of the musician or listener. But listeners and musicians do not create meanings in their minds; they are not magicians on some psychological stage, making semiotic doves appear from puffs of smoke. On the contrary, musicians and listeners live in a public, social world of sounds and of other people, and we constitute our experience by engaging with the things of this world, bestowing sense but also opening ourselves to the contours and dimensions of the things we find here. While there are substantive differences among the interpretive approaches ethnomusicologists have taken to the phenomenological tradition, the thread that connects much of this work is an attention to constitutive processes; to forms of being in the world; to the social practices by which we as people engage with sounds, instruments, situations, and others, opening ourselves to the world that we find and making that world meaningful. As we explore the diverse ways in which ethnomusicologists have engaged phenomenology, this theme of constitutive processes will underlie our discussion.

FUNDAMENTAL ORIENTATIONS FOR RESEARCH: MEANING, EVENT, AND BEING IN PHENOMENOLOGICAL ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

The issue of meaning in music is an essential one for ethnomusicology, and it is here that phenomenological approaches to the field made their first contributions. For the

phenomenological tradition, the word *meaning* does not merely point to the referential or denotative function of signs; on the contrary, in this context meaning is construed in a broad manner as a dimension of experience, and the interpretation of meaning is seen as a central component of the scholarly enterprise. Understood in this way, musical meaning includes the affective or stylistic valence that listeners or performers may find in music, processes of coordination and communication among participants in a performance event, the positioning of performances or works in terms of formal or generic systems, the negotiation of identity through music, and, in its widest sense, any ascription or discovery of significance in music or music making. The simple yet crucial phenomenological insight that links these varied modes of meaning making is the observation that meaning is relational and cannot be reduced to cognitive processes. Music is made meaningful in acts of composing, arranging, recording, performing, and listening, but also in discourses about music, from everyday talk to formal music criticism, and in every aspect of the music industry. The research on musical meaning in phenomenological ethnomusicology has developed from three starting places: Ruth Stone's ([1982] 2010, 1988) analyses of time, interaction, and performance, which are inspired by the writings of Husserl ([1929] 1964), Alfred Schutz (1962, 1964; Schutz and Luckmann [1973] 1975), and the symbolic interactionists (e.g., Blumer 1969); Jeff Todd Titon's (1988, 2008, 2009) and Tim Rice's (1994, 2001, 2003, 2008) approaches to issues of interpretation in music, which are grounded in the writings of the hermeneutic phenomenologists; and Stephen Friedson's (1996, 2009) Heideggerian inflection of the hermeneutic tradition, which is focused on questions of being in ritual and trance.

An ethnography of music making among the Kpelle of Liberia, Stone's *Let the Inside Be Sweet* ([1982] 2010) offers in its first few chapters nothing short of a thoroughgoing phenomenological reconstruction of the theoretical foundations of the discipline of ethnomusicology. Arguing against both musicological and anthropological visions of music research, Stone rejects the idea that either sound (as autonomous sonic form) or behavior (as the product of a cultural system) can account for the complex, lived reality of human music making. In contrast, she argues that ethnomusicologists must attend to the "dynamic, ongoing symbolic process in which participants—performer and audience—interpret the meaning of symbolic behavior" (8; original in italics). Understood in this way, ethnomusicologists can and should attend to sound and behavior, but these phenomena must be interpreted as the product of agents located in both situated and large-scale social contexts, ones who actively interpret the sonic, linguistic, and kinesic signs exchanged in performance. Stone takes the performance event as the indivisible unit of analysis, and her sensitive ethnography reveals how Kpelle performances are constituted by their participants through the interpretation and exchange of musical signs. More importantly, Stone shows how that exchange itself is the focus of aesthetic experience in the local culture,[5] and her analysis sketches out the first approach to a set of topics that have become central to phenomenological ethnomusicology: the nature of time in performance, the relationship of the situated event to larger social contexts, the interplay of musical and nonmusical expression in events, and the role of culture in performance. Articulated in a steady stream of books and articles (e.g.,

Stone and Stone 1981; Stone [1982] 2010, 1988, 2008; Stone-Macdonald and Stone 2013), Stone's Schutzian work has influenced generations of scholars in the anglophone North American academy, both those who self-consciously employ phenomenology (e.g., Berger 1999; Berger and Del Negro 2004; Berger 2010) and those who see the constitution of experience as their study object but do not use the formal theoretical apparatus of phenomenology in their research.

A second tradition in phenomenological ethnomusicology is grounded in the work of the hermeneutic phenomenologists, most prominently Gadamer and Ricoeur. The first development of this approach came in Steven Feld's often-cited article "Communication, Music, and Speech about Music" ([1984] 1994), which offers a systematic account of the various kinds of "interpretive moves" through which people make music meaningful. Though phenomenology is only one of the many streams of influence on Feld's ideas here, his focus on music making and listening as interpretive processes makes this article an important starting point for hermeneutic ethnomusicology, and in later studies (e.g., [1988] 1994, 1996) Feld went on to engage with ideas from phenomenology in highly productive ways.

The first hermeneutic ethnomusicological ethnographies came in rich and weighty monographs by Jeff Todd Titon and Timothy Rice. In differing ways, Titon's *Powerhouse for God* (1988) and Rice's *May It Fill Your Soul* (1994) explore how persons emerge from a preexisting discursive history; come together to confront particular musical works, repertoires, or traditions; develop pre-reflexive understandings of music; and re-emerge changed by those social, interpretive experiences. (This iterative, dialogic process of meaning making is sometimes referred to as the "hermeneutic circle," though that term has several differing uses in the field of philosophy.)[6] The relationship between, on the one hand, the pre-reflexive meanings that are constituted in the person's initial confrontation with a work or tradition and, on the other hand, any self-reflexive awareness that the person may later develop of her own interpretive processes, is taken up by Titon and Rice in differing ways. A study of music, verbal art, and exegetic discourse in an Appalachian Baptist community, *Powerhouse* offers sophisticated insights into the interplay among the meanings of various genres of expressive culture (e.g., hymn, prayer, sermon, and life story), exegesis about those genres, and the unmarked experiences of everyday life. In *May It Fill Your Soul*, an influential and multilayered ethnography of the politics and practice of Bulgarian music, Rice pays particular attention to the role of the body in hermeneutic processes, exploring how pre-reflexive embodied knowledge of music making resists incorporation into explicit pedagogy and examining the kinds of meanings that that know-how carries when a musician is able to assimilate it into their performance. Taking the ethnographies of Titon and Rice together highlights the fact that interpretive processes are not cognitive operations in the mind of an isolated subject but forms of social and embodied practice—actively achieved, shaped by both situated and large-scale social context, tied to the body, and dependent as much on social interaction as on the individual contemplation of works. Many of these insights emerge in the analysis of particular ethnographic moments, and broader theoretical constructions of these ideas can be found in Titon's and Rice's

chapters in the edited volume *Shadows in the Field* (2008), which we discuss in more detail in the section on methodology below.

The ethnographies of Feld, Titon, and Rice form the first generation of hermeneutic phenomenology in ethnomusicology, and a series of articles emerged in the wake of these works that extend their approach to investigate a wide variety of topics. Whether they are exploring the role of technological mediation in musical interaction (Porcello 1998), the interpretive dynamics that play out across the life course of a single musician (Harnish 2001), the hermeneutics of memory (Conn 2012), or music's role in the production and contestation of social identities (Seeman 2019), the second-generation hermeneutic ethnomusicologists see meaning making as grounded in the person's cultural past, and they forward the broader ethnomusicological project of understanding what music means to the people who make it and listen to it (see also Catlin 1992; Simonett 2001; McIntosh 2006; Pieridou Skoutella 2015). A more radical recasting of the discipline's goals can be found in the hermeneutic approach of Michael Bakan's *Music of Death and New Creation*, a detailed study of Balinese gamelan *beleganjur* music (1999). While Bakan does not deny that interpretive practices are shaped by culture, he critiques ethnomusicology's traditional emphasis on cultural difference and highlights the common interpretive dynamics that all subjects share when confronting a musical work or tradition. Like many ethnomusicological ethnographies, Bakan's provides a detailed, first-person account of the author's attempts to learn an unfamiliar music, but Bakan rejects the typical ethnomusicological approach to music learning in the field, which had been to adhere strictly to the local style of musical pedagogy. Conceptualizing fieldwork as intercultural performance, Bakan collaborates with his teacher in forging a hybrid Western/Balinese gamelan pedagogy and treats his own unique learning experience as a legitimate object of study, rather than a means to reveal a reified "Balinese perspective." In so doing, Bakan takes seriously the Ricoeurian insight that what the fieldworker and the research participant share is a common interpretive predicament: placing ourselves before a culture's texts, confronting their complexities, internalizing their meanings, and allowing ourselves to be transformed by them. While Bakan's approach has not displaced the more traditional ethnographic aims in either phenomenological ethnomusicology or the field as a whole, his emphasis on the intercultural dynamics of interpretation has gained attention from a number of other scholars (e.g., Butler 2000; Noone 2013) and calls out for further inquiry.

While the problems of interpretation are important for the early Heidegger, his later work shifted away from hermeneutics (see Ramberg and Gjesdal 2013), and throughout his career Heidegger felt that the Husserlian emphasis on experience should be subordinated to what he believed were deeper questions of being. Taking Heidegger as a starting point, a third strand of phenomenological ethnomusicology sees the various forms that music making may take as culturally specific modes of being-in-the-world. Steven Friedson has consistently developed this perspective with rich ethnographic detail and penetrating insight. Drawing on hermeneutics and hermeneutic ethnomusicology to supplement his primarily Heideggerian approach, Friedson's *Dancing Prophets* (1996), a study of Tumbuka healing performance in Malawi, and *Remains of Ritual* (2009),

which examines the Brekete/Gorovodu religion of the Ewe of southern Ghana, under-stand the ethnographic project as a process of participating in social interaction with one's research participants to uncover their particular modes of being-in-the-world. Friedson does not reject the utility of traditional methods of descriptive ethnography, and his books recount local cosmologies, the typical practices of their rituals, and the tropes and structures of the music performed there. But for Friedson, this information is merely preparatory, a first step that allows him to take part in and understand the forms of *Dasein* (literally, "there-being"; roughly, the human mode of being) at play in his fieldsite. Read through a Heideggerian lens, polyrhythm, which is a key feature of the music found in both of his fieldsites, is not merely a stylistic or aesthetic device but a way of being in time that opens up participants to trance states and the (perceived) medical efficacy of the music.

Since the turn of the 2010s, the work of Roger Savage and his colleagues has offered significant extensions of the Heideggerian and hermeneutic traditions. One part of Savage's tightly argued and insightful book *Hermeneutics and Music Criticism* (2010) brings ideas from phenomenology into conversation with those of John Blacking to suggest that what makes music distinctive is the ways in which its performance has the potential to carve stretches of time out of the mundane flow of everyday life and set them into an ontologically distinct realm. Savage contrasts ethnographic case studies by Friedson (1996) and Ali Jihad Racy (2003) to illustrate the culturally specific ways in which such time-out-of-time experiences are constituted. The articles in a special issue of the journal *The World of Music*, edited by Helena Simonett, extend Savage's approach with ethnographic examples from around the world and reveal a range of new dynamics (e.g., Ho 2009; Kapchan 2009; Simonett 2009; see also Simonett 2014). More recently, ethnomusicologists have used ideas from Ricoeur and other thinkers in the herme-neutic tradition to examine topics like the humane potentials of applied ethnomusi-cology projects (O'Connell 2015), the politics of cultural appropriation and memory (Gaulier and Martin 2017; see below), and musical creativity (Dessiatnitchenko 2019). Additionally, ethnomusicologists have built upon Tim Ingold's ([2000] 2022) develop-ment of the (Heideggerian-derived) concept of dwelling to produce another branch of inquiry concerned with the role that music and culture can play in the foundationally spatial and social nature of being-*in*-the-world. A special issue of the journal *The World of Music* edited by Barbara Titus presents insightful essays that explore the many ways that music shapes experiential space and the politics of belonging, with each author subtly deploying concepts of dwelling and orientation (Titus 2019). Dwelling has been a particularly fruitful theoretical tool for authors interested in environmental issues and dynamics, as these scholars leverage phenomenological insights to explore expansive topics like the ecological impacts of music and the personhood of non-human animals in northwest Mexico (Simonett 2016) or the use of music to maintain a sense of place in a South African borderland, where women navigate environmental and economic challenges amid ambiguous or absent national belonging (Impey 2018).

Differences of focus and intellectual apparatus separate Stone's event-oriented approach, the Titon- and Rice-inspired hermeneutic ethnomusicology, and the

Heideggerian inflection of hermeneutics found in the writings of Friedson and others. Nevertheless, all three strands of scholarship seek to deepen the ethnomusicological project by grounding research in the concrete realities of music making and music listening. Although we ethnomusicologists—and indeed all music makers and music listeners—are immersed in the experiential reality of our everyday lives, that familiar reality is also the site of our deepest ethnographic and philosophical conundrums. The situation involves subtle ironies, as finding ways to talk about that concrete reality leads us directly to problems of metaphysics and ontology that have historically been considered the domain of philosophy. What is the ontological status of the musical work?[7] What occurs when we encounter such works, and how does meaning emerge in those encounters? What is the nature of human being in musical performance? The theoretical traditions of the social sciences found in the ethnomusicology of the 1960s and 1970s—structural functionalism and structuralism—distracted scholars from these questions by treating practices of music making and music listening as secondary phenomena, the mere enactment of abstract sociocultural or cognitive systems. What phenomenology provides to the field of ethnomusicology is both a way of returning the focus of attention to the experiential reality of music and a set of intellectual tools for studying it (see Stone's remarks in Stone and Berger 2014, 1, 4). This return to the concrete is no escape from context. As all phenomenological ethnomusicologists recognize, acts of music making and music listening are necessarily informed by the participants' past interactions with others and oriented toward the possibility of future interactions. Understood in this way, "context" is not an abstract system (sociocultural, musico-cognitive, or otherwise) that produces experience; rather, context is the accumulation of past events sedimented in the person's way of being-in-the-world, a sedimentation that fundamentally informs, but does not determine, their present practice.[8] Developing these insights with theoretical work and ethnographic or historical case studies, phenomenological ethnomusicology provides a distinctive set of insights into ethnomusicology's traditional focus of research—music and culture.

The Body, Self-reflexivity, and Musical Involvement

Embodiment, Technology, and Disability

If phenomenology has offered ethnomusicology a new approach to foundational issues of theory, it has also provided tools for studying a wide range of more specific topics and research questions. Chief among these are a cluster of interrelated questions that revolve around the issue of embodiment in music: What is the relationship between musical structure and embodied practice? What significance does self-reflexive awareness

(commonly referred to as "reflexivity") have in performance? How are we to understand moments of intense involvement in music, and what roles do "body" and "mind" play here? Writing against long-standing biases in the Western conservatory that view musical works as nothing more than abstract sonic structures in time, phenomenological ethnomusicologists have argued that music is necessarily, rather than contingently, embodied and have explored the complex, culturally specific ways in which embodied practice is essential to even the most seemingly disembodied, formal qualities of music. The starting point for most of this research is Merleau-Ponty's first major work, *Phenomenology of Perception* ([1945] 1962), which critiques empiricist and rationalist traditions in philosophy to show how all elements of lived experience arise from the body's primordial interactions with the world. Another phenomenological touchstone is *Ways of the Hand* (1978), a classic study by the sociologist and musician David Sudnow on the role of the body in jazz piano performance.

Published in the journal *Ethnomusicology*, Greg Downey's (2002) widely cited research on capoeira (a Brazilian martial art for which musical accompaniment is essential) illustrates some of the diverse ways that the body enters into music. Based on detailed ethnographic descriptions of performance events and subtle discussions of timbre and rhythm in capoeira's music, Downey shows how performers in the genre hear the parts played on the berimbau not as abstract structures of pitch and rhythm but as expressions of the musician's physical gestures, and his useful discussion illustrates the ways in which rhythms traffic freely between the musical phrases of the instrumentalists and the kicks and blocks of the fighters. Special attention is focused on the ways that those attending capoeira events mime the gestures of the berimbau player. Like the "air guitar" gestures so commonly performed by rock music fans, capoeira participants make sense of the music by articulating the physical gestures that create it; more importantly, their air berimbau gestures often play rhythms that complement the sounded part, rather than just identically copying the physical gestures that the berimbau player is currently performing. Where a structuralist might see abstract sets of musical forms coordinated through some generative, transformational grammar, Downey's discussion illustrates the fundamentally embodied nature of this music. Here, the body is not an output device for some underlying musical cognition; rather, it is the social and musical means by which musical structure itself is created.

Matthew Rahaim's research on the place of gesture in North Indian classical singing approaches related issues from a different angle (2012). Based on interviews, participant observation, and video recordings of lessons and performances, Rahaim analyzes the wide variety of gestures that vocalists produce while singing. Though some gestures are straightforwardly iconic, as when a singer's hand motions trace the pitch contour of the melody, others operate in a very different way, such as the gripping gesture that accompanies a melodic phrase at the conclusion of a rhythmic cycle or the circular gesture that accompanies oscillations of pitch. Rahaim's point is that while Hindustani singers care deeply about sound, vocal melodies are more than a static ordering of pitches, as written transcriptions may imply. Singers also hear melody as motion through a pitch space, and for vocalists deeply involved in their work, that motion is

experienced through multiple dimensions of embodiment—the unity of heard sound and the proprioceptive awareness of the vocal apparatus that is the seat of vocal experience, but also gestures of the hands, arms, shoulders, and upper body. For Rahaim, we understand melodic motion because we are bodies that move in space, and musical motion and corporeal motion cannot be separated.[9]

Downey and Rahaim represent only two of the ways that phenomenological ethnomusicologists have engaged issues of embodiment. As we noted previously, Rice (1994) has also explored how the musician's pre-reflexive bodily engagement with their instrument may resist articulation in verbal exegesis, and Bruno Deschênes and Yuko Eguchi (2018) elaborate the ways that the traditional literacy/orality binary fails to account for the body's role in conveying and acquiring knowledge in traditional Japanese music. Scholars like Louise Meintjes (2004), Jan Mrázek (2008), and Deborah Kapchan (2009, 2013) emphasize the role of embodiment in musical meaning, while studies by Judith Becker (2004), Martin Clayton (2008), and Clayton and Laura Leante (2013) combine ideas from phenomenology with contemporary work in cognitive science to get at issues of embodiment in music. Likewise drawing on cognitive science and phenomenology, Tomie Hahn and J. Scott Jordan (2017) use a movement and sound practice that Hahn developed called "banding" to explore the nature of "intercorporeality," the term Merleau-Ponty used to describe the fundamental sociality of our embodiment. The unity of the body is a theme that runs through much of this literature, and this unity is articulated along a number of dimensions. Forwarding ideas developed by Merleau-Ponty ([1945] 1962), Hermann Schmitz ([1969] 2005), and Don Ihde (1976), a wide array of studies by music scholars emphasize that, in most cases, the various sense modalities are not isolated from one another in sensory experience (Feld 1996; Downey 2002; Clayton 2008; Thacker 2012; Simonett 2014; Riedel 2015; Abels 2018; Kaur 2019; Turner 2020; Szego 2021). Rather, we draw on all of our sensory apparatus in a unified, systemic process, synthesizing sight, hearing, and tactile perception to bring the things of the world into lived experience. The same writers observe that the focus of our attention is less frequently on isolated sonic parameters (e.g., pitch, rhythm, or timbre) than it is on unified objects of perception. In capoeira, for example, event participants are less likely to hear the movement from one note to the next simply as a change in pitch than they are to experience that pitch change as the indication of some gestural process, such as the performer pressing a coin against the instrument's string; as Downey succinctly states, "The sound makes present the physical action that produces it" (2002, 496). But caution must also be exercised in the face of such enthusiastic adoptions of German and French phenomenologies. As Friedlind Riedel (2019, 88; 2020, 24–26) has pointed out, Schmitz's monumental phenomenology of the body takes a highly normalized human person as its point of departure and as a benchmark for his phenomenology of listening. Despite the utility of influential theories of the body from thinkers such as Schmitz and Merleau-Ponty, these ideas should not be treated as truths to be rehearsed nor as neutral frameworks describing a universal human body. Instead, phenomenological approaches should be seen as providing tools for undertaking inquiry, ones that may themselves be challenged, refashioned, or refuted in the process.[10]

As several sources already cited demonstrate, phenomenological attention to the body lends itself to a concurrent interest in the body's interaction with technological tools and apparatuses. Under the umbrella of "the tangible in music," Marko Aho (2016) illuminates the many ways that a supposedly ephemeral art form is firmly intertwined with tactility and embodiment, especially via the technological interface of musical instruments. Mats Johansson (2017) similarly focuses on the body's skillful manipulation of musical instruments, drawing on phenomenological theorizations of expertise to understand the development and deployment of improvisational skill in Irish traditional music. This interaction between body and instrument also takes center stage in David VanderHamm's (2020) retheorization of virtuosity through the case study of Tony Melendez, a guitarist born without arms who plays the instrument with his feet. Putting phenomenological insights into conversation with literature from disability studies, VanderHamm argues that any experience of virtuosity depends on tacit assumptions about the "limitations and possibilities of bodies, instruments, and repertoires" (292). But rather than relating virtuosity to some sort of external criterion that bodies must meet, VanderHamm suggests that the experience of virtuosity is primarily about the *relationship* between embodied subjects: audiences perceive virtuoso performers as exceptional in some ways but also in other ways like themselves. As the reception of Melendez's guitar playing makes clear, the body that interacts with technology is always a social body. The combined individual and social experience of impairment is the subject of Jonathan Sterne's *Diminished Faculties* (2021). Sterne considers himself an unlikely phenomenologist; his influential earlier work in the field of sound studies criticized universalizing approaches to experience, which he associates with several early proponents of the phenomenological tradition. Yet he draws on a nuanced understanding of political phenomenology—an approach tied to "feminist, queer, Black, Latinx, and disability traditions" (11) that he contrasts with the transcendental aspirations of Husserlian phenomenology—and his own vocal impairment to reflect on the "shifting sand" of embodied experience as a necessary but imperfect source for understanding the world and the range of facilities through which we (fail to) grasp it. Although their influences and arguments vary widely, both Sterne and VanderHamm emphasize the irreducible sociality of the body: Sterne describes impairment not as the "physical substrate" of disability but as "an orientation towards the world" defined by its relationality (2021, 194–195), while VanderHamm declares that disability and virtuosity are both "intensely personal but irreducibly social" (2020, 195). In these works, accessibility and accommodation—how tools and technologies may enable, influence, or constrain bodily action—emerge as a key aspect of all embodied experience, impaired or not, in music making or in daily life. The explicitly political nature of disability further highlights the fact that the body's status as the site of culture and agency also makes it the site of ethics and politics. This work connects with themes we have addressed earlier: in various ways, Berger (1999, 2010), Rahaim (2012), VanderHamm (2020), and the other sources cited above show how the embodied practices of the performance event are shaped by larger social forces and oriented toward other co-present participants, and thus entail ethical or political valences.

The theme of embodiment is taken in a different direction in Mrázek's *Wayang and Its Doubles* (2019), a book that draws on scholars from within phenomenology and a wide range of other traditions. Bringing Merleau-Pontian insights into conversation with ideas from Jacques Derrida and media theory, Mrázek explores the relationship between live and televised renditions of the *wayang kulit* (Javanese puppet theater). Critiquing any simple understanding of the live/mediated dyad, Mrázek views the body itself as a form of mediation, shows how live and televisual wayangs "haunt" one another, and emphasizes the complex ways that performance always depends on particular forms of cultural practice and technology. Ethnographic detail and lived experience are richly revealed in his subtle phenomenologies of taking in a wayang in the "midst" of others or watching it on a glowing television screen. Mrázek also brings Husserl's notion of the lifeworld and Heidegger's ideas about art and poetry into dialog with Javanese reflections on the meanings of liveness and mediatization. For many years, issues of technology and media have received significant attention in ethnomusicology (see, for example, Manuel [1993], Lysloff and Gay [2003], Miller [2012, 2017]), and Mrázek shows the value of phenomenology in exploring this vital topic.[11]

Considering the diverse forms of phenomenological work on embodiment, technology, and disability, it is worth emphasizing that the dynamics of embodiment theorized by Merleau-Ponty are profoundly dialectical. In *Phenomenology of Perception*, Merleau-Ponty neither romanticizes those phenomena traditionally denigrated as merely biological (our appetites and passions) nor erases those phenomena traditionally lauded as mental (thinking and rationality) but shows how all elements of experience depend on our physical engagement with the world. And far from romanticizing sensory immediacy, Merleau-Ponty sees this engagement as both technologically mediated and learned, as epitomized in his famous example of the blind man who uses a cane to sense the world around him (165). We emphasize the dialectical character of these insights to highlight the fact that all talk of embodiment implies a thing separate from the immediate concrete actuality of the body; in other words, talk of embodiment implies that some "thing" is being embodied. But as good dialecticians, we cannot see that thing as some immaterial essence, like a soul. On the contrary, the thing that is embodied is one possible deployment of our bodily and musical resources, which are framed by a penumbra of potentialities that were not brought into being. Thus, to articulate this gesture or play that phrase is also to have a structural awareness of other possible phrases in one's cultural repertoire—gestures or phrases that are no less corporeal for being absent from the concreteness of the current moment. We might think of this as a kind of material systematicity or structural corporeality, an intimacy between the abstract organization of parts and the material elements thus organized. This is only one of the many dialectics of embodiment. In describing the music-making body as a paradoxical unity of material flesh and "evanescent," dynamic form, Rahaim explores the temporal dimensions of this dialectic (2012, 87–90), and the topic is a deep one with significant implications for both ethnomusicology and philosophy. Understood in this way, the phenomenology of the body is not (or not merely) about repairing a Cartesian split or celebrating a corporeality defamed by Platonic philosophy. Rather, it is a way of

recasting our ideas of body and mind, returning to lived experience, exploring issues like the body's technicity and the nature of ability and impairment, and seeing with fresh eyes how all of this operates.

Atmosphere

In attending to and theorizing through the body, phenomenologists have written at length about feelings and modes of affect. Among these, the contributions of German philosopher Hermann Schmitz ([2009] 2019)[12] have provided a pathway to new insights into a core ethnomusicological concern: the production, experience, and power of collective feelings and affective communities. Rather than taking feelings to be private states of a subject, Schmitz proposed to consider them as spatially extended atmospheres[13]—that is, as phenomena that can be observed, encountered, and sensed in the world. One important conceptual starting point for Schmitz, who writes extensively about musical listening and the hearing of sounds and noises ([1978] 2005), is the distinction between noticing a feeling (for instance, in an environment or in a performance space) and being affected by a feeling. Building on this idea, Anne Holzmüller (2020) interprets late eighteenth-century travelogues by German Protestant visitors to Rome to show how pilgrims remained ambivalent toward the clerical atmosphere they encountered when entering a Catholic church—a vast space flooded with music and light seeping through its stained glass windows. Maintaining a critical distance from the sacral staging, pilgrims were precisely *not* caught up in its grandeur, which ultimately struck them as profane. Schmitz's work allows Holzmüller to recognize the atmospheric feeling that palpably hangs in the air without immediately collapsing it into a subject's individual affective experience.

The musically amplified atmosphere of a religious site or event can also powerfully seize an individual who finds themself caught up in an environmental feeling and transformed in the encounter. Riedel (2015; 2020, 16) describes how, in the context of a small Christian congregation in rural Germany—which sets itself apart from the country's Christian mainstream—musical suggestions of movement, such as the transposition of a hymn into a higher key, channel collective feelings of devotion by quite literally moving the congregation to stand up. Furthermore, extended periods of silence heighten an atmosphere of authority, as even one's own silent and seemingly passive observation becomes implicated in the pious atmosphere of hush. Riedel's attention to the collective dynamics of spatially extended feelings allows her to critically reflect on the musical and affective dimensions of religious power and denominational alterity that otherwise remain difficult to pin down. Similarly, Tamara Turner's (2020) ethnography of Algerian Sufi ritual illustrates how environmental feelings can be steeped in norms. What is at stake in the performance of a ritual sequence is the musical cultivation of the *right* kind of atmosphere, one that corresponds with the character of a particular saint or spirit. Thus, Turner shows that atmosphere is of central and practical concern in ritual performance, where it is subject to the attentive affective labor of musicians and ritual

specialists. In both Turner's and Riedel's accounts, atmospheres are carefully cultivated among communities of dissent across generations in order to articulate, render tangible, and heighten their dissociation from majority religious formations.

Ethnographic studies such as these have emphasized another central aspect of atmospheres: although described as feelings that show up in the world, Schmitz emphasizes that they do not simply exist *among things* but rather as holistic phenomena that pervade and envelop *everything* (Schmitz et al. 2011). Atmospheres can be noticed or experienced yet do not belong to anyone in particular. Paying attention to atmosphere thus means considering music and sound in their capacity to modulate and charge the totality of things (much as the weather that transforms an entire landscape) and to impact the individual only through this totality. Put another way, atmosphere emphasizes that the object of experience is not "music" or "sound" as such, but a situation, an environment, a scene, or a horizon of possibility that is musically modulated. Countering sensualist tropes that treat listening as a specific mode of experiencing a sequestered sonic world, German phenomenologists have spoken of "situation-listening" (Schmitz [1978] 2005, 44) or of "musical situations" (Anders [1930] 2017) to emphasize that what is appreciated in musical performance or in the hearing of noises and sounds is a total *Sachverhalt* (state of affairs). Comparing performances of a robotic gamelan and a gamelan played by human performers, Andrew McGraw (2016) notes "that our experience of music always occurs in a singular situational milieu rather than being a straightforward communication of information between author and recipient through an ether called 'society' or 'history'" (131). This observation—namely that "music" or "sound" does not show up as a distinct, perceptual phenomenon that would be given directly to perception but rather that musical performance transforms an environment or a situation as a whole—is central not only to much ethnomusicological scholarship on atmosphere (Torvinen 2019; Absaroka 2020) but is also echoed in adjacent scholarship on affect (Garcia 2020; McMurray 2020; Reisnour 2020). In contrast to this phenomenological emphasis on music's environmental mediation, Abels (2018, 2020) considers atmosphere in materialist terms, arguing for an unmediated, material unity of body and world in her study of atmosphere in Palauan vocal music and dance performance.

Given this logic of environmental mediation and collective transformation, the notion of music as atmosphere addresses a range of central ethnomusicological concerns. For example, invoking affective coherence and simulating participation by seemingly involving everyone and everything, atmospherically charged milieus often refract power. Indeed, the deliberate production and preservation of specific atmospheres can play a role in capitalist or totalitarian projects, as well as resistance to them. Attention to dynamics of "atmospheric sociality" (McGraw 2016) can thus illuminate the conflict-ridden relations that exist between an affectively charged environment and the bodies that may alternately resist or become involved in it. In order to address such dynamics of ambient power and to leave room for critique and resistance, Mikkel Bille and Kirsten Simonsen (2019) and Riedel (2020) have suggested that scholars shift attention away from the potentially ambiguous noun *atmosphere* in order to attend more fully to *atmospheric practices* and *atmospheric relations*. McGraw (2020), for instance, shows how

residents in a North American jail actively resist and break out of an otherwise quite literally overpowering carceral atmosphere by claiming "music" as an absolute good. And instead of essentializing music as intrinsically atmospheric or moving, Dafni Tragaki (2020) details audile techniques in listening to postwar *rebetiko* love songs, which allow contemporary listeners to reckon with the traumas of mid-twentieth-century Greek society. Likewise, Andreas Melson Gregerson (2021) develops a notion of "atmosphering" to understand the practices by which pastors and volunteers of an Evangelical Lutheran Church in Copenhagen cultivate, stabilize, and unify a desired atmosphere to fashion an alternative spiritual space that would appeal to outsiders. With these developments, the evolving phenomenology of atmosphere offers powerful new opportunities for insight into the cultural life of music.

Reflexivity and Musical Involvement

Just as the world of perceptual objects and the atmosphere of particular locales have their dialectical partner in the lived body, perception itself has a dialectical partner in thinking, the series of reflective or self-reflexive thoughts in words or other abstract symbols that play such an important part in everyday experience. The place that thinking holds in musical performance has been explored by a number of scholars in phenomenological ethnomusicology. Building on ideas from Husserl and Merleau-Ponty, as well as the framework for phenomenological ethnomusicology forged by Stone, Berger's *Metal, Rock, and Jazz: Perception and the Phenomenology of Music Experience* (1999) investigates the organization of attention in music performance. Based on fieldwork in four music scenes in northeast Ohio, the book explores the complex foreground/background structure of lived experience and the ways that musicians shift the focus of attention among various kinds of phenomena (e.g., musical sound, their own bodies, other musicians, the audience, and reflexive thought in words) to constitute their experience of the performance event. Understanding the organization of attention as both actively achieved and necessarily informed by situated and large-scale social context, Berger argues that the constitution of lived experience is a kind of social practice, in the practice theory sense of the term (e.g., Giddens [1976] 1993, 1979, 1984; Bourdieu 1977). Further, his work shows that musicians from various music scenes have differing attitudes toward reflexivity in performance. None of the musicians that Berger interviewed wanted to be distracted from musical sound by anxious reflections or arduous musical analyses, and players from the commercial hard rock, death metal, and 1950s-style bebop scenes all said that an ideal performance was unencumbered with reflexive thought in words. However, musicians from the post-bop jazz scene said that, for them, an effortless flow of reflexive thought would often accompany the sound of the other musicians in performance. In the best situations, ideas for new harmonic approaches, melodic devices, or forms of interaction with the other players would arise on the stand, weaving in and out of the player's center of attention and informing their improvisation of musical lines without distracting from the sound of the other musicians or interrupting the act

of performance. Comparing all of this with data on the organization of attention by participants in the Central Italian *passeggiata* (ritual promenade), Berger and Giovanna P. Del Negro ([2002] 2004) have argued that cultures of performance have what they call an "aesthetic of reflexivity"—a set of culturally specific ideals regarding the role of reflexive awareness in events.

The issue of reflexivity is most frequently taken up by phenomenological ethnomusicologists in the context of research on heightened states of involvement in music making. One well-known framework for exploring this topic comes from Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi (e.g., [1975] 2000, 1990), a widely influential psychologist who defined "flow" as a state of consciousness in which the person's cognitive and practical abilities are matched with the demands of the task that that person is performing. Situated in the informatic sweet spot "between boredom and anxiety," as the title of his classic 1975 monograph describes it, flow states involve pleasure; a tight focus on the immediate task at hand; and, in their deepest forms, the paradoxical sensation of both the loss of self and of being in total control of one's behavior. Perhaps most strikingly, these "deep flow" states are further characterized by a timeless quality, a kind of focused attention so intense that one's awareness of past and future drops away and one feels themself to be situated in an eternal present. Roger Savage's notion of "limit experiences" in music, which are typified by trance rituals or situations of musical ecstasy, approaches related phenomena from a very different perspective (2009, 2010). Where Csikszentmihalyi sees qualities like pleasure, the paradoxical loss and expansion of self, and timelessness as the result of the fortuitous confluence of cognitive abilities and the practical demands of the task at hand, Savage focuses on the temporal qualities of the limit experiences themselves. Following John Blacking in contrasting "music that is simply for having" with "music that is for being" (Blacking 1973, 50, cited in Savage 2009, 6), Savage argues that limit experiences carve a distinct temporal domain out of the linear passage of everyday time. Set apart from mundane temporality, limit experiences are "the other of time" (Savage 2017, 13), and Savage builds on Gadamer's ideas about play to argue that such experiences are "self-disclosing" (i.e., they exist only in their enactment). While Savage maintains that "music for being" is a universal phenomenon, the particular form that such limit experiences may take varies from culture to culture, and Savage explains that in these events, individuals experience the core mode of being of their society or historical epoch.

In many ways, the ethnographies of musical involvement carried out by phenomenological ethnomusicologists confirm the basic ideas of Csikszentmihalyi and Savage. For example, a number of scholars observe a two-stage process necessary for entering a heightened state. In *Let the Inside Be Sweet* ([1982] 2010, 111–133), Stone explains how Kpelle identify an initial phase of performance, called "making music one," in which the musicians focus on ensemble coordination, and a second, emotionally heightened phase of performance, called "making music many," in which the now-coordinated performers differentiate their parts from one another and engage in the aestheticized exchange of musical cues. A related view is reported by Sarah Weiss in her rich discussion of Javanese theories of performance (2003). Based on the analysis of religious texts

and historical accounts of music making, Weiss explores the Javanese view that the in-vocation of *rasa* (feeling) can only arise in an event when an artist (a musician, but also a dancer or a shadow-puppet performer) has unified spirit and body through the deep internalization of the expressive resources of their genre. A similar perspective is shared by the UK indie rock musicians studied by Andy McGuiness (2013), who hold that the best performances take place when a musician has completely assimilated a song or mu-sical passage. Standing apart from the music as it arises from their bodily performance, the rocker observes the song as it unfolds, each time in a unique way, and their mu-sical identity is laid bare for the audience to observe. Drawing on the ideas of Sartre and others, McGuiness argues that, in such situations, the musician has a sense of own-ership of their body (i.e., it is *my* body that is playing this instrument) but not a sense of agency (i.e., *I* am not directing the course of the action). Related themes play out in Dard Neuman's work on Hindustani music (2012). Throughout these studies, scholars show how a failure to master expressive resources or coordinate with other musicians inhibits intense musical experience, while facility with one's instrument, the technical demands of the piece one is performing, or the protocols of ensemble coordination en-able heightened involvement and its striking experiential effects.[14]

Other scholars have emphasized the unique forms of temporality associated with deeply involving musical experiences and suggested the means by which such temporal experiences are achieved. Jonathan Shannon (2003) shows that in Syrian Arab music, entrance into *tarab* (a "state of emotional rapture or enchantment," 72) is associated with the use of repeated motifs and passages of rich melodic fluency that allow the listener to "detemporalize" experience—separating it from the linear flow of mundane time—while cadences and other transitional passages "retemporalize" experience, bringing the listener back to the everyday. In her later work on Kpelle music, Stone (1988) emphasizes how the "making music one" phase of Kpelle performance is associated with a focus on what Alfred Schutz (1951) referred to as "outer time" (the temporal progression of events in the public, intersubjective world), while the heightened experiences that occur when music is made many are accompanied by a focus on the "inner time" of affective expe-rience. (We discuss Schutz's work further in the next section.) And in differing ways, Feld ([1988] 1994), Rice (1994), Bakan (1999), Shannon (2003), Titon (2008), Kapchan (2009), Simonett (2009), Turino (2014), McGraw (2016), and Turner (2020) concur with Csikszentmihalyi and Savage that musical involvement is often associated with a loss of self and intense affective experiences.

While heightened states of involvement can be deeply pleasurable and fulfilling, it is important to avoid romanticizing this phenomenon, and contemporary scholars have also employed phenomenology to understand very different forms of musical ab-sorption. Steven Friedson (2019) examines both the positive and negative extremes by comparing practices of musical torture found in American prisons and practices of spirit possession found in the religious rituals of northern Ghana. This dialectical considera-tion of the musical erosion of agency—though they are different in many ways, one does not choose to be either tortured or possessed—highlights the all-encompassing nature of these experiences. Unlike possession, which allows for an escape from the self, sonic

torture enacts what Friedson terms a total "being-there": disrupting the normal temporal structure of experience through sonic bombardment forces the prisoner to occupy an unrelenting musical "now." The thin temporality of the experience of unavoidable, undesired music serves to produce an inescapable, impoverished, and immiserated experience of the self, one that is locked in a claustrophobically narrow present. Exploring related topics, Martin Daughtry utilizes phenomenology and insights from sound studies to discuss issues of music, war, and violence more broadly, seeking to understand the structures of extreme sonic experience while also noting that some aspects of it are too terrible to be consciously lived through (2014, 2015). Although scholars of music and culture have often valorized their topic of study, Daughtry suggests that there is "a kernel of potential violence that exists within all sound," and that music may also be implicated in current ecological crises (2015, 165; 2020).

Romanticizing musical involvement is not the only pitfall to sidestep, here; we must also be careful to avoid smoothing over the various complexities of musical involvement that an overenthusiastic universalism may obscure. Consider the issue of the "loss of self" in performance. While many cultures equate heightened states with a quieting of the inner series of thoughts, this connection is by no means found everywhere. As we suggested previously, the post-bop jazz musicians that Berger interviewed in northeast Ohio do not find the inner thinking voice to be incompatible with flow states, and further reflection suggests other situations, such as the examples of chess players and surgeons that Csikszentmihalyi studied ([1975] 2000), in which thought in words or symbols may be an essential part of flow. Further, as Berger argues in other work (2004), the self is an extraordinarily complex phenomenon that emerges through a variety of experiential modalities, and the inner voice of thinking is only one form that the self may take. In the act of seeing, for example, the perspectival organization of visual phenomena constitutes a kind of perceptual self that is situated at the invisible "here" around which the things of the world are arrayed. Though some acoustic spaces envelop the listener in sound and diminish the sense of here, near, and far, other listening environments foster a perspectival and embodied sense of self that is similar to that found in vision. Merleau-Ponty's classic analyses of embodied subjectivity in tactile perception reveal other dimensions of the self that experiential involvement fails to annihilate (e.g., Merleau-Ponty [1945] 1962, 92; [1964] 1968, 147–148). Looking at the ways in which differing forms of the self might be fostered or diminished in heightened states points the way to more nuanced understandings of musical involvement.[15]

Phenomenological ethnomusicologists have done valuable work on the relationship between musical involvement and culture, but further research is needed in this area. Savage, for example, emphasizes that while the musical limit experience may be a universal category, it is always enacted in culturally specific ways. Further, he suggests that a culture's rituals of transcendent music are emblematic of its distinctive way of being-in-the-world—its way of "responding to the enigmas of existence" (Savage 2009, 17)—and a number of studies explore how such heightened experiences either enact religious ideologies (Humphreys 1991; Friedson 1996, 2009; Ho 2009; Simonett 2009; Riedel 2015; Turner 2020) or are freighted with social or political meanings (Berger 1999, 2004;

Shannon 2003; McGuiness 2013; Turino 2014).[16] While there is no question that both the form and the meaning of heightened states are culturally specific, most phenomenological research on this topic has focused on situations in which the ritual or musical genre from a more or less well-bounded social group is seen to align with a specific worldview and ontology. But for many years, theorists and ethnographers have focused attention on the diversity of experiences that emerge within a performance event, conflict and dissent within social groups, intercultural performance, and historical change. Studying musical involvement in contexts in which these sorts of dynamics are at play will enrich the phenomenological literature on this topic and open up new avenues of research.

Time

One of the great achievements of the phenomenological movement has been to shed new light on the perennial problem of time in philosophy. Grounded in concrete descriptions of the phenomena of change and persistence in lived experience, Husserl and Schutz have provided scholars with a precise and comprehensible language for talking about the temporal dimensions of our lives, and two works from the tradition form the starting place for most of the phenomenological ethnomusicology of musical temporality.

The first of these is Husserl's *Phenomenology of Internal Time-Consciousness* ([1929] 1964), a groundbreaking study that shows that the present in which our experience is located is not, as our everyday talk might have it, an infinitely thin moment, like some monad-wide second hand, spinning endlessly on a metaphysical wristwatch. To have any kind of experience at all, our consciousness must embrace more than the temporal sliver of the "now-point"; rather, it must simultaneously embrace recently past events and anticipations of potential events in the immediate future (in the technical language, "retentions" and "protentions"). Husserl calls this dynamic arena of retention, now-point, and protention the "living present." All of our experiences exist in the thickness of this temporal space.

To get a firmer grasp on this idea, we need to be clear about the difference between retention and memory. In memory, Husserl showed, we draw past events that are currently absent from experience into the living present, as when we recall what we had for breakfast two days ago or the name of our third-grade teacher. Quite different from this, retention is not a recovery of absent phenomena into the present but a continuous survival of recent events in the conscious background of lived experience. As I read across a printed line of text, for example, my ability to retain the first words that I read is a necessary condition for my experience of sentence-level meaning. Reading "Jan eats fruit," I must hold "Jan" in the backgrounded retentional portion of the living present as I read "eats" and "fruit." If I do not, "eats" is simply an isolated word, and the sentence-level meaning does not emerge. Retaining the word "Jan" is not the same as remembering it. For the sentence to make sense, I must retain a backgrounded awareness of "Jan"

as the temporal focus shifts to "eats." By contrast, to remember "Jan" is to bring that word, which is absent from experience, back from memory into the now-point of the living present, and I only need to do this if I failed to retain it in the first place. Just as retention is not memory, protention is not precognition. On the contrary, it is the dimly apprehended experience of *potential* phenomena—currently unrealized entities situated in the future portion of the living present. Retaining "Jan" and allowing "eats" to emerge into the now-point, an English speaker protends an open anticipation of things that can be eaten (e.g., bread, crackers, "humble pie"), which is in the next moment fulfilled by the word "fruit." Husserl's analysis of the retentional/protentional structure of the living present is foundational for all phenomenological work on time.[17] Within anglophone North American ethnomusicology, Ihde's *Listening and Voice* (1976), which draws on Husserl's ideas about time-consciousness along with the work of other thinkers, has been highly influential.

If Husserl's *Phenomenology of Internal Time-Consciousness* revealed the structure of the living present, Schutz's article "Making Music Together" (1951) offered new insights into the social dimensions of temporality. In this often-cited work, Schutz observes that musical experience is essentially "polythetic," occurring in a temporal, "step-by-step" fashion (90–91). To grasp the musical sense of a written score, for example, one must immerse oneself in the forward-moving flux of the series of notes that the composer specified; in doing so, one recapitulates the same temporal sequence that the composer, or other readers of the score, have formed. This social process aligns one's own experience with that of others in a way that partially transcends the space and time of the immediate situation. While Schutz sets up his discussion with a phenomenology of reading musical scores, the focus of his article is the sociality of time in face-to-face interaction. Here, he contrasts "outer time," our experience of the uniform, measurable flow of physical events, with "inner time," the qualitative feel of duration, such as the lived sense that a process is swift or plodding (88–89). Schutz argues that, in music making, we observe the physical gestures of the other to coordinate our sense of inner time with theirs. This "tuning-in" process constitutes a "We" relationship that is the foundation of live music making and communication in face-to-face interaction more generally. Schutz was a trained pianist and music scholar, and while "Making Music Together" is his best-known work on music, his extensive unpublished writings on the topic gained currency after his death when they were published under the title "Fragments on the Phenomenology of Music" (1976).

The ideas of Husserl and Schutz have been extended by phenomenological ethnomusicologists in a variety of ways. On a basic level, a number of authors have shown that, while the living present is a universal feature of experience, the ways in which events in time are made to cohere within that living present can vary enormously from culture to culture. Ruth Stone's work on Kpelle performance, begun in *Let the Inside Be Sweet* and developed further in *Dried Millet Breaking* (1988), is among the most fully worked-out analyses of the temporal structure of experience in a non-Western music culture, and the central concept in her discussion is the "expandable moment." Where the temporal experiences of Western conservatory music devotees are frequently parsed

into units of measurable duration such as phrases or sections, the temporal unit of Kpelle performance is the "moment," which may be inflated to a greater or lesser degree, depending on the improvisatory interactions among the participants. Stone observes that Kpelle sometimes organize time in quantitative ways. However, their dominant manner of structuring the living present is qualitative, and her work shows how the shape of the living present in Kpelle performance is influenced by a wide range of musical devices and abstract organizing principles—from the tendency to fit many small musical motifs together to form coherent wholes, to tropes of exchange (such as call-and-response and interlocking rhythms) and interaction (such as the interplay between a lead vocal part and an underlying ostinato), and from narrative devices in an epic story that construct plot episodes around images of continuous motion to the broad principle of "action without direction" that shapes all dimensions of epic performance events. It is worth emphasizing that the tropes of musical texture that help the performer organize temporal experience are also tropes of social organization. To perform interlocking rhythms, for example, musicians must tightly coordinate their temporal experiences, hearing the flow of notes coming from one's own instrument and those of the other as forming a single unit as it processes through the living present, and Stone devotes substantial attention to the distinctive ways that Kpelle achieve the tuning-in necessary for the Schutzian "We-relationship."[18]

Across cultures, music may have varying forms of rhythmic organization, but it is the interplay among sound structures, the perceptual agency of listeners, their interactive social practices, and the mediating role of past experience (that is to say, culture) that determine the temporal form that any given musical experience will take. Consider the example of a listener hearing a musical passage with a repeating sequence of four drum strokes of equal duration, played at a moderate tempo with a strong dynamic accent on the first beat. Such a part may encourage the listener to hear the music in four-four time—that is, to conjoin together the four beats into a unit as the flow of sounds processes through the living present, with the accented beat protended or retained as the starting point. While listeners trained in the Western conservatory tradition are likely to experience the part in this manner, there are a variety of other ways of grasping the part—for example, actively protending and retaining the accented stroke that appears every two cycles to make a hypermetrical unit appear in the living present, or focusing on the timbral details of each individual stroke and pushing the protended and retained units into the deeper background to diminish in experience the appearance of the metrical block. Like all perception, listening is neither the result of personal whim nor a mechanical registering of objective reality in experience but rather is a social, interactive process by which the person engages with others and the world.

Attending to the interplay of music structure, perceptual agency, social interaction, and culture has been a focus for the phenomenological ethnomusicology of time. Following Ihde's well-known discussion of the phenomenology of multistable visual figures,[19] Friedson (1996), for example, argues that the rhythms of Tumbuka healing rituals have a kind of temporal multistability. Ritual participants can group the music's drum strokes in one of several different units and with varying starting places, and the

participant's exercise of perceptual agency here is a central part of the meaning of these performances. Discussing time perception in heavy metal music, Berger (1997) shows how a heavy metal drummer shifts the focus of his attention from the level of eighth notes to that of quarter notes or to the second and fourth beats of the measure to achieve differing goals in performance. Focusing on the eighth notes as they progress through the living present, for example, allows the musician to play with a more smoothly flowing rhythmic feel, while attention to the quarter notes allows the drummer to synchronize his playing more tightly with the other musicians, an approach that may become useful when ensemble coordination is a problem.

The temporal organization of experience has implications for the perception of musical structure in sonic dimensions beyond rhythm, for broader issues of cultural meaning, and for a wide range of related topics. Exploring harmonic rhythm in a song from the death metal repertoire, Berger (1999) shows how both the tonal functions that death metal musicians hear in the music and the very different functions heard by listeners from the Western conservatory tradition depend on the listener's organization of sound in the living present. Finding patterns in metalheads' temporal experiences, Berger argues that their tendency to assemble moments in disjunct, fragmented patterns stems from the emphasis on rage and aggression in this music culture. McGuiness (2013) emphasizes that uncertainty is an essential quality of temporality and, drawing on the work of Sartre ([1943] 1948) and others, builds on this observation to illustrate how indie rockers' organization of musical experience in time connects to themes of shame and vulnerability. Thomas Porcello (1998) richly extends the Schutzian perspective to account for the complexities of media technology in the construction of the We-relationship, and his sophisticated discussion shows how participants who take up differing roles in the production of recorded music may engage with the temporality of recordings in differing ways. Stone (1988) argues that the forms of temporal experience constituted in Kpelle musical performance resonate with their temporal experiences in everyday life and a general cultural tendency toward qualitative time. Drawing on Merleau-Ponty, Rahaim (2012) shows that the phenomenon of melody cannot be reduced to static structures of pitch and reveals how both the static and dynamic dimensions of melodic experience are grounded in the lived body. Friedson (1996) reads Schutz through a Heideggerian lens to argue that the tuning-in process of the We-relationship enables the participants' shared co-presence, without which the ritual could not exist. As we have seen, Savage (2009) forwards this line of thinking when he argues that the significance of music as an ontological category depends on its ability to carve stretches of time out of the mundane flow of everyday temporality and create sharply framed domains of experience.

If Savage emphasizes music's ability to separate events from the flow of mundane temporality, other scholars have explored the ways that the present musical moment can be situated within larger scales of time-consciousness; in so doing, they also emphasize music's connection to worldviews and religious beliefs, a perspective that resonates with Savage's work. To have a sense of overall musical form, for example, one's foregrounded experience of the immediate phrase or section must appear in the living present against

more deeply backgrounded protentions and retentions of the piece's other sections (see, e.g., Berger 1999, 237–241). Similar processes situate the present piece within our awareness of the overall music event, and these two examples do not in any way exhaust the range of time scales in which perception is nested. An example of such processes appears in a brief but remarkable article by Paul Humphreys (1991), which describes a monastic ritual in Rinzai Buddhism that is performed at sunrise and before bedtime each day. The ritual is always begun with the performance of a specific rhythmic passage on a heavy wooden board, and Humphreys convincingly argues that, as the day progresses, a deeply backgrounded retention of the morning performance and a deeply backgrounded protention of the evening performance frame the adherents' quotidian experiences. Humphreys provides a detailed analysis of the rhythmic design of the part and the ways in which it encourages the musician to shift from a distanced observation of the drum strokes to an immersion in the act of playing. Humphreys reads this in terms of ideas from Buddhist philosophy about the interdependence of duality and nonduality, and he argues that by framing the day's events with a visceral experience of the shift from duality to nonduality, the ritual helps practitioners deepen their Buddhist perspective. Turning to even larger time scales, Berger's book *Stance* discusses the variety of ways in which the situated moment may be framed by protentions and retentions on the level of calendrical cycles or the broader, open protentions of future phases in the course of a person's life (2010, 84–96). Two more recent publications use the notion of stance to situate temporal experience in the context of wider religious ideals. Shelley (2019) draws broadly on phenomenology and on Berger's work in particular to elaborate the "gospel stance," which he characterizes primarily as a form of musical protention that arises both in relation to the specific musical performance at hand and to the wider expectations that enculturated listener-participants have when experiencing the climactic vamp frequently found in gospel. Masterfully weaving together insights from phenomenology, his own ethnographic work, and music analysis, Shelley provides a dual emphasis on temporality and embodiment, illuminating the experience of the gospel vamp not just as a musical technique or formal category but "as a sonic resource used by many African American Christians to experience with their bodies what they believe in their hearts" (185). Inderjit Kaur (2016) takes up the concept of stance to gain insights into another religious tradition, exploring issues of embodiment and authenticity in the devotional tradition of Sikh *sabad kīrtan* (sung scriptural verse). Drawing on extensive fieldwork, Kaur demonstrates the inadequacy of conceptions of authenticity that treat it as a set of fixed criteria external to lived experience. Instead, Kaur shows how Sikh participants embody multiple forms of authenticity as aspects of their embodied stance, which are shaped in reference to both shared and individual experiences and "anticipated futures" (88).

    If the phenomenological literature in philosophy has mapped the space of lived temporality, phenomenological ethnomusicology has illuminated dynamics within that space that could only be revealed by ethnographic methods. In this context, music—which is so often bound up with the temporal—is the ideal topic of such investigations. The studies of music cultures beyond the Western conservatory tradition by Stone,

Friedson, Porcello, Humphreys, Berger, Shelley, Kaur, and others suggest dynamics very different from those that Schutz illuminated, and there is no reason to assume that all of the possibilities of temporal organization have been exhausted. In the broadest sense, what Husserl and Schutz show is that experience is the result of a dynamic synthesis of elements in a temporal "space" that reaches across the now-point and beyond the individual. Like the material systematicity or structural corporeality that emerges in the analysis of embodiment, the temporal dimension of experience likewise involves an intimacy between structure and substance. Each sounding object, each musical form, each social dynamic appears to us within the living present and therefore—at a high level of abstraction—can be described in the phenomenological language that the philosophical tradition provides. But each one of these phenomena also involves a distinctive signature of emergence, persistence, and change, whose specificity eludes a priori explication. This is not because they transcend the living present that Husserl so ably sketched out but because our very understanding of time as an abstract category is always revealed through the particularities of changing and persisting things. Husserl's method of imaginative variation is one way of getting at the possibilities and limits of phenomena, but when we do fieldwork or engage richly with ethnographies, the new worlds that we confront force us to go beyond our past experience and learn new meanings for abstractions like "living present" or "polythetic experience." And because perception is both an openness to the things of the world and an agentive grappling with those things, experience has a plasticity that is unlikely to be exhausted by a library of phenomenological ethnographies, let alone the few shelves that we currently possess. Informed by philosophy and enlivened by ethnography, the phenomenological ethnomusicology of time offers vast new domains to explore.

Research Methodology and the Ethnomusicological Project

For those new to phenomenologically oriented work, the issue of methodology is sometimes a stumbling block. I have my experiences, and you have yours, the newcomer states; there is, therefore, no way to bridge the gap between us, and phenomenological research is impossible. As Berger has argued elsewhere, such a perspective assumes that experience is strictly internal to the person, that each of us is an island of subjectivity separated by the frigid ocean of the physical world (Berger 1999, 230–231). At this point in the discussion, it should be clear why such a perspective is untenable. It is true, of course, that one can never see through the eyes of another person, precisely emulate the acculturation that has shaped their ways of hearing, or form an exact identity between their experience and one's own. But none of these things is necessary for phenomenological research. As Alessandro Duranti so eloquently argued in "Husserl, Intersubjectivity, and Anthropology" (2010), the phenomenological

tradition shows us that we live in a shared and public world, that the dynamics of inter-
pretation are a general feature of social life, and that our being as social and embodied
subjects guarantees a sociability at its core; our intersubjectivity, common hermeneutic
predicament, and intercorporeality make us fundamentally social and thus secure
the grounding for social research.[20] Exploring that ground is a topic that has been ac-
tively pursued by scholars in the phenomenological tradition. With its emphasis on
the description of lived experience, the fundamentally methodological utility of the
epoché, and the approaches of eidetic description and imaginative variation (Husserl
[1913] 1962, section 70; [1931] 1960, section 34; see also Mohanty 1991), phenomenology
has always been as much a way of doing philosophy as a body of positive claims and
insights. No less than philosophers, the ethnomusicologists inspired by phenome-
nology have taken up issues of research methodology; the insights into field research
and the interpretation of data that they have developed address issues at the heart of the
ethnomusicological project.

The first work on research methods in phenomenological ethnomusicology was
Ruth and Verlon Stone's "Event, Feedback, and Analysis: Research Media in the Study
of Music Events" (1981). Operationalizing the theoretical framework that Ruth Stone
later discussed in *Let the Inside Be Sweet*, Stone and Stone argue for a deep commonal-
ity between the activity of the fieldworker and the research participant that they
study: both are engaged in the interpretation of music, and their interpretive practices
underlie both music events and ethnographic interviews. In this context, the "feedback
interview" is a research technique in which fieldworkers present research participants
with mediated representations of past performance events and encourage them to
engage in partially shared interpretive practices. Audio and video recordings are the
most obvious source material for feedback interviews, but Stone and Stone construe
the technique broadly to understand interviews based on field notes or memories
as feedback-based research interactions. While Stone and Stone argue that feed-
back interviews provide a powerful means for understanding both the meanings that
participants find in music and the interpretive process by which those meanings are
constituted, they avoid the simplistic view that feedback interviews provide direct or
complete access to the world of the other's experience. In contrast, they argue that each
kind of media introduces its own dynamics into the research process and shapes the
data that emerge there. For example, audio and video recordings offer participants
the opportunity to replay short segments of musical interaction and yield subtle, fine-
grained interpretations, but that same replay capacity offers the participant a way of lis-
tening that is absent from most live events. Using field notes and memories as the basis
for feedback interviews does not allow the research participant to engage in the kinds
of embodied, interpretive practices of sense perception that audio or video recordings
do, but these materials open up other interpretive possibilities, allowing the participant
to shift quickly from one event to the next, skip around in time, and organize infor-
mation in locally salient ways. Understood in this manner, all interviews are feedback
interviews, and Stone and Stone's analysis of this specific research technique ultimately
yields general insights into the nature of musical interpretation itself. Thirty-two years

after the publication of "Event, Feedback, and Analysis," Ruth Stone updated her work on feedback interviews in an article coauthored by Angela Stone-MacDonald (Stone-MacDonald and Stone 2013) that explores the new interpretive possibilities that digital video recording has enabled.

A recent book chapter by Kati Szego (2021) offers a distinctive new approach to these methods. Seeking to understand the meaning of *hula kuʻi* songs for Indigenous youth in Hawaiʻi, Szego works to move beyond the kinds of interpretations that emerge in traditional interviews in order to shed light on meanings "that are so evanescent, incomplete, automatic or commonplace as to be unremarkable, so powerful or socially contrary as to be unutterable, or so complex as to defy easy expression" (20). To access these meanings, she asked her research participants to engage in an "auto-representational listening–writing exercise" (21). Listening to recordings by themselves, her participants would "reflexively observe their experiences . . . writing down the thoughts, images and sensations that manifested moment by moment[,] . . . jotting keywords and phrases," and drawing pictures (20). Later, they would elaborate on these notes, and all of this would serve as the basis for interview dialogs. In her book chapter, the interpretive work that Szego applies to these sources is highly sophisticated, revealing the diverse ways in which musical meanings are rooted in the body and showing how such embodied meanings are fundamentally social and political. Yielding nuanced readings, Szego's technique offers enormous possibilities for scholars seeking to understand the complexities of lived musical experience.

Perhaps the most frequently cited studies of methodology in phenomenological ethnomusicology are the chapters by Rice and Titon in *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology* (Barz and Cooley 2008). Arguing that hermeneutics offers a way to overcome the insider/outsider dichotomy in ethnography, Rice provides an intimate account of his many years of fieldwork on Bulgarian music. The central moment in the narrative comes when Rice had surpassed a beginner's knowledge of the culture's bagpipe tradition but, despite many hours of lessons and interviews, was still unable to master its ornamental techniques, which are iconic of both the music culture and Bulgarian identity. Rice describes how he was finally able to acquire these techniques through a deep bodily immersion in the music, which revealed a set of corporeal practices central to the local experience but never thematized in traditional Bulgarian pedagogical discourse. In a nuanced discussion, Rice argues that having mastered the ornamental techniques, he found himself occupying a strangely liminal position between insider and outsider, musically "native" but not fully "inside" or "outside" the culture. Theorizing these experiences with ideas from Gadamer and Ricoeur, Rice argues that we should not take as our starting point the goal of seeing the world through our interlocutors' eyes but should instead begin from a recognition that both we and they are interpreters of culture. Read through the lens of the hermeneutic circle, our job as fieldworkers is to learn how to place ourselves before the works or traditions of the cultures that we study, allow ourselves to be transformed by this encounter, and enter the world that these works or traditions create. In his research, Rice's focus is still on understanding the experiences of his Bulgarian research participants;

however, the achievement of that task can only ever be partial, and it comes about as much through partially shared musical practices as it does through the elicitation of explicit exegesis in interviews.

Related themes are developed in Titon's chapter, which reviews the history of field methods in ethnomusicology and distinguishes "understanding" from "explanation" as modes of knowledge in social research (2008, 27). While Titon says that both fall within the purview of ethnomusicology, he argues that ethnomusicology should emphasize understanding, which is achieved through shared experiences of music making and the development of close emotional relationships with our research participants. The products of fieldwork—books, articles, recordings—are thus understood as narrativized representations of those relationships, and in a postscript to his chapter in the second edition of *Shadows in the Field*, Titon argues that the social relationships necessary for ethnomusicological understanding must be grounded in a kind of rapport that he defines as "friendship" (37–40).

While they differ in terminology, fieldwork technique, and engagement with the philosophical literature, Stone, Rice, and Titon all see ethnographic research as an interpretive project of partial sharing. These themes are carried forward in differing ways throughout the literature on methodology in phenomenological ethnomusicology. Articulating the hermeneutic approach through specifically Heideggerian language, Friedson takes as his study object the distinctive form of being-in-the-world that his research participants enact in music making. For him, fieldwork is grounded in a participation with the other, which allows the researcher to inhabit, and therefore later interpret, his interlocutor's mode of Dasein. Bakan likewise grounds his research on embodied social interaction with his interlocutors and, as we have seen, provides an alternative reading of the hermeneutic literature to develop new goals for ethnomusicological research. Drawing on ethnography and cognitive science, Tomie Hahn and J. Scott Jordan (2017, 268) argue that research strategies that place participants in novel situations can reveal features of experience that would otherwise remain hidden or abstract. Through a discussion of "banding"—which involves attaching participants together via large rubber bands and leading them in three rounds of activity—they show how the experience of being literally connected in such an unfamiliar way can "shed light on the nature of the prereflexive, ubiquitous intercorporeality" that characterizes our lives. In differing ways, Feld (1996), McIntosh (2006, 2009), Wolf (2006), Clayton (2008), Rice (2008), Titon (2008), Clayton and Leante (2013), McGuiness (2013), and Turino (2014) all argue that musical practice has a richness that is never fully captured by language, and these scholars therefore see interview techniques, exegetic discourse, and historical documents as less significant sources than participant observation (cf. Henderson 1996). McIntosh (2006, 2009) and Stone ([1982] 2010) emphasize the situated nature of fieldwork, while Stone and Stone (1981), Berger (1999), Rice (2008), and Titon (2008) all underline its dialogic qualities. These themes are also explored in an article by Deborah Justice and Fredara M. Hadley (2015), who use Berger's notion of stance to argue that new opportunities for ethnographic understandings emerge when fieldwork is pursued by teams of researchers.

Despite the common emphasis on partial sharing—of meaning, of the interpretive predicament, of modes of being-in-the-world—phenomenologically oriented ethnomusicologists approach field research in a variety of ways. Berger's work, for example, has argued that the emphasis on empathetic engagement with research participants that phenomenological ethnomusicologists so prize does not preclude the use of critical perspectives (1999, 251–297). Drawing on ideas from Sartre and the Marxist tradition of social thought, Berger observes that the power relations in which our everyday lives are situated shape both our experiences and the interpretations we make of them, often in ways that we do not fully understand. It is, of course, patronizing to assume that our research participants are little more than culture dopes, marionettes whose strings are pulled by the puppet masters of race, class, or gender. But it is also problematic, Berger argues, to assume that our research participants have a complete understanding of their experiences or that our research participants' interpretive processes are unaffected by the power relations in which they are situated. Every ethnographic encounter requires its own field techniques and styles of writing, and not all analysis must take politics or structures of inequality as its center of gravity. But in many situations, it is difficult to understand musical experience without exploring its connection to power, and the participants themselves do not always possess a clear or complete understanding of that connection. One technique for addressing such situations, Berger suggests (1999), is critical ethnographic dialogue. Here, multiple conflicting perspectives can come together; scholars and research participants explore the complex, often difficult politics of musical experience and social life; and interpretive closure is not always reached. This technique will not work in every field situation, but in many contexts it offers an opportunity for insights that approaches based solely on empathetic engagement might not uncover. (Silverstein [2019] and Cannon [2020], discussed further below, also examine the politics of ethnographic research.)

Methodology is theory operationalized, and the discussion in this section only begins to examine the complex issues of theory and method that phenomenological ethnomusicologists have taken up. As we suggested previously, a number of scholars (Becker 2004; Clayton 2008; Clayton and Leante 2013) have offered ways of bringing phenomenology into conversation with approaches from cognitive science and psychology, while work by Matthew Sansom (2005), Ruth Herbert (2011b, 2011a), and Robert Faulkner (2013) illustrates how interpretive phenomenological analysis (a research methodology from the discipline of psychology) may articulate with approaches from ethnomusicology. The debate among Becker (2009), Titon (2009), and Bakan (2009) in the journal *Ethnomusicology* illustrates the diversity of perspectives that exist regarding the relationship between approaches from the humanities and those from the social sciences, as well as the role of phenomenology in ethnomusicological research. While phenomenology is a body of thought that can be used to examine the full range of topics in ethnomusicology, many scholars in our field have combined ideas from this tradition with those from other movements in Western philosophy or social theory to develop new syntheses and craft new perspectives (e.g., Feld 1996; Rice 2001, 2003; Turino 2014; Novak and Sakakeeny 2015).[21] Turning to broader contexts, a number of

researchers in our discipline have linked phenomenological approaches with ideas from non-Western philosophies to speak to problems of interpretation, theory, and method (e.g., Humphreys 1991; Slawek 1996; Weiss 2003; Ho 2009). As many scholars have observed, methodological discussions inevitably raise issues of ethics and politics—in the research encounter and beyond—and these are the topics to which we now turn.

MUSIC AND POWER

From Sartre's longstanding commitment to Marxism, to Simone de Beauvoir's ([1949] 2010) foundational work on gender and Frantz Fanon's ([1952] 2008) phenomenology of race, thinkers in the phenomenological movement have long made contributions to political philosophy, and a variety of ethnomusicologists have used these ideas to understand the politics of culture and the role that music plays in wider dynamics of power. In recent years, political concerns have come to the fore for a range of phenomenologically oriented ethnomusicologists, and two of the most significant inspirations for their work have been Fanon and Sara Ahmed.

Across the humanities, Fanon is most frequently understood as a postcolonial theorist; this characterization is certainly not wrong, but Fanon must also be understood as a nuanced phenomenological thinker. His landmark book *Black Skin, White Masks* ([1952] 2008) develops powerful insights into racialized subjectivity and the embodied experience of oppression it produces, and his work has led to a vital stream of phenomenological scholarship on the topic of race (e.g., Johnson [1976] 1993; Slaughter 1977; Alcoff 1999; Macey 1999; Trotter 1999; Salamon 2006; Mahendran 2007; Zeiler 2013). Fanon is discussed in detail in David Garcia's 2017 book *Listening for Africa*, a sophisticated study of the ways in which discourses of modernity and race have shaped key figures and historical moments in the music of Africa and its diaspora during the twentieth century. Set among a varied array of theoretical sources, Fanon's ideas not only serve as a crucial lens through which Garcia interprets cultural and political history; they also are an active force *within* that history, as Fanon had a wide influence on the politics and culture of the decolonizing world at mid-century and after. Drawing on Fanon's notion of disalienation and ideas from the philosopher Günther Anders ([1937] 2009), who studied with both Husserl and Heidegger, Garcia shows how a range of actors—musicians, dancers, researchers, and writers—sought to overcome the stultifying effect on musical and social experience of historical narratives that positioned music from Africa and its diaspora as an expression of the primitive. Arguing that "Fanon theorized the way for racialized black individuals . . . to take action not only in but *upon* the present" (175, italics in the original) and drawing on Veit Erlmann's (2010) readings of Anders, Garcia makes connections between the lived time of musical events and the long-scale temporality of colonialism's pernicious narratives about modernity. The book is filled with insights about race and music that deserve to be carried forward by ethnomusicologists interested in a wide range of historical periods and social contexts.[22]

(For an important discussion of Anders's phenomenology of musical listening and the pivotal role that it played in his philosophy of technology, as well as wider debates in mid-century Continental philosophy, see Babich [2021]; see also Erlmann [2010].)

Although Sara Ahmed has herself contributed to phenomenological work on race (2007), her 2006 book *Queer Phenomenology* has had the most significant impact on ethnomusicologists. While the book offers powerful ideas about gender and sexuality, Ahmed construes the notion of queerness broadly to develop wide ranging perspectives on the nature of power and social life. Starting from Husserl's observations about the body's necessarily oriented posture toward the things of the world, Ahmed shows how our situated conduct and social experience are shaped by power and the many ways that queer lives are lived against the grain of normative orientations. Ethnomusicologists who draw on her work have developed this viewpoint in important and provocative ways. For example, Alexander M. Cannon's (2020) chapter in the edited book *Queering the Field* (Barz and Cheng 2020) uses autoethnographic reflections on the author's experiences as a gay man to shed new light on ethnographic methods. Building on Ahmed's work, Cannon shows how the notions of queerness and queered orientations can sensitize the ethnographer to the way that the diverse practices and experiences found in their fieldsites may align with dominant orientations or work against them. The queered field methods that Cannon proposes thus help the fieldworker to resist the colonial impulse in ethnography to know and master the other, and the chapter develops a powerful theoretical apparatus around the ideas of "personhood, oppression, transgression, performance, and fieldwork" (125). Tes Slominski's contribution to the book (2020) draws on Ahmed's *Queer Phenomenology* and her writings on happiness (Ahmed 2010) to offer critical perspectives on ethnomusicology as a disciplinary formation. In an evocative ethnography of Syrian *dabke* that issues a powerful call for scholars in sound studies to attend to the fundamentally intersensorial nature of music, Shayna Silverstein (2019) uses Ahmed to highlight the opportunities for new insights that *dis*orientation affords fieldworkers. Less concerned with field methods than Cannon or Silverstein, Rachel Beckles Willson (2019) takes Ahmed's notion of orientation in a different direction, showing the complex ways in which representations of and musical practices with the *'ūd* serve to establish orientations toward home for Palestinians living in Palestine or its diaspora, and her subtle analysis urges us to understand such orienting work as an ongoing, never completed process. Returning to the concern with sexuality, Stephen Amico engages ideas from Ahmed and Merleau-Ponty to illuminate the "corporeal connections between gay men and popular music in post-Soviet Russia" (2014, 28). Amico's dynamic combination of ethnography and theory—"a theoretically informed ethnography, or an ethnographically based theorization" (23)—similarly refuses to privilege either music or sexuality indeed, his study shows the many ways that each becomes imbricated with the other in and through the body.

Fanon and Ahmed are not the only sources for political work in phenomenological ethnomusicology. Armelle Gaulier and Denis-Constant Martin (2017) use Ricoeur's ideas on cultural appropriation and memory to understand the impact of the music of New Year's celebrations in Cape Town on South Africa's race politics. The primary

frame for Michael Frishkopf's book chapter "Music for Global Human Development" (2021) comes from Jürgen Habermas ([1981] 1987), the second-generation Frankfurt school theorist who, drawing on Husserl and others, sought to understand how communicative action occurs within the horizon of a lifeworld and how such lifeworlds can be "colonized," as he put it, by an economic and political "system." In the context of Habermas's work, Alfred Schutz (e.g., [1932] 1967, 1951, 1964) and Martin Buber ([1937] 1958) provide Frishkopf with tools for understanding how musical practices and applied ethnomusicology projects can bolster a community's lifeworld and foster a humanizing politics.[23] Related themes can be found in Markus Verne's exploration of the existential projects of heavy metal musicians in Madagascar (2015) and Roberto Rizzo's study of the place of musical literacy in the performance traditions of Java and the experiences of students in an arts institute there (2020). In differing ways, these authors combine ideas from phenomenology's philosophical tradition with those from phenomenologically oriented work in anthropology to critique deterministic visions of culture and highlight the role that agency, situated conduct, and the constitution of lived experience play in the social dynamics of music. In a range of other studies (Gray 2007; White 2014; Fairfield 2019; Houston 2020; MacDonald 2020), phenomenological perspectives on musical meaning and musical practice are combined with ideas from other intellectual traditions to shed light on questions of power in a given social world. In all of this work, phenomenology offers ways of connecting larger social forces and their relations of power to lived experience and illustrates the important place that music can play there.

Another strand of politically oriented ethnomusicological work engages especially with the ideas of Emmanuel Levinas, who is famous for his emphasis on the primacy of the encounter with the other and the infinite ethical and political demands that such encounters produce. David McDonald (2013) draws on Levinas's concept of an "ethics of responsibility" to explore the possibilities for non-violent social relations entailed by Israeli-Palestinian hip-hop. He outlines an "ethics of a shared human vulnerability" based on Levinas's philosophy, arguing that the recognition of the other through music provides an opportunity to transcend discourses of exile and nationalism (2013, 78). Levinasian ethics go beyond simply creating imperatives for the self, for as McDonald points out, the self arises and develops in relation to its encounter with the other. Rahaim (2017, 2019) similarly takes up Levinas to think about the political necessity of openness to the other and the incomplete nature of our social encounters. Noting that critiques of discourses of otherness often focus on the role that this notion plays in justifying political oppression—the chapter cites Edward Said (1979) and Johannes Fabian (1983) as prominent voices in this regard—Rahaim argues that the attempt to collapse otherness into sameness is also politically dangerous. In place of the "metaphysics of unity" that presumes the joys (and ethical and political rightness) of musical participation, Rahaim proposes instead "a metaphysics of alterity [that] attends to what is lost when we dissolve separation into comprehensive, finite unity" (2017, 23). As Rahaim makes clear, the infinity attributed to the other by Levinas is not a mark of their superiority but of the inexhaustible nature of ethical encounter. Here, we enter into "the infinite play of [imperfect] rapport," never approaching "a perfected comprehension" (23). Rahaim's recent book on

a diverse array of vocal practices in North India furthers these Levinasian insights, considering the degrees of distance and otherness that persist even in close (often formative) relationships, like those between students and their teachers or devotional singers and their patrons (2021, 176, 208). In a different vein, Jeff R. Warren (2021) builds on the work of Levinas and also that of Alphonso Lingis (1998) to explore the connections between ethical action and the sound of contemporary Christian worship music, focusing especially on the effect he calls "shimmer" in the music of the many ensembles connected to Hillsong Church (Hillsong Worship, Hillsong United, Hillsong Young and Free). Putting these phenomenological sources into conversation with voices from Object-Oriented Ontology (e.g., Harman 2005; Bogost 2012), Warren expands Levinas's ethical concern with relations between human beings to consider relations with the divine and with the non-human world.

While philosophers in the phenomenological tradition have certainly made important contributions to critical, emancipatory politics, we would be remiss if we did not acknowledge the regressive and painful elements of this history. For example, Edmund Husserl treated Edith Stein in a sexist manner (McDaniel 2016, 195); the racist elements of Sartre's thinking were critiqued by Fanon ([1952] 2008); and recent scholarship has examined how Levinas's philosophy—often celebrated by ethicists and postcolonial scholars—contains a troubling racism (McGettigan 2006; Moten 2018). Perhaps the most disturbing figure in phenomenology's history, however, is Heidegger.

The simple facts of the situation are concerning enough: it has long been known, for example, that Heidegger joined the Nazi party on May 1, 1933; served from April 1933 to April 1934 as rector of the University of Freiburg, where he implemented Berlin's program of Nazifying the university; and remained a member of the party in good standing until its dissolution at the end of World War II (Knowles 2020a). While scholarly opinion varies on the topic of Heidegger's relationship to Nazism (Wheeler 2020), the philosopher Adam Knowles convincingly shows that Heidegger eagerly promoted the Nazification of the German academy (2020a, see especially the prologue and epilogue) and that this work was an outgrowth of his larger philosophy of administration (Knowles 2020b). Further, as Hans Dieter Zimmermann demonstrates, Heidegger resigned from his position as rector and discontinued his ambitious project of developing a centralized, national academy for the philosophical training of all professors in Germany not, as he would later claim, to distance himself from Nazi ideology but because the university board was not ideological enough (Zimmermann 2005, 64–65). Since the second half of the twentieth century, scholars have argued about the role of fascism and antisemitism in Heidegger's thought; however, the defense of his work became more difficult in 2014, when some of Heidegger's *Black Notebooks*—a set of journals he began writing in the 1930s—first began to be published. (The notebooks have been released in a number of different volumes; see, for example, Heidegger 2015, 2016.) The *Black Notebooks* not only espouse an intense antisemitism but make clear that this hatred was deeply embedded in his philosophy. There, Heidegger elaborates the view that the manipulative, technological society of modern Europe came from a distinctly Jewish form of existence, and he characterizes the Holocaust as the ultimate outcome of

this way of being. As a result, Heidegger depicted the Holocaust as the "self-annihilation of the Jews" (Heidegger 2015, 20).

Given Heidegger's vast influence on contemporary thought, working out the implications of these revelations remains a complex and important task, and in the years since the first publications of the *Black Notebooks*, scholars have continued to explore and debate this topic (e.g., Mitchell 2015; Farin and Malpas 2016). In recounting this history, we do not mean to suggest that Heidegger's ideas cannot be used in productive and valuable ways or to imply that anyone who cites Heidegger or draws upon his work is an antisemite. Indeed, Knowles himself has argued that the way forward for Continental theory is not to ignore Heidegger but to subject his work to a critical appraisal (Knowles 2020a). While no scholar in the tradition is as fundamentally compromised as Heidegger, it behooves us to read *all* theoretical writings with critical eyes, drawing on the insights of past scholars but also addressing their oversights and misdeeds, and the harms they may entail.

Conclusion

For many in our field, understanding the musical experiences of the people with whom we work is at the heart of the ethnomusicological project. Phenomenology offers a unique set of tools for pursuing that project. Attending to culture but sensitive to agency, deeply engaged with questions of ontology and metaphysics but alive to the most pragmatic and contingent elements of everyday life, phenomenology offers a way of making connections with our research participants, respecting and exploring our differences while still keeping sight of our common predicaments of interpretation, embodiment, and power. From its earliest roots in the philosophical phenomenologies of music, through the pathbreaking work of the 1980s-era ethnomusicological ethnographers, to contemporary developments in the field, those grounded in phenomenology have studied music as a unique and significant element in experience and also as a site for investigating the broader dynamics of social life.

In the last forty years, the range of study objects that ethnomusicologists in the tradition have explored has been broad. But this work has only begun to examine the variety of topics that are open to phenomenological investigation, and many areas of research remain unexamined. Husserl intended phenomenology to be a foundation for all forms of inquiry, and the scope of the tradition is and should be as broad as the scope of human experience. In that spirit, we want to suggest that the bounty of microsocial analyses in our field may have obscured the fact that the macrosocial world is equally amenable to phenomenological investigation. Here, we do not merely wish to indicate that situated conduct and lived experience entail a profound politics or are fundamentally shaped by larger social forces, though this is certainly true. Rather, we want to suggest that large-scale social phenomena *themselves* can be explored with the tools of phenomenology. That some may be surprised by such a claim is understandable. For example, Alfred

Schutz's *Phenomenology of the Social World* ([1932] 1967) in particular and phenomenological social theory in general were given short shrift in the canonical early statements of practice theory by Anthony Giddens ([1976] 1993, 38) and Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 3–5). These writers dismiss phenomenology for reducing the social world to mere subjective impression, but as C. Jayson Throop and Keith M. Murphy have shown (2002), such criticisms conflate phenomenology with naïve subjectivism, which, as we have suggested throughout, is not tenable (see also Berger 2010; Rahaim 2012). As a result, phenomenology offers new possibilities to scholars interested in the macrosocial life of music. Taking a phenomenological approach to studying a sector of the music industry, for example, an ethnomusicologist would begin by investigating how people inhabit various institutional roles (musician, manager, promoter, etc.) and would continue by examining how their actions emerge within and respond to a horizon of other actors and institutions. The research would then work outward toward a phenomenology of those institutions, understanding them as the outcome of the intended and unintended practices of individual agents. Such work would seek to show how power relations are both established and resisted by the constitutive practices of their participants. In so doing, it could advance the approach of practice theory by giving the theoretical building blocks of that tradition a firmer ontological foundation in lived experience.

Discussing Husserl's preface to the 1931 English translation of his foundational study *Ideas I*, Marianne Sawicki (n.d.) recounts the sense of breathtaking wonder that Husserl describes at having discovered the possibilities of phenomenological research. Husserl likens the new domain of philosophy that he had uncovered to a "new Atlantis," a "new continent," and ultimately a "promised land" (Husserl 1931, 15, 21, quoted in Sawicki n.d.). While many in contemporary scholarship do not share Husserl's view of phenomenology as the investigation of transcendental subjectivity, the idea of a return to experience has lost none of its power or awe-inspiring force. Returning to experience with eyes and ears vivified by the phenomenological project, we take the things most readily at hand as our object of study. Seen and heard in this new way, the things of the world retain their mundane reality, even as we go beyond that mundanity to wonder at their paradoxical nature. The world of experience is a world of things—as autonomous and independent from us as we know them to be, and yet always *present for us*, here and now, within the ambit of conscious life. The world of experience *is* a world of others—as separate from ourselves as our everyday intuition tells us they are and yet, through their very alterity, forming the foundation of sociality and thus the possibility of our own subjectivity.

If phenomenology opens us up to the paradoxical wonder of experience, then phenomenological ethnomusicology begins by drawing our attention to a subset of that experiential world, opening us up to new possibilities for insight even as it sharpens our focus. From the tedium of programmed music in retail environments to the most powerful experiences in a concert or between two earbuds, the things that are called music are vital study objects—both as elements of experience that contribute important threads to the texture of everyday life and as phenomena that stir our deepest passions. Of equal significance, the study of musical experience serves as an entry point to the

rest of the social universe, a starting place for inquiry that draws the researcher beyond the music event to areas as diverse and significant as the affective life of capitalism, the neurobiology of trance, the nature of time, or the paradoxes of embodiment. As either an end or a starting place, music is therefore a vital object of study. In this context, phenomenological ethnomusicology continues to offer a profound potential for plumbing its depths and tracing out its connections.

Acknowledgments

Notes

1. Drawing boundaries of intellectual movements and academic disciplines is, of course, a complex and fraught task. Here, we focus our attention on works within the discipline of ethnomusicology that either draw directly on writings from phenomenology's philosophical tradition or ones that engage phenomenological ideas developed in fields adjacent to ethnomusicology, such as anthropology. Of course, many other intellectual traditions deal with phenomenology's hallmark concerns (e.g., embodiment, temporality, and experience). In general, we have avoided discussing such work, though not because we think that it is not valuable. (Clearly, the phenomenological tradition does not have a monopoly on philosophical insights!) However, citing such work without discussing the differences between phenomenological approaches and those from other traditions would run the risk of obscuring meaningful theoretical differences, and consistently analyzing the relationship between phenomenological and non-phenomenological approaches would be a massive undertaking and well beyond the scope of this chapter. That said, in notes 2 and 21 we briefly discuss the history and boundaries of phenomenology within philosophy.

    This chapter primarily addresses writing published before March of 2021. Although we have sought to discuss a variety of sources in phenomenological ethnomusicology, we do not claim to present a comprehensive review of this literature. For an overview of the contributions that the chapters in this volume make to contemporary phenomenological scholarship on music and culture, see the volume's preface. As we are completing this text, Jonathan De Souza, Benjamin Steege, and Jessica Wiskus are preparing *The Oxford Handbook of the Phenomenology of Music*, a project based in the disciplines of music theory, musicology, cognitive science, and philosophy, which complements our more ethnomusicological and ethnographic volume in important ways.

2. Like a visiting dignitary at a formal reception, phenomenology has been "introduced" many times, and the anglophone scholar interested in making a first approach to this literature often has difficulties selecting a starting point from among the many English-language works that seek to familiarize readers with this tradition. A highly readable introduction to phenomenology, which explains its basic concepts in plain language, is by Danish philosopher Dan Zahavi ([2003] 2018). Sophisticated and accessible, monographs by Don Ihde (1986) and Michael Hammond, Jane Howarth, and Russell Keat (1991) are two of the best introductions

to the tradition as a whole. The articles on phenomenology in the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Phenomenology* (Zalta 2022) and the *Encyclopedia of Phenomenology* (Embree et al. 1997) are useful reference works, while studies by Erazim Kohák (1978), James Schmidt (1985), and Hubert Dreyfus (1991) provide valuable English-language discussions of key works and thinkers. A helpful article by Lawrence Ferrara and Elizabeth A. Behnke in the *Encyclopedia of Phenomenology* (1997) offers a history of phenomenologies of music, primarily from the fields of philosophy and musicology. While Ferrara and Behnke do not write about the discipline of ethnomusicology, their discussion traces a history that develops in the direction of a rich understanding of the fundamentally social, cultural, and embodied nature of musical experience. Such a perspective is consonant with the approaches of the ethnomusicological tradition.

In a variety of works, ethnomusicologists have discussed the relationship between phenomenology and ethnomusicology or the history of their own engagement with the phenomenological tradition. For example, the first edition of Ruth Stone's *Theory for Ethnomusicology* (2008) includes a helpful discussion of the role of phenomenology in the founding of ethnomusicology's predecessor discipline, comparative musicology, as well as a broader exploration of the relationship between phenomenology and ethnomusicology. The link between phenomenology and comparative musicology, as well as the history of phenomenological thinking about musical temporality in ethnomusicology and other fields, is discussed with nuance in a book chapter by Stephen Blum (2016). A passage in the "Further Comments" that Charles Keil and Steven Feld provide after the "First Dialog" in their often-cited book *Music Grooves* (1994, 47) explains the role of phenomenology in the development of their thinking and offers a long list of citations to works in the tradition that they found especially useful. A similar aim animates the listing of sources in Bakan (1999, 336n11), while more recent works by Feld (2015, 2017) and Rice and Romero (2015) offer further reflections on their authors' engagements with the tradition. In differing ways, Stone ([1982] 2010, 165–176), Berger (1999, 19–25; 2010, vii–xix, 137–139nn6–7), Rice (2008), and Titon (2008) offer perspectives on the development of a phenomenological ethnomusicology. The many articles in the *Sage International Encyclopedia of Music and Culture* that discuss phenomenology (Berger 2019; Garlitz 2019; Pieridou Skoutella 2019a, 2019b; Savage 2019) attest to the importance that this intellectual tradition has had for the discipline.

3. For perspectives on the history of phenomenology, see Spiegelberg and Schuhmann ([1960] 1994), Hammond, Howarth, and Keat (1991), Embree and Mohanty (1997), and Smith (2013).

4. See Porcello (1998) for a sophisticated ethnomusicological critique of Ingarden's phenomenology of music.

5. For a more recent phenomenological discussion of the role of cuing in the constitution of music events, here in the context of American free jazz, see Steinbeck (2008).

6. For a brief summary of the varied meanings and uses of the hermeneutic circle, see Grondin (2016).

7. For a rich review of the literature on the ontology of music developed in analytic philosophy, a Western philosophical tradition that is usually seen as distinct from phenomenology, see Davies (2020).

8. This construction is influenced by ideas from the practice theory of the early Anthony Giddens ([1976] 1993, 1979, 1984) and Pierre Bourdieu (1977), a perspective that Berger has explored throughout his work (e.g., Berger 1999, 2010). It is worth emphasizing here that

the interplay of practice and context is not limited to culture or the micro-social realm. As the classical works of practice theory have shown, macro-social formations (e.g., music cultures, musical institutions like conservatories or corporations, and other large-scale social phenomena like states and societies) can be productively understood as the outcome of the intended and unintended consequences of situated practice. We return to these themes in the final section of this chapter.

9. On the problem of motion in musical time, see also Stone (1988). For alternative approaches to gesture in Indian classical music, see Clayton (2008) and Clayton and Leante (2013).

10. Grounded in rich ethnographic descriptions and deep analysis, Denise Gill's (2017) work on nostalgia in contemporary Turkish classical music and Kyra Gaunt's (2006) erudite and passionate study of Black girls' musical games powerfully recount the experiences and ideologies of the body in their fieldsites. These works avoid the danger of essentialism that could come from a normative reading of Merleau-Ponty or Schmitz, and they have much to offer ethnomusicologists who see themselves as grounded in the phenomenological tradition.

11. In the early twentieth century, scholars in the phenomenological tradition developed an interest in issues of technology (e.g., Heidegger [1927] 1996) and the relationship between philosophy and science (Husserl [1936] 1970). While the dominant voices of Science and Technology Studies (STS) are often understood as opposed to phenomenology (Latour and Woolgar [1979] 1986; Latour 1988; Haraway 1991), since the late 1970s Ihde (1979; 1990) has been a leading voice and creative (if often critical) phenomenological contributor to the burgeoning field of philosophy of technoscience and STS. Ihde's turn to "postphenomenology," which he defines primarily as a "non-essentialist" and "non-foundationalist" pairing of phenomenology with American neo-pragmatism (Ihde 2008), has brought aspects of phenomenological thought into ever closer conversation with areas of STS more aligned with sociology and Actor-Network Theory (see Latour 2005). This sociological strain of STS has often opposed phenomenology on the grounds of its perceived overemphasis on subjectivity (Selinger 2006), and, indeed, it was Ihde's own concerns about the potential privileging of subjectivity and phenomenology's tendency toward "foundationalism" that spurred his postphenomenological turn. For a brief overview of this disciplinary development and a critical assessment of Heidegger's treatment of technology, see Ihde (2010).

12. Schmitz's main oeuvre, his ten-volume *System of Philosophy*, was published between 1964 and 1980. For an introduction to his work, written by the philosopher himself in 2009 and translated into English ten years later, see Schmitz ([2009] 2019).

13. For an overview of the ethnomusicological scholarship on this topic, see the introduction to the edited volume *Music as Atmosphere: Collective Feelings and Affective Sounds* (Riedel and Torvinen 2020).

14. A unique and insightful contribution to the phenomenological scholarship on reflexivity and sound can be found in a 2021 article by Ryan McCormack on issues of aurality in the COVID-19 pandemic (2021). In section three of the essay (pp. 8–12), McCormack describes Husserl's notion of the inner voice and Derrida's famous critique of Husserl, and he sets this debate in the context of recent work by Alexandru Ovidiu Gacea on Plato's ideas about the "koinonic" nature of "internal dialog" (2019). McCormack argues that the conditions of self-isolation imposed by the pandemic have drawn new attention to role of the inner voice in social life, and popular conceptions of this phenomenon in Western culture have come to echo the perspectives of the philosophers whose ideas he rehearses.

Although the inner voice is no longer seen as a universal and stable foundation for individual subjectivity, it remains important. In popular discourse, the inner voice has come to be seen as contingent, relational, and paradoxical, and it affords the person complex relations with others and the larger world. McCormack sees this conception of the inner voice as leading to a new cultural emphasis on listening, which he connects especially to the Black Lives Matter movement and the wider racial politics of the contemporary moment.

15. Employing the metaphysics and semiotics of Charles Sanders Peirce, Thomas Turino (2014) explores related issues. See note 21 below.

16. Musical involvement is closely related to the topic of trance, and phenomenological ethnomusicologists have discussed this theme extensively. Friedson's discussion of trance as a form of Heideggerian "being away" (2009, 16–17, 35–37) is among the most sophisticated examinations of that issue in the scholarly literature, phenomenological or otherwise. For other studies of trance in phenomenological ethnomusicology, see Kapchan (2009, 2013), Sager (2009), and Simonett (2009, 2014). Phenomenology is combined with approaches from the social sciences in Judith Becker's celebrated *Deep Listeners: Music, Emotion, and Trancing* (2004), while a related configuration of methods underlies Ruth Herbert's important *Everyday Music Listening: Absorption, Dissociation, and Trancing* (2011a; see also Herbert 2011b). On music and disembodiment in situations other than trance, see Humphreys (1991), Henderson (1996), Berger (1999), Rahaim (2012), and McGuiness (2013). For phenomenological work on embodiment and place, see Feld (1996), Wolf (2006), and Conn (2012).

17. Ferrara and Behnke (1997) observe that in *The Phenomenology of Internal Time-Consciousness* ([1929] 1964), Husserl himself illustrated the structure of the living present with musical examples, and their article summarizes his discussions of protention and retention in the perception of melody, as well as his broader insights into the problem of the identity of works of music.

18. In "Making Music Together," Schutz frequently talks about the musical "We." The term "We-relationship" comes from the English translation of his *Phenomenology of the Social World* ([1932] 1967, 164). For other applications of Schutz's ideas in ethnomusicology, see Feld ([1988] 1994), Racy (1991), Friedson (1996), Porcello (1998), Shannon (2003), Rahaim (2012), Thacker (2012), and Clinton and Wallach (2016). See Wolf (2006) for a critique of Schutz's ideas of inner and outer time.

19. Multistable figures are illustrations that can be viewed in more than one way, such as Rubin's goblet (a drawing that is typically seen as either a vase or two silhouettes facing each other) and the Necker cube (a drawing that can be seen either as a cube viewed from below or a cube viewed from above).

20. The same conclusion can be reached by pressing the skeptical implications of the newcomer's objection to their logical conclusion. Thus, it is certainly true that we can never have a direct and perfectly repeatable access to the experience of the other in all of their particularity. However, we can never have that kind of direct and perfectly repeated access to our own experience either, since memory does not return our past experiences to us in exactly the same form that they originally appeared. If it can only be said that we know another's experience if we have direct and perfectly repeatable access to it, then our past selves are as unknowable to us as the other, and we are locked in a solipsistic now, truly knowing only our most immediate thoughts. This is, of course, an untenable position. If perfectly repeatable experience is a chimera, then we are forced to rethink the nature of experience itself and with it the metaphor of subjective islands adrift in an ocean of

objective reality, upon which the newcomer's objections to phenomenological methods are based.

21. Of particular note here is Thomas Turino's 2014 article, "Peircean Thought as Core Theory for a Phenomenological Ethnomusicology." In the piece, Turino reviews ideas from Charles Sanders Peirce's ontology and semiotics, discusses selected works of phenomenological ethnomusicology (most prominently, ones by Friedson and Titon), and makes a passionate argument for the utility of Peirce for research on music and culture. The piece is a wide-ranging and insightful work of theory and has drawn significant attention. In the article, Turino contrasts what he calls "Peircean" and "Continental" phenomenology, and given the way the text is framed, readers may come away from it with the impression that Peirce was a part of the phenomenological movement or that his work was, in a straightforward way, a branch of this tradition. The historical reality is different from this and much more complex.

As David Woodruff Smith (2013) has observed, the word "phenomenology" appeared in print as early as the 1730s and was used by a variety of writers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Husserl later adopted the term as the name of a new philosophy he was developing, which he intended as a decisive break from all forms of past thought. His *Logical Investigations*, published in two volumes in 1900 and 1901 (Husserl [1900–01] 2001), is widely understood as the founding document of the phenomenological movement. In our experience, the unmarked term "phenomenology" is generally used by contemporary philosophers in anglophone North America to refer to the intellectual tradition that flowed from this work. In contrast, Peirce was one of the founders of the philosophical school known as "pragmatism" (or, to use the term he later coined to distinguish his work from that of William James, "pragmaticism"; see Legg and Hookway [2021]). During a brief but significant period of his career, Peirce used the word "phenomenology" to refer to a form of research he was developing. After a few years, however, he rejected the word "phenomenology" and replaced it with a number of new terms, such as "phaneroscopy" and "phenoscopy" (Spiegelberg and Schuhmann [1960] 1994, 16; Short 2007, 61; Stjernfelt 2007, 143). Peirce scholars sometimes use the expression "Peircean phenomenology" to talk about this work, although in his influential *Pierce's Theory of Signs*, T. L. Short actively chose to use the term "phaneroscopy" to describe this research, so as to differentiate Peirce's thought from that of Husserl and his followers (2007, 61).

More important than the terminological issue is the historical relationship between Husserl and Peirce and the philosophical content of their work. A number of writers have shown that Husserl and Peirce had only a slight familiarity with each other's writings (see Spiegelberg 1956, 183; Spiegelberg and Schuhmann [1960] 1994, 16–18; Short 2007, 61; Stjernfelt 2007, 142, 144). Working in almost complete independence of each other, Husserl and Peirce developed distinct systems of thought with distinct intellectual apparatuses. While a number of writers have observed that the work of the two philosophers resonates together in interesting ways, scholars differ on the extent of the compatibility of their ideas. (See Berger's 2015 edition of this chapter for a more detailed exploration of this issue.) However one interprets the literature on the relationship between the two, it is clear that any scholar seeking to find similarities in the thought of Husserl and Peirce is only able to do so with substantial philosophical and historical effort—that is, by building bridges between their very different concepts, arguments, and systems. Framing its discussion in terms of an unproblematized contrast between "Peircean" and "Continental"

phenomenologies, Turino's article might give some readers the impression that Peirce's work was, in a simple and direct manner, part of the phenomenological movement or one branch of this tradition. Our aim in this discussion is neither to suggest that Peirce's work isn't useful or that making connections between Peirce and the phenomenological movement is not productive but rather to clarify the intellectual history at play here. We hope that noting the distinctions between these two thinkers and their respective traditions might prove useful to both those seeking to find linkages between them and those who would cultivate productive points of debate.

22. David Garcia (2017) also gives a nuanced discussion of the mid-twentieth-century reception of mambo, which shows how Gabriel Garcia Marquez and the Venezuelan poet Juan Liscano drew on ideas from Sartre's existentialism to represent music as an avenue for those living in an alienated modernity to recover repressed aspects of the "primitive." Of course, Garcia does not endorse this view but reads it as yet another way in which music raced as Black was caught up in colonial narratives about modernity and culture.

23. Grounded in communication studies, Patrick Burkart's trenchant discussion of the colonization of the lifeworld by the global music industry (2010) offers another route to Habermasian insights about the social life of music.

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